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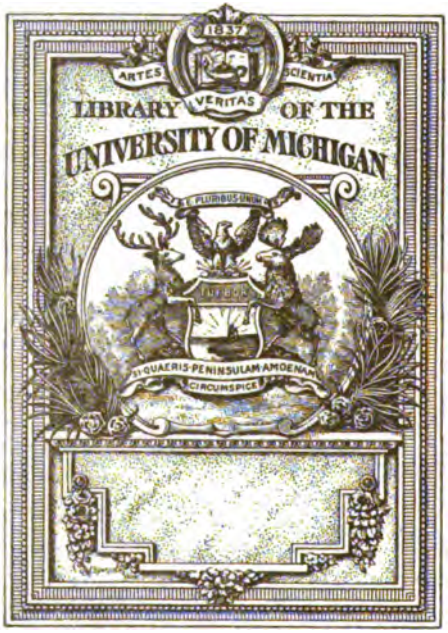

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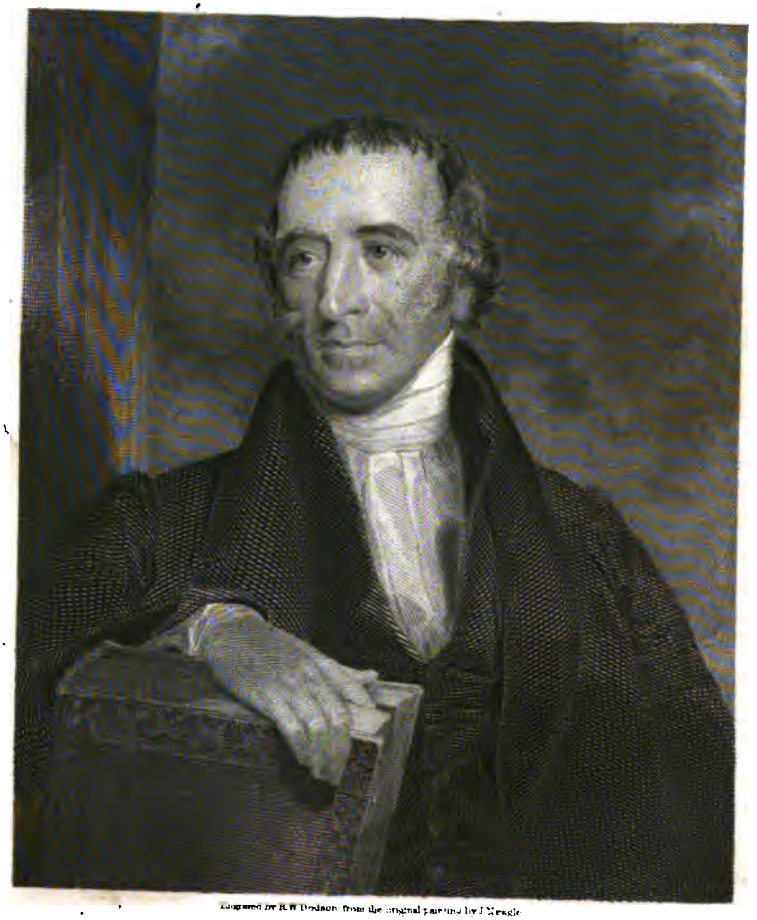

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1841.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

INTRODUCTION.

The present is an eventful and an interesting age. Improvements are exceeding, in number and importance, those of all former periods. The various plans for the melioration of human condition are assuming new modifications, and acting with accumulated power. The useful arts, and the institutions of benevolence, are so enlarging their compass, that the defects and embarrassments of the social state are in a way soon to be covered by remedies as near sovereign as the present condition of things will admit.

Among the great instruments of human improvement the press occupies a conspicuous position. It seems especially designed by Providence to exercise a restoring influence upon the understanding and conscience; but it is a lamentable fact that it has not unfrequently been pressed into the service of folly and corruption. To wrest this grand engine from the hand of error, and to employ it in its legitimate work, no effort should be deemed too great a sacrifice. The press should be fully employed in the great object of enlightening and reforming the world: it should furnish every variety of instructive and useful reading; and especially should it correct its own errors, and counteract the evil tendencies it has occasioned, and of which it is the only effective remedy.

With our venerated founder these were cherished objects; the evidence of which is abundant in his voluminous publications. We have received from his fertile and powerful pen numerous and various works, from the penny tract to the ponderous volume; all contemplating the same noble object,—the improvement of the character and condition of human society. This great and good man, early in his course of usefulness, fully estimated the importance of

a *periodical* which should contain *multum in parvo* (*much in little*) for general circulation and popular use. Hence came into being the *Arminian Magazine*. This finally gave place to the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, which deservedly ranks among the best periodicals of the class.

In 1818 the *Methodist Magazine* was commenced, and issued in monthly numbers under the supervision of the book agents at New-York. This work continued to be issued in its original form until the year 1829. It was then thought that the Magazine should no longer sustain the character of a mere *miscellany*, as the Advocate and Journal, now in successful operation, could do ample justice to merely transient and miscellaneous matters. The work was accordingly thenceforward issued quarterly, under the title of the "Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review." Upon the occasion of this change, the editor, Dr. Emory, in his "*prospectus*," presents the reasons for the change in the following language:—

"For this class of periodicals there is certainly a greater vacancy in the department of theological journals, at the present day, than in any other; and particularly in our own denomination. There is danger, too, of satisfying ourselves, on one hand, with light and transient reading, and, on the other, with light and transient writing. We yet need a journal which shall draw forth the most matured efforts of our best writers, whether in the ministry, or among other intelligent and literary contributors; where also they may have room for ampler and more exact discussion, in a record which shall endure for the inspection of posterity. There are very many also in the wide circle of our friends, who have both taste and adequate means for patronizing such a work; and one such is highly desirable, as well for their satisfaction, as to lead others to the cultivation of a similar taste."

At the late General Conference it was resolved to commence, after the close of the volume for 1840, a new series of the work, in an improved form, under the title of the "*Methodist Quarterly Review*." The design now is to give the work more fully the character of a *Review* than it has heretofore sustained, but not in the least to depart from the general purposes contemplated in the former series. Its pages will be devoted to *theology*, *ecclesiastical polity*, *education*, *science*, and *general literature*. These subjects will be discussed mostly, but not altogether, in the form of *reviews*.

In *extended* and *elaborate reviews* we shall present our readers with the substance of many of the leading publications which from time to time issue from the American and European presses, accompanied with such criticisms and remarks as their character shall demand; and in *critical notices* shall give our views of the general character of many others. By these means we hope to render much assistance to our readers in ordering books which they may wish to procure, as well as to afford them the means of obtaining the information contained in many others, which they may not have the means or desire to purchase.

For further particulars as to the plan of the work, and our editorial course, we would refer the reader to the prospectus published by the Agents, to our editorial in the July number, and to the present number, which is offerd as a specimen.

Such a publication is deemed especially important at the present time. Theology is liable to suffer from the extremes which characterize the age. Adventurous speculation, reckless skepticism, and tame credulity enter largely into the spirit of the times. The grossest errors of the dark ages, together with every species of novelty, find a ready reception even among minds claiming the advantages of a high state of cultivation. And is this any time for the Methodist press to sleep, or to be partial and tame in its instruments of attack and defense? Surely not. If there were ever a time when the true Wesleyan theology, in its clearness, simplicity, and power, required all the means of diffusiveness and extension which can be commanded, the present is that time. A medium for a thorough and full discussion of such topics in theology as have been buried in the mists of false philosophy or unbridled dogmatism is now with us absolutely necessary. And shall the Methodist Episcopal Church prove recreant in such an emergency? Indeed, she cannot. She will fortify every point, and fully equip herself for the important part she is destined to act in the great conflict now in progress between the simple, unsophisticated doctrines of the gospel, and a theology merely speculative on the one hand, or purely dogmatical on the other.

The institutions and government of the church must have due attention. Various questions which many may have supposed long since settled, relating to ecclesiastical polity, are still mooted, and the principles which they involve are to be contested over and

over again. Hence the necessity of being always prepared to defend and explain our own peculiar institutions at length when need requires.

The missionary, sabbath school, and temperance cause, as also our schools and colleges, will come in for a share of our sympathies and co-operation.

Experiments in science are daily bringing to light the secrets of nature, and so enlarging the sphere of human contemplation and enjoyment. It is of immense importance that all branches of the community should keep pace with the progress of scientific discovery, at least so far as the useful arts are affected by this means. It shall be our object to keep our readers sufficiently advised upon this subject.

We hope to pluck now and then a flower from ancient and modern literature, for the gratification of our readers. But those whose morbid appetites can only be satisfied with the creations of a disordered imagination can have little to hope from our labors, or those of our correspondents. The Review will deal in sober realities. And though all due pains will be taken to gratify a well-disciplined taste, its great object will be to make its readers *wiser* and *better*.

For the encouragement of our readers we will just say, that, from the light which already shines upon our way, we can have no doubt of complete success in our efforts to procure good materials. We have the pledges of several of the best writers in the country that they will render us their aid. All that now seems necessary is an adequate list of subscribers, and to this important element of success we trust our agents will help us without delay. If motives are necessary to secure the co-operation of the preachers, surely it will be sufficient to remind them, that by assisting in the circulation of the Quarterly they will not only, in the same proportion, diffuse useful knowledge, but will aid the most worthy objects of the solicitudes of the church,—the *superannuated preachers, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the field of labor.*

In conclusion we beg to say, that, feeling as we do our utter insufficiency for the arduous and responsible duties devolving upon us, we most earnestly ask the prayers of the whole church, that the Father of all our mercies may direct and succeed our humble efforts to promote his glory and the best interests of mankind.

ART. II.—*The Lives of the Apostles of* JESUS CHRIST, *drawn from the Writings of the early Christian Fathers, and embracing the New Testament History.* Illustrated with ample Notes, *historical, topographical, and exegetical: with References to Authorities, containing a large amount of valuable matter; now first translated into English from various Ancient and Modern Languages; besides numerous Original Views and Explanations.* With numerous Engravings. New-Haven: Published by YOUNG & UHLHORN—pp. 650.

THE apostles of Jesus Christ were altogether a peculiar class of men. Without those attractions which draw upon the great and mighty men of the earth the gaze and admiration of wondering multitudes, the place they occupied, and the high spiritual office they filled, present them on the page of history in a light far more interesting and important than that in which the most renowned of this world's sages and noblemen appear. In the faithful mirror of impartial biography how do Cesar and his minions appear in contrast with Christ and his apostles? or Herod Agrippa compare with "James, the brother of John," whom "he killed with the sword?" or the high priest and his persecuting council with Peter, whose imprisonment they procured, and the devout disciples whose prayers prevailed with God for his deliverance? or Felix and the second Agrippa with Paul, whose inspired eloquence caused the one to tremble, and the other to confess himself "almost" persuaded "to be a Christian?" In a word, in what other class of men, whose names have been deemed worthy on any account to be handed down to succeeding generations, do we see so much to admire, so much which may be rendered subservient to the best interests of society in general, and the spiritual edification of the pious in particular?

Few subjects, it will readily be admitted, afford a wider scope for amplification than the lives of the apostles. The simple narrative of their labors is indeed contained in a narrow compass in the original record. This is a peculiarity of the inspired writings. To multiply incidents beyond what was necessary to render the canon complete, or to swell the account by inferences and reflections, appears to have been no part of the work of the Spirit in revealing truth to man. But the inspired data is sufficiently ample, even in this department, to suggest to the mind of the pious author trains

of pertinent reflections and observations which may be wrought into an extended dissertation equally instructive and edifying to his Christian readers. Such a work is the Portrait of St. Paul, written by the late pious vicar of Madeley, Rev. John William de la Fletchere. This admirable production is published at the Methodist Book Room, in New-York, and widely circulated through the medium of that most efficient channel. No well disposed Christian or Christian minister can peruse it with prayerful attention without receiving much spiritual benefit from it. He will leave it a better Christian; and, if a minister, a more apostolical and successful laborer in the vineyard of his Lord. We live in a day when the multiplication of such works is much needed. The swarms of novels and romances which are daily issuing from the press, to corrupt the taste and vitiate the morals of the youth of our country, are a standing reproach to us as a professedly Christian nation. It is a source of deep and painful regret to the truly pious of all denominations, and loudly calls on every friend of our common Christianity to exert his utmost efforts to counteract the pernicious influence of this diffusive and insidious moral poison, by substituting a more healthy aliment for the mind. Who that is capable of forming any just estimate of the demoralizing tendency of such productions as are here alluded to, can help deploring that their authors should be eulogized, and their names identified with the nation's literature as its chief supporters and most brilliant ornaments? But such is the fact; and until talent and literature, eloquence and authorship, shall be consecrated to the cause of true piety, this stigma will probably remain a standing reproach to both our intelligence and our moral taste as a Christian community.

On opening the volume before us, and glancing over the title page and a few lines setting forth the "plan and scope of the work," we felt a degree of pleasure arising from a secret hope that it might be one of those truly devotional productions of a pious heart and an enlightened understanding, which the circumstances of the times so imperiously require. It did appear to us that whoever would, at this time, select the lives and labors of the apostles as a theme for a book of more than six hundred royal octavo pages, must have a heart in some measure imbued with the apostolic spirit, and would, in all probability, amplify his subject in such a way as to produce a most salutary impression upon the moral

and religious feelings of his readers. It was such a delusive hope which induced us to procure the work, its enormous price notwithstanding; and to enter with more than ordinary interest upon a perusal of its contents, little suspecting that they would furnish occasion for such strictures and animadversions as we have felt it our duty to make upon it. To tell the truth, we were disappointed in it. It is a far less devotional work than we had hoped to find it; and in other respects by no means such as the nature of the subject would authorize us to expect. We do not mean by this remark, however, wholly to condemn it as a worthless production. It has merits. But we cannot resist the conviction, that a dissertation on the lives and labors of the apostles of Jesus Christ ought to be a peculiarly religious work, calculated to inspire the reader with much of the spirit which characterized those holy men who are set forth as illustrious examples of the power and purity of the gospel they were divinely commissioned to teach. Such is by no means the character or tendency of the work before us; and we must, therefore, deem it wanting at least in appropriateness.

Unlike the author of the Portrait of St. Paul, who in the very first paragraph of his book calls the reader's attention to the early piety of the apostle, and thenceforward keeps it fixed in contemplation of the eminent traits of character developed throughout the whole course of his devoted life, the writer of the volume before us occupies some thirty or forty pages in describing the civil state of "the world in the apostolic age," before he comes to the main object of his work. This may be admissible as an introduction, though it too evidently indicates that the writer's mind was not so deeply imbued with the spirit of his subject as could be desired to insure a profitable discussion of it. Of this we have still farther evidence in the manner of his connecting the political sway of the Roman emperor with the advent of the meek and lowly Saviour. This is certainly novel in some respects, and extremely questionable in others. Who, for example, is prepared to hear Julius Cesar proclaimed as "Christ's *forerunner?*" Such, indeed, was John the Baptist, an honor most fitly conferred upon him as a devoted prophet of the Most High. Julius Cesar was neither his rival nor his associate; and it is difficult to conceive for what purpose, other than to exhibit the eccentricity of the author's mind, (of which there is abundant evidence throughout his work,) the appellation

appropriated to the heaven-appointed messenger of the Lord, who was especially sent to prepare his way before him, is given to an earthly monarch, without so much as one trait of character befitting a mortal for so holy an association.

But were the Cesars and the state of the Roman empire dismissed where the history of the apostles commences, there would be less occasion for complaint on the part of the Christian reader. He might then pursue the theme adopted by the writer without farther interruption. Even common readers know the vexation occasioned by having the thread of an instructive or edifying essay ever and anon broken off, and the mind thus confused and distracted by the introduction of new and irrelevant matter. The impression which might otherwise be made by the subject is weakened and rendered indistinct, and the object which all writers for the public should have in view, partially, if not wholly, defeated. The want of unity in a discourse or dissertation is a fault which no critic can fail to detect; and where this fault is a prominent characteristic of a literary or religious production, it is a duty which the reviewer owes alike to the author and the public to notice it.

Had we room we could adduce numerous instances showing that the labored production of our author is extremely defective in this respect. Let the reader turn to page 201 of the work, and read the section through, and then ask himself what single sentence or line it contains to indicate that it is a part of a dissertation on the lives of the apostles. It stands in the body of the work thus:—

"HEROD AGRIPPA.

"At this time the monarch of the Roman world was CAIUS CESAR, commonly known by his surname, CALIGULA. Among the first acts of a reign, whose outset was deservedly popular for its numerous manifestations of prudence and benevolence, forming a strange contrast with subsequent tyranny and folly, was the advancement of a tried and faithful friend to the regal honors and power which his birth entitled him to claim, and from which the neglectful indifference at first, and afterward the revengeful spite of the preceding Cesar, Tiberius, had long excluded him. This was HEROD AGRIPPA, grandson of that great Herod, who, by the force of his own exalted genius, and by the favor of the imperial Augustus, rose from the place of a friendless foreign adventurer to the kingly sway of all Palestine. This extensive power he exercised in a manner which was, on the whole, ultimately advantageous to his subjects; but his whole reign, and the later years of it more particularly, were marked by cruelties the most infamous, to which he was led by almost insane fits of wild and causeless jealousy.

On none of the subjects of his power did this tyrannical fury fall with such frequent and dreadful visitations as on his own family; and it was there that, in his alternate fits of fury and remorse, he was often made the avenger of his own victims. Among these numerous domestic cruelties, one of the earliest and the most distressing was the murder of the amiable Mariamne, the daughter of the last of the Asamonean line:—

> 'Herself the solitary scion left
> Of a time-honored race,'

which Herod's remorseless policy had exterminated. Her he made his wife, and after a few years sacrificed her to some wild freak of jealousy, only to reap long years of agonizing remorse for the hasty act, when a cooler search had shown, too late, her stainless innocence. But a passionate despot never yet learned wisdom by being made to feel the recoil of his own folly; and in the course of later years this cruelty was equalled, and almost outdone, by a similiar act, committed by him on those whom her memory should have saved, if any thing could. The innocent and unfortunate Mariamne left him two sons, then mere children, whom the miserable, repentant tyrant cherished and reared with an affectionate care, which might almost have seemed a partial atonement for the injuries of their murdered mother. After some years passed in obtaining a foreign education at the imperial court of Rome, these two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, returned at their father's summons to his court, where their noble qualities, their eloquence, and manly accomplishments, as well as the interest excited by their mother's fate, drew on them the favorable and admiring regard of the whole people. But all that made them admirable and amiable to others was as powerless as the memory of their mother to save them from the fury of the suspicious tyrant. Those whose interests could be promoted by such a course soon found means to make them objects of jealousy and terror to him, and ere long involved them in a groundless accusation of conspiring against his dominion and life. The uneasiness excited in Herod by their great popularity and their commanding talents, led him to believe this charge; and the wretched old king, driven from fear to jealousy, and from jealousy to fury, at last crowned his own wretchedness and their wrongs by strangling them both, after an imprisonment of so great a length as to take away from his crime even the shadowy excuse of hastiness. This was one of the last acts of his bloody life; but ere he died returning tenderness toward the unfortunate race of Mariamne led him to spare and cherish the infant children of Aristobulus, the younger of the two, who left three sons and two daughters to the tender mercies of his cruel father."

Thus does the writer of the "Lives of the Apostles" introduce into the very heart of his work a portion of Roman history, which he continues through several pages, for no other apparent purpose than to inform his readers that at a certain period during the lives of the apostles, Herod Agrippa, a man of singular and various fortunes,—now a beggar, now a prisoner, and now a king,—reigned

in Palestine, and was a favorite with the Jews; and that under his reign new persecutions broke out against the Christians. All of this matter which was in any way relevant to the subject might have been told in ten lines, and the narrative of the apostles left unbroken and complete. This certainly would have been more creditable to the author, and far better calculated to produce the desired impression upon the minds of his readers.

In this connection we invite attention to another feature of the author's composition which deserves a passing notice. It is the inadaptation of his style to his subject. It will be borne in mind that the life of St. Peter is the subject of discourse in this part of the work; and the mind of the reader is naturally impatient of whatever keeps it in suspense, and throws in the distance those prominent features of the apostle's character, and incidents in his life, which constitute the materials of an interesting and useful biography. The event to be noticed in the consecution of incidents, is Peter's remarkable deliverance from the prison in which he was confined between two soldiers. In preparing the way to bring this interesting occurrence before the minds of his readers, the author has already carried them through a dozen tedious pages of profane history in a style indicated by the extract above; and now, falling into the subject of his narrative, he occupies some ten or twelve pages more in describing, in the same verbose and tedious manner, all the minute circumstances, real or imaginary, relative to the latent malice of the Jews against the disciples, the advantage which Agrippa's favorable disposition toward Jewish institutions afforded them to gratify this malice by rekindling the fires of persecution, the apprehension and imprisonment of the apostle, the ceremonies and joyous celebration of the national feast by the Jews, and the solemn musings of the disciples, as well as of Peter himself, during the period of these transactions, with many other things of the kind, before he commences a relation of that wonderful deliverance, which is rendered the more interesting and sublime in the sacred volume by being narrated in a manner so concise, simple, and unadorned. As a sample of the author's method take the following paragraph, in which he describes the excitement and consternation that a discovery of Peter's escape occasioned among the keepers of the prison. It runs thus:—

"Morning dawned at last upon the towers and temple columns of the holy city. On the gold-sheeted roofs and snowy-pillared colonades of the house of God the sunlight poured with a splendor hardly more glorious than the insupportable brilliancy that was sent back from their dazzling surfaces, streaming like a new morning upon the objects around, whose nearer sides would otherwise have been left in shade by the eastern rays. Castle Antonia shared in this general illumination, and at the first blaze of sunrise the order of Roman service announced the moment for relieving guard. The bustle of the movement of the new sentries toward their stands must at last have reached the ears of Peter's forsaken companions. Their first waking thoughts would, of course, be on their responsible charge, and they now became, for the first time, aware of the important deficiency. But they had not much time to consider their misfortune, or condole upon it; for the change of sentries now brought to the door the quaternion whose turn on duty came next. Most uncomfortable must have been the aspect of things to the two sentinels who had been keeping their steady watch outside of the door, and who shared, equally with the inside keepers, in the undesirable responsibilities of this accident," &c.—Pp. 223, 224.

Such extravagant diction might be tolerated in a writer of novels or fictitious tales; but no rule of correct criticism will justify it here, where truth and integrity are required in every particular. The beautiful picture of a brilliant and sunny morning bursting upon the golden city at that eventful period, so vividly drawn by the writer, is indeed well calculated to enliven the story and ravish the feelings of gay and undevout readers. But is there any truth in it? What evidence is there that a darker morning ever shrouded the domes and towers of the devoted city than that identical one which the author's fancy has painted in such lively colors? How much more impressive and sublime is the simple statement of the inspired historian, "There was no small stir among the soldiers to know what was become of Peter," than all this pompous display of wordy fiction!

We cannot forbear here to caution the readers of the volume in question against imbibing incorrect views respecting the apostles, and some important incidents connected with their lives, by admitting into their minds the imaginary descriptions of the author in the place of well attested truth. Take for example his notice of the transfiguration. The record of this occurrence occupies only a few short verses in the Scriptures. Our author contrives to fill a number of pages in amplifying upon it, without adding either instruction or interest. St. Luke says, Christ and his disciples went up into the mountain to *pray*. The fancy of our author prepares them

for the sublime manifestation of the divine glory they are thus permitted to witness, by a very different influence than that which is produced by prayer. Hear him.

"Their most holy historical associations were connected with the tops of high mountains, removed from which the most awful scenes of ancient miracle would, to the fancy of the dweller of mountainous Palestine, have seemed stripped of their most imposing aids. Moriah, Sinai, Horeb, Ebal, Gerizim, Zion, and Tabor, were the classic ground of Hebrew history; and to the fiery mind of the imaginative Israelite their high tops seemed to tower in a religious sublimity, as striking and as lasting as their physical elevation. From these lofty peaks, so much nearer to the dwelling-place of God, his soul took a higher flight than did ever the fancy of the Greek from the classic tops of Parnassus, Ida, 'Old Pelion, or the skyish head of blue Olympus;' and the three humble gazers, who now stood waiting there with their divine Master, felt, no doubt, their devotion proportionably exalted with their situation, by such associations. It was the same spirit that, throughout the ancient world, led the earliest religionists to avail themselves of these physical advantages, as they did in their mountain worship, and with a success just in proportion as the purity and sincerity of their worship, and the high character of its object, corresponded with the lofty grandeur of the place.

'Not vainly did the early Persian make
His altar the high places, and the peak
Of earth-o'er-gazing mountains, there to seek
The Spirit in whose honor shrines are weak,
Uprear'd of human hands. Come and compare
Columns of idol-dwellings, Goth or Greek,
With nature's realms of worship, earth and air,
Nor fix on fond abodes to circumscribe thy prayer.'"—P. 88

Thus are we taught by a Protestant Christian author that the adorable Saviour, to prepare his chosen disciples to witness the most magnificent display of his glory he ever deigned to exhibit to mortals in the body, of set purpose beguiled their imagination by scenes of grandeur, calculated to produce the same lofty emotions of sublimity and awe in the feelings of the deist, the heathen idolator, and the mere sentimentalist professing the Christian faith! That such emotions are often mistaken for true piety, and substituted for the spirit of devotion, we have little reason to doubt. They are excited not only by the romantic grandeur of "earth-o'er-gazing mountains"—the high places of idolatry—but also by the sombre aspect of the stately Gothic cathedral, and the grave tones of the majestic organ, aids to devotion which are sought only in the absence of the spirit of it.

It was by that abstractedness of the thoughts from the world, and

deep devotion of heart before God, which continuous and ardent prayer produces, and not by dazzling the imagination with external grandeur, that the Saviour prepared the disciples for the manifestation of his glory which he was about to make to them. What sober-minded Christian doubts this? Who, therefore, that is accustomed to employ the unimpassioned faculties of judgment and reason in expounding the Scriptures, will admit the following poetic effusion as a just interpretation of the sacred text?—

"In short, they [the three disciples] fell asleep; and that, too, as it would appear, in the midst of the prayers and counsels of their adorable Lord. * * * In such a state [asleep through weariness] were the bodies of the companions of Jesus; and thus wearied, they slept long, in spite of the storm, which is supposed by many to have arisen, and to have been the immediate cause of some of the striking appearances which followed. It is said, by many standard commentators, that the fairest account of such of the incidents as are connected with natural objects, is, that a tremendous thunder storm came down upon the mountain while they were asleep, and that a loud peal bursting from this was the immediate cause of their awaking. All the details that are given certainly justify the supposition. They are described as suddenly starting from their sleep, in such a manner as would naturally follow only from a loud noise violently arousing the slumbering senses. Awakened thus by a peal of thunder, the first sight that struck their amazed eyes was their Master, resplendent through the darkness of night and storm with a brilliant light, that so shone upon him, and covered him, as to change his whole aspect to a degree of glory indescribable.

"To add to their amazement and dread, they saw that he was not alone, but two mysterious and spiritual personages, announced to them as Moses and Elijah, were now his companions, having found means to join him, though high on the mighty rock, alone and in darkness, so inaccessible to human approach. These two ancient servants of God now appeared with his beloved Son, whose labors, and doctrines, and triumphs were so far to transcend theirs; and in the hearing of the three apostles uttered solemn words of prophecy about his approaching death, and triumph over death. The two sons of Zebedee were so startled as to be speechless; but the boldness and talkativeness of Peter, always so pre-eminent, enabled him, even here, to speak his deep awe and reverence. Yet confused with half-awakened sleep, and stunned by the bursting thunder, he spoke as a man thus suddenly awaked naturally speaks, scarcely separating the thoughts of his dream from the objects that met his opening eye, he said, 'Lord, it is good for us to be here; and if thou wilt, let us make three tabernacles, (or resting places,) one for thee, one for Moses, and one for Elijah.' These things he said before his confused thoughts could fully arrange themselves into words proper to express his feelings of awe; and he, half dreaming still, hardly knew what he said. But as he uttered these words, the dark

cloud above them suddenly descended upon the mountain's head, enwrapping and overshadowing them; and amid the flash of lightnings and the roar of thunders, given out in the concussion, they distinguished, in no human voice, these awful words, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.' Who can wonder that a phenomenon so tremendous, both morally and physically, overwhelmed their senses; and that, alarmed beyond measure, they fell again on their faces to the earth; so astonished, that they did not dare to rise or look up, until Jesus came to them, and reassured them with his friendly touch, saying, 'Arise, and be not afraid.' And lifting up their eyes, they saw no man any more, save Jesus only, with themselves."—Pp. 91, 92.

Add to the physical agents here employed by the author only a few more, which his inventive imagination might easily supply, and the naturally skeptical reader might be left to doubt whether the whole could not be resolved into an illusion practiced upon the senses of the half-sleeping, half-dreaming, terrified apostles, artfully decoyed into a dark mountain on the approach of a storm, and there detained, witnessing the prayers and listening to the discourses of their Master, until the excitement of their feelings, occasioned by the solemn grandeur of the scene, had subsided, and they sunk with the words they heard gradually dying upon their ears, and the imaginations of their thoughts turning into dreams, at the happy juncture, when the approaching tempest was about to burst upon their heads, to rouse them by its tremendous peals to witness, amid the flashes of the lightnings, the wonderful phenomena, in a state of mind least of all qualifying them to judge of the reality of the things they saw and heard! Such an interpretation might satisfy a German neologist or semi-deist; but a devout and well instructed Christian cannot peruse it without feelings of disgust at the fictitious assumptions of the imaginative author, calculated only to obscure the glory and depreciate the moral lustre of that sublime and most interesting miracle, of which he presumes to treat without understanding its true character or design.

Three out of the four evangelists record this wonderful transaction without any material difference. Neither of them say any thing about its transpiring in the *night*, or being attended by a tempest, or the apostles being suddenly awaked from a long and profound sleep. The narratives are exceedingly simple, and contain few incidents. And every thing recorded by the inspired historians bears clear evidence of *supernatural agency*. That it

was or was not in the night we have no means positively to decide. This, however, is a circumstance of little importance. That the disciples "fell asleep," "slept long," and were roused from this deep and long sleep by loud peals of thunder bursting forth from a cloud hanging over the mountain, we have no reason, from any thing contained in the sacred text, even to conjecture. One of the evangelists (Luke) says, indeed, "Peter and they that were with him were *heavy with sleep*." At what period of the transaction they were in this state, or what was the cause or the precise nature of it, does not clearly appear. That the transfiguration took place "*before the disciples*," and in a way to be testified to by them, and that Moses and Elias "*appeared unto them*" immediately succeeding the Saviour's praying, and without the intervention of any other material circumstance, all the narratives plainly show.

Without supposing that the disciples were literally *asleep*, the Biblical student will find a satisfactory elucidation of the circumstance mentioned by Luke, and by him only, in Dan. viii, 18, and x, 9. The events that are there recorded respecting the prophet are so similar to those here stated respecting the apostles, that it seems quite natural to conclude the evangelist had his eye upon them, and employed the language they suggested in describing the state of feeling experienced by "Peter and those that were with him," during this extraordinary manifestation of the divine presence and glory. Daniel, to be sure, calls it *a deep sleep*. But it was not a *natural sleep*. "Yet heard I," said he, "the voice of his words; and when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground. And, behold, a hand touched me, which set me upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands," Dan. x, 9. It was a state analogous to sleep, in that the mind was wholly abstracted from the world; and on that account denominated, by a strong figure, "a deep sleep." But unlike natural sleep, in which all the faculties are temporarily suspended, so that nothing is perceived clearly or correctly, *this* being produced by an overwhelming sense of the divine presence, peculiarly qualified the prophet for a clearer perception of the divine manifestations. In this case it was experienced in its highest degree. And is there not reason to suppose that the same was intended, though in a lower degree, by what Luke says of the disciples? "And as he prayed," says the sacred historian, "the fashion

of his countenance was altered, and his raiment was white and glistering. And, behold, there talked with them two men, which were Moses and Elias; who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem." The sudden ushering in of these events, and the soul-appalling conversation which they heard about the sufferings of Christ, so filled the minds of the disciples with awe and amazement, that they were for the moment absorbed and lost in a vision of deep and melancholy gloom, which has a tendency to produce heaviness and sleep; but on beholding his glory, and inferring from the manifestation of it a better omen, they waked up to a clearer and more distinct perception of what was passing before them; "and Peter said, Lord, it is good for us to be here." Then the approach of the cloud, betokening a still farther exhibition of the divine presence, and the voice out of the cloud, so overawed them, that, like Daniel in the case referred to, and Saul, when Christ appeared to him on his way to Damascus, they fell "on their faces, and were sore afraid."

All this seems natural, and adapted to the high state of excited feeling which the occasion must have produced. But the alleged long and natural sleep of the disciples, which finds no support in the sacred text, is contradicted by every incident in the narratives given by the evangelists, as well as the fact, that these very disciples were to be the witnesses, and the only witnesses, of all that transpired on that occasion; and to their testimony we are indebted for all we know respecting it.

The thunder storm, described in such glowing terms by the author, we hesitate not to pronounce a fiction, unworthy of a Christian writer, and highly derogatory to the credit of the evangelical record. True, the author says, "It is said, by many standard commentators, that the fairest account of such of the incidents as are connected with natural objects, is, that a tremendous thunder storm came down upon the mountain while they were asleep, and that a loud peal of thunder, bursting from this, was the immediate cause of their awaking." But he does not tell us who these standard commentators are. The reader may rest assured that he will look in vain for them among our approved English commentators and theologians; though from this unqualified appeal to accredited authority he may be led to suppose, without examining for himself, that these generally concur in the view the author has given. It is

proper here to say, that his entire exposition of this miracle, and especially this part of it, savors much of the neology of German schools, that bane of pure Christianity, which has inundated nearly half the continent of Europe; and it is not improbable that the divines who have adopted this semi-infidel scheme are the "standard commentators" appealed to by the writer in support of his interpretation of the miracle of transfiguration. There is the more reason to place the readers of this volume upon their guard, as the seeds of this foreign and corrupt theology are evidently contained in many portions of it.*

* Since the above was written, the following remarks of Dr. Adam Clarke, which are found appended to his notes on the 17th chapter of Matthew, have, in our course of reading, come under our notice. The appropriate bearing of these remarks upon the present question had not before so particularly struck our attention; and we insert them here in confirmation of what we have stated, that the volume before us is strongly tinctured with the foreign theology to which we have referred. Dr. C., speaking of the transfiguration, says,—

"Some foreign *critics*, who are also called *divines*, have stripped it, by *their* mode of interpretation, of all its strength, use, and meaning. With them it is thus to be understood:—'Jesus, with the disciples, Peter, James, and John, went by night into a mountain, for the purpose of prayer and meditation. While thus engaged, the animal spirits of the disciples were overcome by watching and fatigue, and they fell asleep. In this sleep they dreamed, or Peter only dreamed, that he saw his Master encompassed with glorious light, and that Moses and Elijah were conversing with him. That early in the morning, just as the sun was rising, there happened some electric, or thunder-like explosions, (a thing not unfrequent near some mountains,) by which the disciples were suddenly awoke; that Peter, whose mind was strongly impressed with his dream, seeing the rising sun rise gloriously upon his Master, and his strongly impressed senses calling to remembrance his late vision, he for a moment imagined he saw, not only the glory of which he had dreamed, but the persons also, Moses and Elijah, still standing on the mount with Christ: that not being yet sufficiently awake, finding the images impressed on his imagination fleeting away with his returning exercise of reason, he cried out, before he was aware, *Lord! it is good for us to be here; let us make three tabernacles*, &c.; but in a short time, having recovered the regular use of his senses, he perceived that it was a *dream;* and having told it to our Lord and his brother disciples, lest the Jews might take occasion of jealousy from it, he was desired to tell the vision to no man.' This is the substance of that strange explanation given by those learned men to this extraordinary transaction; a mode of interpretation only calculated to support that system which makes it an important point to deny and decry all supernatural and miraculous influence, and to explain away all the spirituality of the New Testament. What-

The author's last fancy, the "*dark cloud,*" is most absurd of all. It is in direct opposition to the explicit declaration of the three evangelists, who designate it as a *bright cloud;* and also to what is supposed by our ablest and most evangelical commentators to have been designed by it. Let the candid reader compare his terrific description of "a dark cloud suddenly descending upon the mountain's head, enwrapping and overshadowing" the apostles, and of a voice, "amid the flash of lightnings, and the roar of thunders," &c., with the following exegetical interpretation of the occurrence by that profound Biblical scholar and eminent divine, Bishop Porteus, and he will perceive the justness of the remark just made. "The CLOUD," says Bishop Porteus, "is the well-known token of the divine presence under the law. Many instances of it occur in the Old Testament, but more particularly at the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. On the mountain where our Saviour was transfigured a new law was declared to have taken place; and, therefore, God again appeared in a *cloud.* But there is one remarkable difference between these manifestations of the divine presence. On Mount Sinai the cloud was *dark* and *thick;* 'and there were thunders, and lightnings, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, and all the people that were in the camp trembled.' At the transfiguration, on the contrary, the cloud was *bright;* the whole scene was luminous and transporting, and nothing was heard but the mild paternal voice of the Almighty, expressing his delight in his beloved Son. These striking differences, and the two appearances, evidently point out the different tempers of the two dispensations, of which the former, from its severity, was more calculated to excite terror; the latter, from its gentleness, to inspire love."—Port. Ser., p. 232.

We have extended our strictures on this point, not because it is more particularly obnoxious to criticism than some other portions of the work, but for the purpose of exhibiting in one view the objection to which it is liable as a whole, namely, the concealment of anti-evangelical principles under the attractive covering of a popular and fascinating style. As this is a production of some magnitude,

ever *ingenuity* may be in this pretended elucidation, every unprejudiced person must see that it can never be brought to accord with the *letter* and *concomitant circumstances* of this remarkable case."

and designed to be a standard work for both professional and general readers,* it is a matter of no small importance that they should be guarded against incautiously imbibing any insidious poison it may contain.†

The *doctrinal errors* inculcated in this work are too palpable and obvious to mislead the intelligent reader. Some of the exploded dogmas of popery, particularly the supremacy of St. Peter, and its cognate absurdities, are boldly asserted and elaborately vindicated by the author. Indeed, when we first read a few paragraphs in the work, upon which we incidentally opened, touching this topic, we were in doubt whether the writer might not be a Jesuit in disguise. But other parts of it soon convinced us that this was impossible.

* The second edition, now in circulation, is stereotyped.

† The following is the author's view of the miracle of the "cloven tongues," &c., recorded in the second chapter of the Acts:—

"My own opinion of the *nature* of this whole phenomenon is," he says, "that of Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Paulus, and Kuinoel,—that a tremendous tempest actually descended at the time, bringing down clouds highly charged with electricity, which was not discharged in the usual mode, by thunder and lightning, but quietly streamed from the air to the earth, and wherever it passed from the air upon any tolerable conductor, it made itself manifest in the darkness occasioned by the thick clouds, in the form of those pencils of rays, with which every one is familiar who has seen electrical experiments in a dark room; and which are well described by the expression, 'cloven tongues of fire.' The temple itself being covered and spiked with gold, the best of all conductors, would quietly draw off a vast quantity of electricity, which, passing through the building, would thus manifest itself on those within the chambers of the temple, if we may suppose the apostles to have been there assembled."

We will not detain the reader to present the arguments urged in support of this opinion, nor yet to show their futility, as our only purpose in making this extract is to exhibit a peculiar characteristic of the work to which we have adverted. The writer need not to have taken the trouble to inform his readers of his ready acquiescence in the opinions of the authors he names. This is sufficiently evident, not only in this, but in other particulars, without his mentioning it. It has been well said, by a judicious critic, in regard to Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, which has lately been recommended to public notice in a translation, with notes, by Marsh, for some time resident at Leipsic, that it "exhibits great learning and deep research, but doubts and skepticisms are occasionally introduced, which capriciously altering the text or the sense, undermine the authority of Scripture, and lessen the respect which should be paid to the inspired writings."—*Dr. Blake.*

Yet he has made concessions and assumed positions which show him to be at least a very inconsistent Protestant. Although his work is entitled, "The Lives of the Apostles of Jesus Christ," yet more than two hundred and forty pages of it have the name of Peter in the running title. This apostle occupied, in the estimation of the author, such a prominent position in the primitive Christian church, that little besides his life and labors seemed necessary to complete its history.

He was its "*foundation*," the "*rock*" on which it was built; the "*chief apostle*," sustaining a "*perfectly commanding pre-eminence;*" and the honored bearer of its sacred "*keys*." Such are the views set forth by our author, and inculcated in every possible form throughout his work.

That we may not be suspected of stating the case in too strong terms, we beg to refer the reader to the work itself, as evidence of the justness of the language here employed. The author, as his object seems to be to convince the reader of Peter's absolute pre-eminence before he dismisses him, arranges his course with the skill of a master; and in the very commencement makes an effort to dislodge from the mind, before it is at all apprised of his object, every impression that the distinction which was given to Peter among the apostles might be accounted for on the ground of seniority, by a labored argument to show that he was younger than his brother Andrew. From this preliminary, the design of which the reader scarcely perceives at first, we are carried forward, step by step, until, to cap the climax, we are presented with the papal dogma of Peter's absolute supremacy without disguise. Take the following extracts:—

"To draw from them the distinct acknowledgment of their belief in him, Jesus at last plainly asked his disciples, 'But who do you say that I am?' Simon Peter, in his usual character as spokesman, replied for the whole band, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' Jesus, recognizing in this prompt answer the fiery and devoted spirit that would follow the great work of redemption through life, and at last to death, replied to the zealous speaker in terms of marked and exalted honor, prophesying at the same time the high part which he would act in spreading and strengthening the kingdom of his Master: 'Blessed art thou, Simon, son of Jonah, for flesh and blood have not revealed this unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art a ROCK; and on this ROCK I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys

of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' In such high terms was the chief apostle distinguished, and thus did his Master peculiarly commission him above the rest, for the high office to which all the energies of his remaining life were to be devoted."—P. 70.

In vindication of this high ground the author employs the following language in the form of a note:—

"'*Thou art a rock*,' &c. This is the just translation of Peter's name, and the force of the declaration is best understood by this rendering. As it stands in the original, it is, 'Thou art Πέτρος, (*Petros*, 'a rock,') and on this Πέτρα (*Petra*, 'a rock') I will build my church;'—a play on the words so palpable, that great injustice is done to its force by a common, tame, unexplained translation. The variation of the words in the Greek, from the masculine to the feminine termination, makes no difference in the expression. In the Greek Testament the feminine, πέτρα, (*petra*,) is the only form of the word used as the common noun for 'rock;' but the masculine, πέτρος, (*petros*,) is used in the most finished classic writers of the ancient Greek, of the Ionic, Doric, and Attic, as Homer, Herodotus, Pindar, Xenophon, and, in the later order of writers, Diodorus Siculus. H. Stephens gives the masculine form as the primitive, but Schneider derives it from the feminine.

"This simple and natural construction has, however, seemed to many of ancient and modern times to be so replete with difficulties, and so irreconcilable with their notions of the character of Peter, and with the extent of the honor implied in the words, that they have sought other modes of interpretation. * * * The great majority of the *fathers* consider the words as referring primarily to Peter, though this opinion is variously qualified, in different passages, by such remarks, as 'that it was upon Peter's *faith*, rather than upon Peter himself, that the church was founded;'—a nicety that may well be characterized as 'a distinction without a difference;' for who supposes that the church could be said to be founded upon Peter, in any more personal sense, than that his zeal, faith, devotion, and energy, on this occasion manifested, should be the active means of establishing, extending, and governing the church of that Lord whom he had declared to be the Christ?"—P. 72.

The sense in which the expression is understood to apply to Peter's faith, the author evidently does not correctly apprehend, as we might clearly show, would our prescribed limits permit. But this is the less necessary, as he rests the argument upon a verbal construction of the sentence. He thus proceeds:—

"The principles of syntax require that the words, '*this* rock,' should refer to some substantive already expressed; and since there is no such abstract noun in the passage as '*faith*,' but, on the contrary, the name of Peter is just before mentioned with a palpable allusion to the *paronomasia* of *Petros* and *Petra*, every rule of grammar and common

sense makes it necessary to infer that Jesus applied the words, '*this rock*,' to Peter."

Having thus unequivocally asserted the doctrine, that the Saviour applied the words, "this rock," to Peter; and, by consequence, that it was upon Peter, the apostle, that he declared he would build his church, our author carries the sentiment throughout his work, everywhere paying to him the honors due to an acknowledged head—*the* "*foundation*" and "*divinely instituted*" *ruler* "of the church."

In commenting upon Acts v, 15, he uses this strong language:—

"'*The shadow of Peter.*' This is one of a vast number of passages which show the high and perfectly commanding pre-eminence of this apostolic chief. The people evidently considered Peter as concentrating all the divine and miraculous power in his own person, and had no idea at all of obtaining benefit from any thing that the minor apostles could do. In him, alone, they saw the manifestations of divine power and authority;—he spoke, and preached, and healed, and judged, and doomed, while the rest had nothing to do but assent and aid. Peter, then, *was* THE great pastor of the church; and it is every way desirable that over-zealous Protestants would find some better reason for opposing so palpable a fact, than simply that Papists support it. A Protestant, zealous against the assumptions of the Church of Rome, yet honest and honorable in that opposition, should scorn and cast off the base and vain support that so many seek in the denial of the divinely appointed pre-eminence of the noble Peter,—a pre-eminence, to my eye, palpably marked in almost every passage of the gospels and of the Acts where the apostles are mentioned. The spirit which thus perverts the obvious meaning of particular passages in the general tenor of the whole New Testament, for the sake of carrying a point against the Romanists, is not the original spirit of the great reformers, who fought the first and best battles against papal supremacy. They knew better, and had better aids. It is a more modern spirit, springing from an ignorance of the true grounds of the great Protestant defense; nor till this offspring of ignorance is displaced by the spirit of truth, will the Protestant controversy go on as the first reformers so triumphantly began it. And if, of necessity, the pope's *supremacy* over all Christian churches follows from Peter's *superiority* over the other apostles, even such an inference is to be preferred before the sacrifice of a common-sense rule of interpretation."—P. 169.

We had marked for consideration a number of other passages in the volume before us, in which the same strain of eulogy upon the primacy of St. Peter, by special appointment of Christ, is indulged in by the author. Indeed, he suffers no instance, in which this apostle is brought into notice, to pass without improving it to reiterate this popish dogma in terms which signify that he deems the

question settled beyond the possibility of successful controversy. But the reader certainly needs nothing more to satisfy him of the ground the writer occupies on this question. We will, therefore, waive any farther extracts relating to it.

It will not be expected that, in a brief review of so considerable a work, the main object of which is to expose its errors, and place its readers on their guard against incautiously imbibing them, we should enter the arena of controversy with the author, and answer his arguments in detail. This, from the very nature of the case, would require more scope than our plan will admit. Still there are a few things which claim a somewhat particular notice.

It is the author's evident aim to make his readers believe that the opposition of Protestants to his dogmatical assumptions respecting the primacy of St. Peter, is not the result of a sober conviction—that the evidence of the Scriptures is altogether against it—but "that papists support it;" and that it springs "from an ignorance of the true grounds of the great Protestant defense." There is, undoubtedly, more of vanity than ill will toward Protestants in all this, or it would be absolutely unpardonable in a writer professing himself to be a Protestant. Were he able to answer one of a thousand of the arguments advanced by those who have opposed this popish fable, (which *he* has so ardently espoused,) to prove it both unscriptural and absurd, there would be some show of decency in his ascribing their opposition to the single circumstance that papists support it. Intelligent Protestants never opposed this, nor any thing else, on that account merely. Papists support the doctrine of the trinity, and other important truths which are taught in the Scriptures, which Protestants never thought of denying on that account. Nor do they reject the supremacy of St. Peter, or any other dogma of Romanism, merely because the papists support it; but purely because the Scriptures do not. The great Protestant defense is the word of God. To this the advocates of the Reformation have appealed from the beginning. And it is a reflection upon both their intelligence and their sincerity to insinuate that they have abandoned or changed this ground of defense for any purpose whatever. Such a reflection comes with a bad grace from a Protestant writer; and it is the more pernicious, because it implies a concession which may be wielded to great advantage against the Protestant cause by its ever vigilant enemies.

The reader will perceive that our author builds his argument in favor of the "divinely appointed pre-eminence" of St. Peter upon the declaration of our Lord to him, "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build my church," &c. He maintains that the plain common-sense interpretation is, that by the words, "*this* rock," Christ meant Peter,—the same as if he had said, "Thou art Peter; and upon *thee*, Peter, will I build my church," &c. Had he said so, the question would have been settled in a way to admit of no dispute. And had he so *intended*, we hesitate not to believe that he ought to have said so, and *would have said so*. But that he did not intend so to be understood, and that Peter himself did not so understand him, is rendered evident by every view of the subject which an impartial mind is capable of taking. On the text, "Thou art Peter," &c., we invite the attention of the reader to the thesis of the pious and learned Grenville Sharp, as contained in a tract, the substance of which Dr. Adam Clarke has inserted into his Commentary at the end of his notes on the 9th chapter of St. Luke's Gospel. It is a triumphant refutation of the assumptions of Romanism, for which our author manifests such a singular partiality.

"The principles of syntax," says the writer, "require that the words, 'this rock,' should refer to some substantive already expressed." This he seems to think conclusive in support of his position. Will he inform us to what substantive "already expressed" the words of our Lord referred, when he said to the Jews, "Destroy *this temple*, and after three days I will raise it up again?" The evangelist says, "He spake of the temple of his body." But where in the connection had *this* been already expressed? Nowhere; nor is there an intimation in the record which would lead to any other conclusion than that he meant the Jewish temple, in which he was at the time, and from which he had just driven those who sold oxen, &c. Mr. Wesley supposes that he pointed to his own body when he uttered the words "*this* temple;" and that he did the same when he said, "On *this* rock will I build my church," &c. However this may be, it is certain that, in the first case, the disciples understood him to mean "the temple of his body; and equally as certain that, in the second, they understood him *not* to mean *Peter*, our author's syntactical difficulty notwithstanding. The fact is, what the author says the principles of syntax require,

they do *not* require, as every schoolboy knows. The matter referred to by the emphatical definitive is sometimes implied in the discourse, or indicated by the action or intonation of the speaker, so as to be perfectly understood by his hearers without being previously expressed at all. Such was the fact in the declaration of our Lord respecting the temple, above referred to. Similar cases might be multiplied without number.

See Mark ix, 7, "And a voice came out of the cloud, saying, *This* is my beloved Son; hear ye him." This is all the mysterious voice uttered; and it contains no substantive expressed either before or after the definitive. What is there, except the *sense*, gathered from the whole subject as stated by the evangelist, to assure us that Moses or Elias, (last named before the occurrence,) or even Peter himself, was not intended? See also Acts ii, 16, "But *this* is that which was spoken of by the prophet Joel." What? The *sense* only can determine. From that we conclude that it was the subject of the wonderful manifestations then witnessed, which filled the minds of all present, and was, therefore, the matter of discussion. But by what antecedent noun was this expressed? Again, in the 27th verse of the same chapter it is said, "When they heard *this*, they were pricked in their hearts," &c. Heard what?—discourse, doctrine, truth, declaration? But there was no such abstract noun as discourse, doctrine, truth, or declaration, previously expressed in the sentence or its connection. The word *this* evidently refers here to the subject-matter of Peter's sermon, as it was distinctly impressed upon the minds of those who heard it. But why multiply examples which are to be met with in all parts of the Scriptures? This criticism of the author on the grammatical construction of the passage, though it may have settled the question in his own mind, will hardly convince others of the correctness of his thesis. It is puerile and absurd.

We said above, that the apostles, that is, the eleven, did not understand our Lord as applying the words, "this rock," to Peter. That they did not so understand him is evident from the fact, that they never, by word or deed, acknowledged the supremacy with which, had they so understood Christ, they must have considered Peter invested. Their entire lives furnish the most indubitable evidence of continual hostility to this act of the Saviour, and an obstinate refusal on their part to submit to it, if they understood his

declaration to mean what is alleged by the advocates of supremacy, namely, "That St. Peter, by our Lord's appointment, had a primacy, implying a sovereignty and jurisdiction over the apostles."*

Nothing is more evident from the Scriptures than that there was no office above that of an apostle, and that all the apostles considered themselves equal in authority and jurisdiction. "This," saith St. Chrysostom, "was the greatest authority, and the top of authorities. There was none before an apostle, none superior, none equal to him."† Mr. Barrow has shown, by a vast number of references, that no particular administration was committed to Peter, nor any privilege conferred on him, which was not also granted to the other apostles. Of this any person must be satisfied who will take the trouble to examine these references. And there is no evidence that they ever surrendered any of their prerogatives to Peter, or considered him invested with any which they had not in common.

In the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, first and second verses, it is said, "At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who is greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" Dr. Adam Clarke, in his note on this passage, says, "Could these disciples have viewed the kingdom of Christ in any other light than that of a temporal one? Hence they wished to know whom he would make his prime minister—whom his general—whom his chief chancellor—whom supreme judge, &c., &c. Is it he who first became thy disciple, or he who is thy nearest relative, or he who has most frequently entertained thee, or he who is the oldest, merely as to years? Could this inquiry have proceeded from any but the nine disciples, who had not witnessed our Lord's transfiguration? Peter, James, and John were surely more spiritual in their views! And yet how soon did even these forget that his kingdom was not of this world! See Mark x, 25, &c.; John xviii, 10, &c. The disciples having lately seen the keys delivered to Peter, and found that he, with James and John, had been privileged with being present at the transfiguration, it is no wonder if a measure of jealousy and suspicion began to work in their minds. From this inquiry we may also learn that the disciples had no notion of *Peter's supremacy;* nor did they understand, as the Roman Catholics will have it, that Christ had constituted him their head, either by the conversation men-

* See Barrow's Supremacy, &c., p. 51. † Ibid., p. 69.

tioned chap. xvi, 18, 19, or by the act mentioned in the conclusion of the preceding chapter. Had they thought that any such superiority had been designed, their present question must have been extremely impertinent. *Let this be observed.*"

Neither did Peter understand our Lord as conferring on him the high prerogatives claimed for him by his pretended successors. This is evident from the consideration that he never presumed to exercise them. In the most weighty matters he only reasoned and counseled with his colleagues; never dictated to, or commanded them. Indeed, he was so far from directing them with respect to their labors and duties, that he, with John, cheerfully submitted to be *sent* by the other apostles to labor among the Samaritans. Acts viii, 14. And in the important council at Jerusalem, convoked to settle an interesting practical question respecting circumcision, which was greatly agitating the church, Peter was not even the first speaker, as there was much disputing before he rose; and when he took part, it was not the part of a judge or dictator, but of an humble reasoner, who brought his own experience and observation to bear with so much force upon the subject as to carry conviction to the minds of the rest; and James, acting as president of the council, after showing very clearly that Peter's reasoning accorded most perfectly with the words of inspiration, pronounced a decision in the case in these words, "Wherefore *my sentence is*," &c. Who can read this account, with others of a similar kind, and believe that Peter considered himself charged with supreme authority over the rest of the apostles; and that the whole church, or even the other apostles, so considered him? If he did, he was criminally guilty, not only in this instance, but throughout his whole life, of neglecting to discharge the functions of his high office; and if *the rest* did, they were equally guilty of a breach of the divinely instituted order and government of the church, in presuming to do without his authority and direction, and especially in his presence, what was by divine appointment committed to him exclusively.

That *our Lord* did not intend to be understood as conferring on Peter the authority and jurisdiction over the rest of the apostles which is contended for, is evident from the fact, that it would be in direct opposition to his own teachings on this subject. He took every occasion to impress upon the minds of the apostles, including Peter with the rest, that they were brethren, and had no individual

master or superior except himself. He rebuked, as criminal, all aspirings after that extra-apostolic authority and honor which he is represented by the advocates of supremacy to have bestowed gratuitously upon Peter. When the sons of Zebedee, supposing that Christ would establish a temporal kingdom, solicited through their mother a pre-eminence above the rest of the apostles, the Saviour did not inform them that he had already conferred that honor on Peter, which in common honesty he must have done had that been the fact; but, as evidence of the impossibility of his having done so, he said, "Ye know not what ye ask:" and then to the twelve he thus explained: "The princes of the Gentiles do exercise dominion over them;"—the ambition for distinction and pre-eminence with which Satan has tempted the sons of Zebedee, as he dared to tempt me in the wilderness, belongs to the kingdoms and glory of this world, and is tolerated and cherished by the princes of this world;—"but it shall not be so among you:"—ye are equal, and occupy, all of you, the highest office in my church upon earth. "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel," Luke xxii, 29, 30. Ye shall not, therefore, aspire to have dominion one over another, but by love serve one another. Such were the teachings of our Lord on this subject: and can any one believe that, in direct violation of this wholesome doctrine, he could have set one in authority over all the rest, as the advocates of Peter's pre-eminence pretend? He did, indeed, admit of a distinction. They who loved him most, who were most devoted in heart and life to him and his service, and most abundant in labors and sufferings, were by him accounted greatest. These were the true objects of emulation which he tolerated among them; and eminence in these only insured the reward of his highest approbation. In this view Peter was eminent; and, among Galilean apostles, pre-eminent; though, in some respects, Paul, of the class of the Hellenists, justly claims to have been not "a whit behind the very chiefest apostles;" as he was "in labors more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft." And our Lord more than intimates to Peter that, in expressions of ardent affection and overflowing gratitude, he was exceeded by the pious woman who washed his feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. Emulation in these respects

is perfectly consistent with the spirit of the gospel, and may be rewarded by the Saviour with such marks of distinction and favor as he may be pleased to bestow, without any violation of his moral precepts. In this light it will not be denied that Peter received many tokens of regard from Christ, showing him to have been highly esteemed by him for the sincerity of his faith and the ardor of his zeal. But that he was appointed to a pre-eminence implying a sovereignty of authority and jurisdiction over the other apostles, is contrary to the whole tenor of the New Testament, and in direct opposition to the plainest precepts of the Saviour; and, therefore, cannot be true.

Barrow suggests a thought on this subject, which shows at once the absurdity of the notion of St. Peter's divinely appointed supremacy. If he were invested with authority above the rest of the apostles, he ought to have outlived all of them. The reasons for this are so obvious, that we need not consume time to state them. But one of the apostles at least survived him a long time. Who was the arch apostle, or Peter's successor, during this period?

The most obnoxious feature of the thesis in question is, that it makes Peter *the foundation of the church!* So he is distinctly denominated again and again in the volume before us. This is popery outright. But our author thinks "if, of necessity, the pope's *supremacy* over all Christian churches follows from Peter's *superiority* over the other apostles, even such an inference is to be preferred before the sacrifice of a common-sense rule of interpretation." His common-sense rule we have already examined in the light of Scripture and reason. Let us look at it once more, as it bears upon this point. It is by his verbal criticism that he undertakes to make Peter *the rock* on which Christ said he would build his church, &c. Hence he calls him "the mighty foundation-ROCK of the church of God!" &c.*

* This phraseology is employed by the writer in speaking of Peter's contrition after denying his Lord. He thus inquires:—"Where was now the fiery spirit once in word so ready to brave death, with all the low malice of base foes, for the sake of Jesus? Where was that unshaken steadiness, that dauntless energy, that once won for him, from the lips of his Master, when first his searching eye fell on him, the name of the ROCK,—that name by which again he had been consecrated as the mighty foundation-ROCK of the church of God? Was this the chief of the apostles?—the keeper of the keys of the kingdom?"—P. 127. Again, speaking of Peter's preaching to the Gentiles at the house of

The undue length to which we have already extended these remarks forbids our entering largely into this branch of the subject, important as it evidently is. We may be permitted to say, however, that one single consideration would seem sufficient to deter a Protestant from using such language as the above. The church can have *but one* foundation; and that foundation *is Christ.* Such is the legitimate conclusion to which an unbiased mind must be brought from the concurrent testimony of the Old Testament Scriptures. Such is the positive declaration of the writers of the New. "Other foundation can no man lay," said Paul, "than that is laid, which is JESUS CHRIST." Whatever we are to understand, therefore, by the declaration of our Lord, "Thou art Peter," &c., we are sure he did not mean to represent him as the *foundation of his church. This* he uniformly claimed to be *himself; this* the disciples and apostles confessed *him* to be; and it would be the height of absurdity to suppose that on the occasion referred to in this discussion he could mean to be understood as constituting *Peter* the *foundation!*

But what did he mean? To judge correctly of this, it must be borne in mind that the word "rock" is used *figuratively.* It has

Cornelius, he says, "This was the mighty commission with which Jesus had so prophetically honored this chief disciple at CESAREA *Philippi*, and here, at CESAREA *Augusta*, was achieved the glorious fulfilment of this before mysterious announcement. Simon Peter, now in the accomplishment of that divinely appointed task, became the ROCK on which the church of Christ was, through the course of ages, reared; and in this act the first stone of its broad Gentile foundation was laid."—P. 197. And on page 214, speaking of the distress of the disciples, occasioned by the removal from among them of those who had been foremost in the great work, meaning James and Peter, he says, "One had already poured out his blood beneath the executioner's sword; and the other, their great leader, the *rock* of the church, was now only waiting the speedy close of the festal week to crown his glorious course, and his enemies' cruel policy, by the same bloody doom." Thus the writer keeps up throughout his dissertation on the life of St. Peter the distinct idea that he was constituted, by divine appointment, the ROCK, the mighty foundation-*rock*, of the Christian church! And, in accordance with this idea, he seldom (if ever) speaks of him without such epithets and terms of distinction as the following: "The head and representative of the whole band of the apostles,"—"the great apostolic leader,"—"the great chief of the apostles,"—"the man, whose remarkable exaltation over them [the rest of the apostles] might seem like a stigma on the capacities of those to whom he was preferred," &c., &c.

been shown that its figurative import in the Scriptures is strength, support, defense, &c., and is thus used in its application to God as the Jehovah of the Jews, and Christ as the promised Redeemer and Saviour of men. The quality represented by this figure is what Mr. Sharp calls the "divine dignity," and St. Peter, more properly, "his [Christ's] divine power." This is what rendered the Messiah, the Son of the living God, an object of trust to those who believed on him. Without it he could never have been received by any who understood the import of the prophecies respecting him, as the promised "*rock*," the true "*foundation*."

The object of our Lord's conversation with Peter, and the rest, on this occasion, was to obtain a declaration from them of that faith in him as the promised Messiah, which he knew them to possess, and that he might assure them of its acceptableness to God; therefore he said, "Whom say *ye* that I am?" Peter answered, stating what the others professed, and he himself sincerely felt, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." This was the same as to say, We believe and know that thou art the promised Redeemer, the object of our faith and trust, the source of spiritual life, and the Saviour of all who believe in thee. As Peter could speak positively concerning his own experience only, the Saviour addressed his reply to him, "Blessed art thou," &c., "for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven." These words were intended to assure him that this was satisfactory evidence of his being a true disciple, having been "born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God," or, in other words, having accepted by faith that vital truth which he had just professed, as made known in the word of God; and thus been made "a partaker of the divine nature," by which he was constituted "a lively stone" in the spiritual or Christian temple which the blessed Redeemer had come into the world to establish and rear. Still farther to assure him that his experience was genuine and acceptable in the sight of his heart-searching Master, the Saviour called in the familiar allusion to the metaphorical rock, by first reminding Peter that he had given him a name which signified a rock or stone; and then referring to the soul-renovating truth which he had just confessed, in which he recognized Christ as the source of all spiritual good, he said, "On this rock will I build my church," &c.; clearly signifying that he accounted Peter, and those of "like

precious faith," suitable materials to be built up upon this true foundation, purely on the ground of their relation to the spiritual Rock, being made partakers of his nature. This seems to be the most natural interpretation of our Lord's words on this occasion. The view we have here taken of the subject is very much strengthened by a reference to St. Peter's epistles. Take 1 Pet. ii, 3, 4, 5, "If so be ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious; to whom coming as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God, and precious; ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." He then quotes Isaiah, to show that Christ was promised as the chief corner stone, or true foundation, of the church, the gospel Zion. Here, adopting the term *stone*, by way of accommodation, in the place of "rock," as used by the Saviour, he expresses the very thing he seems to have understood, by our Lord's conversation with him, as recorded in Matthew. Christ is the living stone—having life in himself; and as such *he* is the *only foundation* of the spiritual temple. Men, quickened and regenerated by *his* Spirit, are the *lively stones*, who are constituted and continued such by coming to him, or exercising faith continually in him; and these are *built up* a spiritual house *on this true foundation.* Such are clearly the views the apostle expresses in this and several other passages in his epistles; and they accord most perfectly with the whole tenor of the Scriptures; but they are absolutely irreconcilable with the oft-repeated language of our author, that *Peter* was constituted by our Lord the *foundation of the Christian church.*

On the whole, the views we have been accustomed to entertain of the exalted piety of the apostles of Jesus Christ, and of their entire deadness to the world, and devotion to the things of God, will not be much strengthened by the work before us. On the contrary, it represents these holy men, throughout their lives, and under the most solemn circumstances, as swayed by those passions, and subject to those impulses of feeling, which characterize the men of this world in their earth-born pursuits. Peter was, indeed, in the estimation of our author, an illustrious chief, renowned for that cool discretion and perfect self-command, by which he was enabled to keep the ambitious spirits of his jealous inferiors in check, and maintaining that dignity and propriety of conduct which

evinced the wisdom of his Master in selecting him to be the foundation of his church, and committing to him the keys of the kingdom. But these are not imitable virtues. As an example for Christians to follow—a model of personal excellence in a life of piety—little is said of him which is worth perusing. In the plain record, as we find it in the New Testament, a much more favorable and truly religious portrait is drawn of him. This is altogether the more safe record to consult, if we would obtain correct knowledge of the character of this apostle.

As to the others, our author does them marked injustice, to the dishonor of the apostolic character, and the disparagement of the Christian name. James he represents as a jealous bigot, fomenting the spirit of faction, and indulging in groundless suspicions and unmanly dissimulation respecting his superior. After Peter had spoken in the council at Jerusalem, and Paul and Barnabas had "recounted the extent and success of their labors," "James," says the writer, "the leader of the Mosaic faction, arose and expressed his own perfect acquiescence in the decision of Simon Peter, and proposed an arrangement for a dispensation in favor of the Gentile converts, perfectly satisfactory to all." And then, after noticing that Peter went from Jerusalem to Antioch, he adds: "But in a short time a company of persons came down from Jerusalem, sent particularly by James, no doubt with a reference to some special observations on the behavior of the chief apostle, to see how it accorded with the Jerusalem standard of demeanor toward those whom, by the Mosaic law, he must consider improper persons for the familiar intercouse of a Jew." Thus much respecting James. But Peter himself, in the same connection, is brought under a somewhat similar condemnation; though, from the peculiar partiality of the author for him above all the rest, he is exonerated from all blame. He proceeds: "Peter, probably, knowing that they [the persons above named] were disposed to notice his conduct critically on these matters of ceremonial punctilio, prudently determined to quiet these censors by avoiding all occasion for any collision with their prejudices. Before their arrival he had mingled freely with the Grecian and Syrian members of the Christian community, eating with them, and conforming to their customs as far as was convenient for unrestrained social intercourse. But he now withdrew himself from their society, and kept himself much more retired than when free

from critical observation." Here St. Paul is brought in also for a share in these critical observations and censorious animadversions. "The sharp-eyed Paul," continues our author, "on noticing the sudden change in Peter's habits, immediately attacked him with his characteristic boldness, charging him with unworthy dissimulation in thus accommodating his behavior to the whims of those sticklers for judicial strictness of manners. The common supposition has been that Peter was here wholly in the wrong, and Paul wholly in the right; a conclusion by no means justified by what is known of the facts, and of the characters of the persons concerned. Peter was a much older man than Paul, and much more disposed, by his cooler blood, to prudent and careful measures. * * * There is no Scriptural authority to favor the opinion that Peter ever acknowledged he was wrong; for all that Paul says is, 'I rebuked him;' but he does not say what effect it had on one who was an older and a wiser man than his reprover, and quite as likely to be guided by the Spirit of truth; nor is it wise or just for presuming moderns to condemn Peter in this matter without a hearing. The decision which seems safest to the rational defender of Peter is, that he had good reasons for his own conduct, which he doubtless was not slow to give his youthful reprover; and his answer might, if recorded, have thrown much light on this controversy." But we will not dwell. The above is sufficient to show the feelings and motives by which the author represents the apostles to have been actuated in their intercourse with each other. In the same tone of ascribing to the influence of the human passions that conduct which we have been accustomed to ascribe to a far more holy origin, he awards to Stephen the fate of a *victim* to his own indiscretion, rather than the crown of a *martyr* in the cause of Christ. Speaking of his murder, he says, it "was no doubt preconcerted among the chief men, who caused the formal preamble of a trial, with the design of provoking the mob, in some way, to this act; in which scheme they were too much favored by the fiery spirit of the martyr himself, who had not patience enough with their bigotry to conceal his abhorrence of it." Respecting the impressions such representations of the spirit and conduct of the apostles and primitive saints are calculated to produce, we leave the reader to judge. We are not disposed to bestow a single comment upon them. Sure

we are that they can never tend to advance the cause of deep and manly piety.

But we said that the work, with all its faults, is not without merit. The author has brought into his critical notes a great amount of historical information and philological disquisition, which cannot be found in any other single production. These impart a value to it. But its harmlessness will depend much upon its being read with discrimination of its contents, and caution about what to admit as truth, and what to set down to the score of fiction. L.

ART. III.—*Christianity the Means of Civilization—shown in the evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons, on Aborigines*, by D. COATES, Esq., Rev. JOHN BEECHAM, and Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS, *Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and London Missionary Society, &c.* London: T. MASON, 1837: octavo—pp. 360.

THE appearance of this volume, the paramount importance of its theme, the nature of the evidence it contains, the authentic facts with which it abounds, and the benevolent motives of the publication, all combine to add lustre to the British crown, and stamp the present era with new claims to be regarded as the golden age of improvement. Here we have the proof, that the government of the mightiest nation on the face of the earth have been diligently investigating the character, condition, and prospects of the native aborigines in distant and foreign lands, not for purposes of commerce or conquest, but with the benevolent and avowed design of protecting, improving, and elevating them, by introducing the arts of civilized life, and the yet higher blessings of our holy religion. In the volume before us the novel and interesting developments of this investigation are presented, so far as derived from the examination of those witnesses who are directly associated with foreign missionary efforts among the tribes of heathenism. It will be found to imbody a series of facts derived from the proceedings of modern Protestant missions, calculated to evince their beneficent influence in promoting the temporal well being of man, as well as in imparting to him the inestimably greater blessing of eternal life, through faith in the merits of a crucified Redeemer.

The select committee was appointed by the House of Commons in 1835, and consisted of fifteen members; T. F. Buxton, the well known philanthropist, being placed at its head as chairman. The object of their appointment is thus stated in the resolution of the house:—

"To consider what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made, and to the neighboring tribes, in order to secure to them the due observance of justice and the protection of their rights; to promote the spread of civilization among them, and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion."

There can be little doubt that the cruel wrongs and intolerable sufferings of the poor aborigines, though often inflicted by British subjects, in their intercourse with these foreign savages and barbarians, had never reached the ear of the British parliament but for the missionaries who have visited them in their distant homes, and since become their representatives to plead their cause before their own government at home. Hence we are not surprised to learn that among the witnesses officially summoned before this committee by their chairman, were the esteemed secretaries of those noble institutions which do honor to the British empire, and to the Christian name, of which that nation has never ceased to be proud—we mean the Church, the Wesleyan, and the London Missionary Societies. By this course the committee have shown the estimate they place upon the testimony of Christian missionaries on the subjects referred to them, rightly judging that their opportunities bring them more directly into contact with the native mind of the aborigines than any other persons; and, by consequence, that they have greater facilities for acquiring a knowledge of their characters, their wishes, and their wants.

The three gentlemen, whose testimony chiefly makes up the volume before us, are those named on the title page, viz.,—

Dandeson Coates, Esq., secretary of the Church Missionary Society; Rev. John Beecham, secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society; and Rev. William Ellis, secretary of the London Missionary Society.

The principal topics upon which they were examined were the following:—

1st. Acts of cruelty and oppression committed by Europeans

on the natives, and encroachment on their territories, or diminution of their population.

2d. Measures recommended for the protection of the natives, and their moral and social improvement.

3d. Whether the experience of the several societies led to the belief that it would be advisable to begin with civilization in order to introduce Christianity, or with Christianity, in order to lead to civilization.

On the first of these topics each of the gentlemen testified to facts and circumstances which had transpired in the foreign missions connected with their several societies, and placed in the hands of the committee documentary evidence of great importance to the government, in the prosecution of their work of benevolence contemplated in this investigation.

The second and third questions, embracing as they do the gist of the whole inquiry, and involving the great practical question as to the means of civilization, and the order in which the agencies are to be employed in rescuing savage man from the barbarism, superstitions, and miseries of heathenism, will be found amply discussed, and, as we think, definitely settled in this examination. The tendency and efficacy of Christianity to civilize mankind, and to promote their social well being, is a topic upon which each of the secretaries was patiently and critically examined by the committee; and the identity of the facts presented by each, as developed in the history of their missions, as well as the concurrence of views entertained by the witnesses, was truly remarkable, especially when we are assured that there was no sort of concert between them antecedent to the delivery of their evidence. This striking coincidence, therefore, must be regarded as substantiating the all-important fact, that there is no means so effectual, under the divine blessing, to benefit man for *the life that now is*, as well as for *that which is to come*, as "the glorious gospel of the blessed God."

The inquiries of the committee extend to Southern Africa, Newfoundland, New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, New Zealand, the South Sea Islands, and Upper and Lower Canada. The examination of the witnesses was conducted with due formality, every question and answer being written down at length, and all the documents included in the printed Report. Some idea of the extent of the inquiry, and the patient attention it received, may be formed

from the fact, that although this volume contains but a portion of the selected testimony, and only of a few of the great number of witnesses, yet as the questions are all numbered, we find that one of the examinations here inserted bears the number of 5,710, and includes in the number of its questions from 5,563, making 147 questions proposed to a single individual, and he the Rev. John Williams, missionary to the South Sea Islands. The diligence, care, and discrimination which characterize the examination throughout, evince the laborious, conscientious, and faithful manner in which the committee have performed their duties, and add greatly to the confidence which they have merited for the accuracy of the result.

The missionary secretaries were examined separately, but in the presence of each other, so that the questions of the committee might be put to each, and their several answers recorded. The first point upon which elaborate testimony is recorded is that of acts of cruelty and oppression committed by Europeans on the native inhabitants of the British settlements, including the seizure of their lands; the destruction and plunder of their property; the most atrocious cruelties and murders, and this too without the shadow of provocation, by which peaceful, unoffending people are aroused to bloody wars to protect themselves, and revenge the unprovoked wrongs they suffer; the fomentation of wars by Europeans between neighboring tribes hitherto friendly; the introduction of ardent spirits, often against the remonstrance and even resistance of the chiefs, who have been apprised of their evils by the instructions received from their missionaries; as well as the introduction of the vices and the diseases of Europe; by all which causes the population of the aborigines is everywhere diminishing, and many large tribes of men have been reduced to a mere handful, melting away like snow before the sun, from the encroachments of the white population; all which evidence goes to prove that the seizure of the territory belonging to the natives by European governments has a tendency to introduce and multiply physical and moral evil, and the effect has been most demoralizing and disastrous, with the exception of the cases in which missions are established, and constituting even in these the greatest barrier to the success of missionary exertions.

The following summary of the points proved by this examination is given here in lieu of a transcript of the questions and answers,

which, though it would be highly interesting, must be withheld for want of room. It was the united opinion of each of the witnesses that Europeans coming into contact with native inhabitants of British settlements, tends, in all cases, (excepting those in which the establishment of missions prevents or limits such results,) to deteriorate the morals of the natives; to introduce European vices; to spread among them new and dangerous diseases; to accustom them to the use of ardent spirits; to the use of European arms and instruments of destruction; to the seduction of native females; to the decrease of the native population; and to prevent the spread of civilization, education, commerce, and Christianity; and that the effect of European intercourse has been, upon the whole, a calamity on the heathen and savage nations. And, moreover, all these gentlemen declare that, in every instance within their knowledge of contentions between Europeans and natives, it has been found on investigation that the aggression was on the part of the former. What a melancholy exhibition of the depravity of civilized men, belonging to nations included in Christendom! What a deplorable picture of attempts to civilize man anywhere without the gospel! And how humiliating to learn, in the light of these facts, that negroes and Indians, Hottentots and New Zealanders, are happier and better in the darkness of heathenism, amid the bloody rites and superstitions of pagan idolatry, though ignorant of letters, arts, or any attribute of civilization, than they are by the introduction of European voyagers and settlers, though nominally Christians, while such are destitute of the experimental knowledge of true religion! The native aborigines, though savages, barbarians, and even cannibals, are made worse, and their condition becomes more miserable, wherever Europeans or Americans have access to them, unless the Christian missionary, with the Bible and the gospel, prepare the way by inculcating Christianity. Even the well-meant efforts of irreligious men to civilize barbarians are demoralizing and disastrous—evil, only evil, and that continually; while, on the other hand, by the same, and other collateral testimony, it is shown that, where the European residents in any given country are wholly missionary, the results of their intercourse with the natives are purely beneficial, and tend to the spread of civilization, education, and commerce. A practical inference which this assemblage of facts suggests is this, that any colony, designed to

be a blessing to the native aborigines of the country where it is settled, must be a Christian colony; and the necessary connection of missionaries and missions with such a colony, for the benefit both of the colonists and natives, must be apparent in the light of these facts.

The next inquiry contemplates the measures called for to promote the security and protection of the natives in British settlements, and their advancement in social and moral improvement. We need not here detail the suggestions made in relation to the former part of this question, which regards the protection of the rights of the natives from aggression and outrage, but content ourselves with the general remark, that the obligation of her majesty's government to provide governors, judges, or other officers, in every settlement, who shall maintain and defend the nativēs from any trespass upon their rights by European settlers, and punish such offences, was recognized by each of the witnesses. For this purpose it is recommended that all such Europeans and their families be brought both under religious instruction and under the supervision of an efficient police.

It was farther suggested that, for the protection of both the natives and the settlers, all intercourse with the former should be based on the principles of humanity, justice, and truth—principles which have been too frequently disregarded by Europeans in their connections with uncivilized nations. How often has humanity been disregarded by murderous exhibitions of European power; even by recourse to the deadly effects of firearms upon unoffending natives, to inspire them with dread, and thus coerce their submission to subsequent demands! How often has common justice been outraged in such cases by the seizure of lands belonging to the natives by dint of power, as though "might gave right" in such a case! It is thus that aggression and violence have prompted retaliation, and the consequences have often been dreadful; the poor, wronged, and plundered natives being ultimately the sufferers. So also all forcible means to drive the natives off their soil, and their hunting grounds, by threats of violence, for the settlement of colonists, should be abandoned; as also the little less criminal frauds of pretended purchases of their lands for a merely nominal consideration, as by a string of beads or buttons. Instead of permitting the repetition of such wrongs, all such land should

be obtained by negotiations or treaties, and equitable purchase. And, above all else, the introduction of ardent spirits among the aborigines should be prohibited by rigid enactments.

In reply to that portion of the inquiry which relates to the social, moral, and religious improvement of an aboriginal people, these witnesses concurred in declaring that Christianity is the instrument to be employed, and their testimony is directed to show how a Christian government may facilitate the use of that instrument, in subserviency to the moral and religious improvement of an uncivilized people. The suggestions made under this head are the imposition of legal restraints on the demoralizing conduct of British subjects; the acquisition of British influence over the minds of the native chiefs, by extending to them marks of recognition and favor on the part of the government; the prohibition of colonization where Christian missions are successfully advancing the moral and religious improvement of the natives, as in New Zealand, where the Wesleyan and Church Missionary Societies are operating, and only need the protection and fostering aid of the government to accomplish all that is desirable; pecuniary grants from the government in aid of the missionary work, which may be regarded as only a just remuneration to the aborigines for the lands of which they have been dispossessed by Europeans, and for which they are entitled to compensation, at least in the supply of agricultural tools, implements, and such stores as might assist them in the infantine state of their civilization. While the Christian institutions are sending, at their own charge, missionaries to teach them the principles of religion, it is argued that it would be a legitimate object of the British government, an act of judicious policy, as well as generous philanthropy, to send out individuals to promote agriculture and manufactures among uncivilized tribes on the borders of their colonies, factories, and settlements. In no other way could the government more effectually promote their political, social, and moral improvement.

Such European intercourse with aboriginal countries, under the better system proposed, would tend to prevent savage vices and crimes, human sacrifices, wars, and infanticide; to introduce peace, industry, and civilization; to add greatly to commerce; to improve their welfare, and to advance objects which must be desired by every friend of mankind; viz., the happiness of vast masses

of the human race, now in a very deplorable and savage condition, and the diffusion of the advantages, moral and intellectual, temporal and eternal, which Christianity confers.

Various other important suggestions are made in relation to the facilities which government might afford by exempting the produce of these countries from duties, thus giving encouragement to the industry of the people, just learning to cultivate the soil, and avail themselves of the product of their labor. But our limits forbid us to enlarge on these and kindred topics.

On the all-important question, next presented, it is desirable to dwell at greater length. It was proposed as follows to each of the witnesses :—

"*Does your experience lead you to believe that it would be advisable to begin with civilization, in order to produce Christianity, or with Christianity, in order to lead to civilization?*"

In answer to this question, the replies of each of the gentlemen contain so many points of interest, that to do them and the subject justice, requires that a few brief extracts be placed before the reader.

The secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Mr. Coates, says,—

"If civilization be intended to mean the moral and social improvement of a people, my opinion is distinctly that Christianity is the instrument by which to bring it about. I form this opinion from several reasons, derived partly from the nature of Christianity itself, and partly from the history of Christianity. I feel the question proposed to me by the committee to be a very serious one, and therefore trust the committee will extend their indulgence to me in attempting an answer to it.

"I think I should not do justice to a question of this gravity without first adverting, and I will do it very briefly indeed, to the reasons for the opinion derived from the nature of Christianity itself. I find the preceptive part of Christianity tends to make men peaceable, honest, sober, industrious, and orderly. These, in my opinion, are the very elements of civilization, in the moral sense of it.

"I find in the Christian scheme the doctrines of man's fallen state through sin—redemption by Christ—renovation by the power of the Holy Ghost—and the great and awful sanction of an eternal judgment. Now it is clear to my mind that the impression of these great principles on the heart of man tends directly to make him humble, self-denying, philanthropic, beneficent; apart from the consideration of those effects of the doctrines which may be considered more strictly of a religious or theological kind. These principles, I apprehend, cannot exist in force in any community without the moral and social well-being of that community being greatly promoted.

"I look again into the Christian scheme, and observe the very emphatic description of the gospel; it is declared to be 'the power of God.' I think that the phrase must be understood to imply, in any reasonable interpretation of the words, a divine influence accompanying the preaching of the gospel. I see, therefore, in that an arrangement and process by which the human mind is to be operated upon in a more powerful manner than any other agency that can be imagined.

"I look farther into the Christian scheme, and find it to be a revelation from God. Now if God be, as the Bible teaches us that he is, supreme in benevolence and beneficence, as well as in power, wisdom, and knowledge, then I think the inference is most clear and irrefragable, that to bring that revelation to bear upon mankind is to promote their temporal welfare, as well as to provide for their eternal salvation. I very slightly allude to these important topics, because I am unwilling to trespass unnecessarily for a single moment on the time of the committee; but considering the extreme weightiness of the question, I think I should not have fairly brought it under the notice of the committee without thus briefly referring to these considerations.

"But I pass to the second series of reasons; those which are derived from the history of Christianity. This is a branch of the subject of such immense extent, that it would be quite impracticable for me to do more than to glance at it in the most rapid way possible on an occasion like the present. If I look at the state of the world when at the rise of Christianity it found Rome in the zenith of her power and glory, in the highest state of civilization—as civilization could exist in a heathen land—that mankind was ever advanced to, perhaps with the exception of Greece, which was already on the decline from her glory, and therefore I do not more particularly refer to Greece. In Rome, at that period, among other practices, which I will not dwell upon, that of selling their prisoners of war into slavery prevailed; and that of exposing their prisoners of war in their public games. I find too, in Rome, at that period, their gladiatorial games; man opposed to man in mortal conflict. And this not an accidental occurrence, but an established order of things; exhibited not in private, not only occasionally, but habitually, at their theatres, and to the most polished and distinguished of the whole population. What do I find at the expiration of a few ages? Christianity attains the ascendency, and these things are extinct.

"I dwell on no other topic of ancient history, but come down to modern times. I contrast the state of the European nations with, I will not say those of Africa, but with the more civilized nations of Asia; and here I trace a distinction so broad and obvious that it need not be insisted on. I see clearly that it is Christianity which has conferred upon the European this distinction.

"I would only attempt farther to illustrate this bearing of the subject from three or four facts of a recent date. At a recent period suttees prevailed throughout our possessions in India: they are now prohibited. The voice of Christianity in this country unquestionably wrought the change. The abominable pilgrim tax is suppressed in India, by authority, and this was effected by the expression of Christian opinion and feeling in this country. I look back on the enormous evils of the

slave trade. The slave trade is suppressed; and suppressed unquestionably by the force of Christianity in this country. I come to a still more recent period; a very recent one indeed. I see slavery abolished throughout the British colonies, and that at the cost of £20,000,000 of public money; the result, most unequivocally, of the state of Christian principle and feeling in the country. A national act, I will venture to affirm, unparalleled in the whole history of human legislation, the glory of which redounds exclusively to Christianity."

After farther illustration, drawn from the effect of Christianity, as exemplified by the present labors of the missionaries in Sierra Leone, New Holland, New Zealand, &c., and the presentation of numerous letters, reports, and other documentary evidence, he concludes his testimony on this question in the following language:—

"Though I have a very clear opinion as to the efficacy of Christianity as an instrument of civilization, I should not be disposed to represent Christianity as preceding civilization, because the moment Christian principle begins to bear upon the mind of man, from that moment his condition as a civilized being advances; and hence Christianity and civilization advance *pari passu*. It is therefore impossible, I conceive, that civilization should stand still, or not go on in its due ratio, so long as Christian principle is duly brought to bear upon the population. They stand precisely in the relation of cause and effect."

The same question being put to the Rev. Mr. Beecham, secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, received the following answer, which we cannot abridge in justice to him and the subject:—

"My attention has been long directed to this subject, and the firm conviction of my mind that Christianity must precede civilization is the result of the inquiries and observations which I have made. So far has my experience been from proving that civilization is necessary to prepare barbarous nations for the reception of the gospel, that it has led me to the conclusion that the only effectual way to civilize them is first to evangelize them. I regard Christianity as the parent of civilization, and am persuaded that true civilization cannot be produced without it. I say *true* civilization, because I am aware that a certain kind of civilization may exist unconnected with Christianity. I have heard reference made to ancient Greece and Rome, for the purpose of showing that there may be civilization without Christianity; but if all true civilization includes the humanities of life, then I must conclude that those celebrated nations had not attained to it. When I look, for instance, at the theatres of Rome, and witness the gladiatorial shows and fights of men with wild beasts, which were there exhibited, and recollect that such spectacles of cruelty constituted the *amusements* of the Roman public; and when I, moreover, remember that in Rome there were no hospitals, no dispensaries, no almshouses, no asylums for the deaf and dumb, and blind—in short, none of those humane and charitable institutions which adorn our own Christian land, I cannot

conclude that the civilization of the classic heathen was any thing better than a splendid barbarism; and whatever may be advanced in its praise, I must still, notwithstanding, hold that true civilization, the only kind of civilization that the Christian philanthropist can be supposed anxious to promote, cannot be originated but by means of Christianity."

"The mere civilizing plan does not, in my opinion, furnish motives powerful enough to induce men to give up the comforts of Christian and civilized society, and dwell among barbarians, merely to teach them civilization. There is nothing, as I think, but the love of the souls of the heathen that will prove a motive powerful enough to induce individuals to make such sacrifices, and risk even life too. Men may be found who are ready to lay their lives upon the missionary altar, but I think you would not find any considerable number of persons who are prepared to sacrifice their lives merely to civilize the heathen."

"I am not aware that our society has ever engaged in more than one attempt to civilize the heathen, in order to prepare them for the reception of the gospel. About forty years since an attempt of that kind was made by Dr. Coke, the founder of our missions. He was induced to form a plan for the purpose of introducing civilization among the Foulahs of Western Africa. A number of well disposed artisans of various descriptions were engaged to go and settle among the Foulahs, and it was calculated that after some progress had been made in civilization, missionaries might then be sent to preach the gospel to those whom civilization should have thus prepared. This undertaking made considerable stir at the time. It was patronized by Mr. Wilberforce and other leading men of the day, and great expectations were excited respecting its success. However, it failed entirely, and it failed for this very reason, that the agents who were engaged to carry the scheme into execution did not find sufficient motives to induce them to persevere. They reached Sierra Leone, and there their courage failed them. The motives which had influenced them to embark in the undertaking were not powerful enough to impel them to advance into the interior of the country, and settle among the Foulahs, for the purpose of merely civilizing them."

"My statement of the second reason that I have to assign why the plan of beginning with civilization does not succeed, will furnish an answer to the question which I only briefly noticed in passing. I do not think that civilization possesses attractions, or furnishes motives powerful enough, to induce savages to forsake their course of life for its sake. Civilized life is too tame, too insipid, to charm the roving barbarian, and his superstitions are generally found opposed to any change in his accustomed course of life. You must bring the higher motives of the gospel to bear upon his mind—he must be made to feel the great and important truths of religion before he will discover any thing desirable in the quietness and sobriety of civilized life, or will dare to break through his superstitions in order to pursue it. I believe that the charm of the superstitions of the heathen would alone, in many instances, be powerful enough to prevent them from forsaking the customs of their ancestors merely for the sake of civilization. It is only

when the truths of the gospel produce their powerful effect upon the minds of the heathen, and arouse them to a consideration of their higher destinies—it is only when they are brought under an influence of a belief in the true religion, that they will dare to break through the bondage of their superstitions, and forsake their paternal customs, which are generally bound up with the superstitions themselves.

"I may be permitted to furnish an illustration or two of the principle which I am now maintaining, namely, that civilization does not furnish motives sufficiently powerful to induce the heathen to renounce their former course of life. The first of the cases to which I shall refer is derived from the experience of our society among the Chippeway Indians in Upper Canada. I think I stated to the committee the other day that I am personally acquainted with a chief of that nation. His Indian name is Kahkewaquonaby, signifying Sacred Feathers, he being one of the Eagle tribe. His Christian name is Peter Jones. His father was a white man; but he was brought up with his Indian mother in the woods; and therefore, as it respects his views and feelings, he may be regarded as a thorough Indian. I have conversed with him frequently on this subject. I was aware that the governor of Upper Canada had made many attempts to induce the Indians to renounce their wandering life, and I wished to ascertain from the chief himself what were his views of the endeavors made by the governor in their behalf, and how it was that they failed. He said the fact was simply this, that the offers of the governor had no charms for them: they could see nothing in civilized life sufficiently attractive to induce them to give up their former mode of living for the sake of it. He told me that they gave the governor credit for very kind and benevolent intentions; yet in answer to all his applications, while they thanked him for his kind intentions, they uniformly told him that they preferred their own mode of living to that followed by Europeans."

"To begin again with the Foulahs: although Dr. Coke was not able to find men who were willing to give up the comforts of civilized life in order to teach them civilization, we easily found men who would leave their native country, and go into the interior of Africa, and settle among them, for the purpose of teaching them the gospel. We commenced a mission among this people about two or three years since. I am happy to say that the mission is of the most hopeful character; the Foulahs listen to the gospel, and several of them have already given proof, by a change in their tempers and their lives, that they have experienced its saving efficacy.

"In regard to the Chippeway Indians, I have to state that they are comprehended in our missionary plans, and that the success of our exertions among them has been very great. The chief to whom I have made reference was the first convert to Christianity."—"He heard our missionaries preach on a visit they had made to the Grand River, which led to a change in his religious views, and this was followed by a corresponding alteration in his character and pursuits. Since that time our endeavors have been attended with such success, that we have now ten very prosperous missions among the Chippeways and Mohawks, and other Indians. We have several native preachers

among them. This same chief has now for some years been a preacher, and is engaged in translating the Scriptures into the Chippeway language. He has, I believe, completed the greater part of the New Testament, which has been printed.

"The last of the Indian stations that we have formed is at the river St. Clair; and our success there has already been considerable. The missionary had more than ordinary difficulties to contend with; and he found it necessary, in order to gain access to them, to travel with them. He went out with them on their hunting expeditions, that he might have an opportunity after the chase to speak to them on the subject of Christianity; and his endeavors among them have succeeded to a great extent. A very considerable number of that body of Indians have now embraced Christianity, and have become a decidedly changed people."

"Not only with the aborigines of America do we find that the plan of beginning with the gospel generally succeeds, but also among the degraded negroes of the West Indies, as well as the remains of the Charib race, which formerly peopled those colonies—among various tribes and nations of West and Southern Africa—among the Hindoos of India, the Buddhists of Ceylon, the savage cannibals of New Zealand, and the other islanders of the South Sea. In the Friendly Islands the results of our missionary operations are very remarkable. It is scarcely ten years since we commenced our missions in that part of the world; and the ancient idolatry of the people has been already to a very great extent abolished. In the whole of the Habai group there is not a single idolator remaining; and about 8,000 of the inhabitants of Habai, Vavou, and Tonga, have become communicants; while many hundreds of them are so far advanced in Christian knowledge, that they are now engaged in assisting the missionaries to preach the gospel, or in other ways teaching their countrymen.

"I would farther remark, (generally,) upon the plan of beginning with the gospel, and say, that success to a certain extent has invariably attended our missionary exertions among the heathen. I do not know an instance in the experience of our society where our endeavors have proved wholly abortive. Wherever we have made attempts to introduce the gospel among a barbarous people, and have persevered in the use of suitable means, a degree of success has always resulted.

"And I would add a fact or two which completely demolish the theory that civilization is necessary to prepare the way for Christianity:—

"One fact is, that many of the most savage tribes are more easily brought under the influence of Christianity than those nations that have been for ages in a state of semi-civilization. Take, for instance, the case of China. I apprehend it will be generally admitted that China presents greater obstacles to the introduction of the gospel than the most barbarous nations of the earth. Look again at India, with its literature, its science, and its arts. I do not hesitate to say that, so far as our experience goes, we find that many of the most ignorant and uncultivated heathen tribes receive the gospel more readily than the inhabitants of India.

"The other fact to which I refer is, that where the modern prepa-

ratory process has partially succeeded, so far from serving to prepare the heathen for the gospel, it has only made them more savage and ferocious, and less disposed than ever to embrace Christianity. The Mohawk Indians are an instance of this; and I have the opportunity of stating their case in the words of one who is intimately acquainted with their past and present circumstances. The Rev. Mr. Ryerson, of Upper Canada, in a letter which I have recently received from him, says,

"'A striking proof of the inefficacy of merely educational instruction to civilize barbarous tribes, and of the power of the gospel to civilize as well as to Christianize the most vicious of the human race, is furnished by the Mohawk nation of Indians in Upper Canada. The Mohawks are one of the six nations of Indians to whom, at an early period, his majesty granted a large tract of land, situate on the banks of the Grand River, the most fertile tract of land in Upper Canada, lying in the heart of the province, and surrounded by a white population. Schools have been established among the Mohawk nation upward of forty years. Most of them had been baptized by a clergyman of the Church of England, who was appointed to visit them once a year for that purpose. The greater part of them were taught to read and write; they were exhorted to till the soil, and cultivate the arts of civilized life; yet this nation was more drunken, ferocious, and vicious than any one of the five other heathen nations on the Indian reservation. They were proverbially savage and revengeful, as well as shrewd; so as often to be the terror of their white neighbors. In no respect was the social and civil condition of the Mohawks practically and morally improved above that of the neighboring heathen tribes by the mere educational and civilizing process of forty years. The example and vices of the Mohawks were often urged by their heathen neighbors as an objection against the Christian religion itself when missionaries were sent among them. But a few years ago, (1825,) when the gospel was preached to these Mohawk Indians, as well as to the several tribes of the Chippeway Indians, a large portion of them embraced it, (as have others from that time to this,) and became at once changed in their dispositions and reformed in their lives, teachable, sober, honest, and industrious, and are improving in the arts of civilization, and cultivating the virtues and charities of Christian life.'"

All these protracted extracts, however, do not present a moiety of the interesting facts which Mr. Beecham laid before the committee, or the very able exhibition he gives of the proofs which sustain his opinions. We must, therefore, refer to the volume, which we hope soon to see reprinted in our country.

The replies to the same question by the Rev. Mr. Ellis, secretary of the London Missionary Society, abound in confirmatory facts and observations, derived from personal residence and visitation at foreign missions in various heathen countries; but it is impossible,

within any reasonable limits, to give an adequate idea of their character and value, and we must, however reluctantly, forego transcribing his lucid and discriminating evidence.

As already remarked, the committee did not content themselves with the voluminous testimony derived from these missionary secretaries, but availed themselves of all accessible witnesses, from whom they could derive accurate information. The volume before us contains numerous items of information furnished by these witnesses, and a few of them merit special notice.

Elisha Bates, a distinguished member of the Society of Friends, attached to the yearly meeting of Ohio, in the United States, being in England on a visit, was summoned before the committee, and gave a brief account of the labors of his denomination in behalf of the Indians, since the year 1681, when William Penn commenced these efforts, and since which, for a century and a half, between the Society of Friends and the Indians of North America, there has subsisted a good understanding, and more or less of official intercourse. He stated that, since 1817, he had been personally connected with the efforts made for the civilization and improvement of the Indians, and was in the committee having charge of the Shawnees, and had several times visited them. They had uniformly attempted to introduce civilization to make way for Christianity, and had uniformly failed; for, after all the amount of labor and money expended, he declared they could not count on a single individual they had brought to the full adoption of Christianity, nor even to complete habits of civilization. Some improvement in their condition was effected, but by no means satisfactory. The Society of Friends, having been taught by experience, and the observation of the success of others, now deeply regret that they did not begin with Christianity, and hence the plan since adopted is to make Christian instruction the primary object. This plan was generally adopted by Friends about eight years ago, (1828,) but has not yet been carried into effect to any considerable extent, in consequence of the litigation which grew out of the divisions which have distracted the society in America, and embarrassed its operations. At present, however, the efforts are about to be resumed with those Indians whom the government have removed and located west of the Mississippi, and it is intended to begin with Christian instruction, making this the primary object, without

abandoning in any degree the efforts for civilization. He testified very conclusively touching the pacific disposition of the Indians, when treated with the kindness which has always characterized the followers of William Penn.

The Rev. Mr. Yate, missionary to the South Sea Islands, after extensive opportunities during a long residence in New South Wales, New Zealand, Friendly Islands, the Navigators', the Feejee, and the Hapai Islands, underwent a protracted examination on all the topics referred to the committee, which corroborated fully the general statements made from other sources. He coincided entirely in the futility of all attempts at civilization except by the agency of Christianity. The following honorable testimonial in favor of American seamen is the only portion of his evidence for which we can find room.

"American sailors behave with very great propriety, and, compared with the English, their ships' crews are in much better order; we have very rarely a complaint to make of them; their captains treat the natives well, and the crews generally are not so demoralized as the crews of our British whaling ships. Some of the Americans are temperance ships, having no spirits on board, but this has only been within the last few years; but even before that we had comparatively few complaints of the Americans. We could almost always welcome an American captain, being quite sure that we should not have to reprove him for his immoral conduct and his ill treatment of the natives. We could not always welcome our own countrymen in the same way."

Rev. John Williams, eighteen years missionary to the Society Islands in the South Seas, was before the committee, and was diligently questioned. His answers furnish information touching all the circumstances, capacities, habits, wants, and peculiarities of the South Sea islanders, of immense practical importance, and at the same time his evidence in relation to the efficacy of Christianity in civilizing the natives of those islands, illustrated by the results of his extensive experience and observation, must be read at length to be justly appreciated.

It is impracticable, however, adequately to present the merits of this volume within the limits of a review, though we have aimed to exhibit the leading features in the testimony of the most important witnesses. We must still, however, refer the reader to the work itself for other evidence, not only of Christian missionaries, but of converted Hottentots and other natives, British officers of the army and navy, for but a portion of the testimony of such is here given, and

all tending to the establishment of the same important truths, in which the civilized and Christian world have a deep and abiding interest, and a knowledge of which ought to be diffused, to the end that Christian governments may acquire enlightened views of their duties and their obligations, and that Christian missions may be justly appreciated and sustained.

If the world is to be evangelized by human instrumentality, and if the church of Jesus Christ is the divinely appointed repository of that instrumentality, how tremendous is the responsibility devolving upon all to whom the Bible and the gospel have been committed for this end. Not only is every individual Christian under the highest obligations to pray and labor for the conversion of the world, but it is our duty to avail ourselves of all the lights which history, experience, and observation are furnishing, as to the appropriate means and measures by which we may hasten "the day of the Lord."

In the light of the facts presented in the volume before us, let us learn the consummate folly of the "wisdom of man," and with becoming docility submit ourselves to the words which "the Holy Ghost teacheth." Human reason, vain philosophy, and the wisdom of this world, have exhausted their resources in devising plans and schemes for the overthrow of ignorance and vice, of superstition and cruelty, and for the elevation and improvement of the millions of our race whose degradation and misery, amid the abominations of heathenism, appeal for compassion to earth and heaven. And yet generation after generation increase and multiply, not only in numerical strength, but in their habitations of cruelty, until the "abomination of desolation" is seen to overspread the fairest portions of our earth, and a vast, overwhelming majority of the family of man.

Meanwhile, attempts have been made without number to civilize savage man on the borders of mighty continents, by planting towns and settlements, and introducing upon these barbarous shores agriculture and the mechanic arts, and opening trade with the natives, in the expectation of bringing them to value and imitate the arts of civilized life. But the history of the world has written the epitaph of these futile efforts in the universal testimony of their failure which truth has constrained. For however ingeniously devised and skilfully executed; however benevolently prompted, and libe-

rally sustained by governments or individuals; under however favorable auspices they have been commenced, and whatever hopes their incipient history may have inspired; yet the experience of centuries has shown, that with the introduction of civilized foreigners into aboriginal countries the vices of civilization have been simultaneously introduced, and the unsophisticated natives have been made the victims of fraud and violence, of diseases and vices, of plunder and imposture, until their physical and moral condition has become worse and worse by their contact with a foreign population. Hence wars of mutual extermination have been prosecuted, until either the one or the other of these different races of men has perished, and the history of such enterprises has terminated in blood. Such have been the results, wherever and whenever attempts have been made to civilize savage men, by the mere introduction among them of a foreign population for purposes of agriculture or commerce.

And even when Christian men have entered upon the work of introducing civilization and the arts among a savage people, hoping thereby to pave the way for the gospel, and contemplating the future inculcation of Christianity as the grand and ulterior design of their labors, they have met with as uniform and signal failure; and so frequently has this been exemplified, that a wide-spread prevalence has been given to the opinion, that millions on millions of our race are wholly irrecoverable and irreclaimable from the habits and cruelties of savage life. Hence multitudes of benevolent and Christian philanthropists have lived and died in the opinion that the myriads of the heathen race are beyond the reach of civilization, which they ascribed to the want of capacity, the deficiency of intellect, the utter insusceptibility of improvement, which they supposed to characterize them as an inferior race of beings, destined to everlasting degradation, both intellectual and moral. And all these unworthy inferences have been drawn from the failure of these misdirected efforts, all prompted by the "wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God."

How slow are men to learn that for every variety of human guilt and human misery, for every form of physical, intellectual, and moral evil, with which the world is filled by reason of sin, the Father of all flesh, the God of all grace, has provided a sovereign antidote, an all-sufficient remedy! This remedy is one and indivi-

sible, admitting of no substitute, and needing no auxiliary, and it is found in "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," which is adapted to every human being on the face of the whole earth, whether elevated to the highest pinnacle of human knowledge and virtue, or fallen into the lowest pit of ignorance, degradation, and vice. When the God of love sent the Son of his love on a mission of love to our perishing world, he designed to provide a scheme for human recovery coextensive with human wo, and adapted to reach fallen man in every modification and circumstance of his being, and adequate to every conceivable emergency of that being. What infinite love has prompted, and infinite wisdom has devised, infinite power has executed; and now, "where sin hath abounded, grace doth much more abound." Hence the gospel of the grace of God, the divine institution of Christianity, is the first grand and only efficient instrumentality in the recovery of the family of man from the horrible pit into which the human race have been plunged by sin. That gospel is designed for "all nations," including all the tribes of heathenism; it is destined to be "preached to every creature," embracing the inhabitants of every uncivilized country, of every barbarous clime, of every savage island, where human foot hath trod. It is divinely adapted to every man, in every place, at every time, and needs no previous preparation for its reception, no preliminary qualification on the part of any human intelligence to hear, to understand, and to obey it. It comes warning every man, and teaching every man, that "by the grace of God Jesus Christ tasted death for every man." Such is the gospel, the glorious gospel of the grace of God, which is declared to be "*worthy* of all acceptation," that is, adapted, prepared, suitable, fitted, worthy of the acceptation of all men. It is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, *but also to the Greek.*

And now, what is the conclusion of the whole matter? Does not the gospel accomplish all it promises? Among every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, where the simple gospel message has been taken, is there one example of its failure? Is any nation so degraded, any people so corrupt, any heathen so untractable, as to defeat the "power of God" which resides in the gospel? Is any false religion so strong, any superstition so rooted, any abomination of paganism so indomitable, that the gospel cannot overthrow it?

Let the testimony of this volume answer. Let the history of modern Christian missions utter the response. We abide the issue.

And does the gospel need to be preceded by the arts of civilized life, as the wisdom of man vainly teacheth? Nay, verily, the law of the Lord is perfect; the gospel of God our Saviour admits of no human emendation, and needs no human device, either to precede or succeed it. The reception of the gospel prepares the soul and the body of man to be happy and useful even in this present life; it is a remedy for sin, in whatever form it exists, whether in heathen or in Christian lands. The only preparation the gospel needs, the gospel makes; the only auxiliaries the gospel allows, the gospel includes; and as the social and moral improvement which is the essence of civilization is the fruit of the gospel wherever it exists, so the gospel alone is adequate to produce it, where it is not. Hence the evidence, indubitable and convincing, which is now before the world, that Christianity alone is the necessary agent in civilizing the uncivilized, including, as it does, in itself, "whatsoever things are lovely and of good report." To speed the missionary work, to extend the gospel, to propagate Christianity to the ends of the earth, is all that is necessary or desirable to bring glory to God and to advance the happiness of man. For godliness is profitable unto all things, having the PROMISE OF THE LIFE THAT NOW IS, and of that which is to come.

ART. IV.—*Tracts for the Times; by Members of the University of Oxford:*—8vo., 3 vols. *Reprinted and stereotyped:* New-York, 1839–1840.

THERE are few things which the Christian world more generally agree in than to wonder how the Jews could adopt and retain with such invincible tenacity the doctrine that the Messiah would be a temporal prince, who should exalt them under the Mosaical dispensation to a state of the greatest visible power and magnificence; and yet there are few things in which we more resemble the Jews than in this very particular. We do not, indeed, expect to see our Messiah reigning personally over mankind, but we substitute for the *monarchical* theory of the Jews our doctrines of the visible church of Christ; which, under various exhibitions, we

magnify to such an extent of authority and power, that, in reality, the difference between Jew and Christian for the most part is small. The popes of Rome claim to be *viceroys* for Christ, and exercise that power as temporal and spiritual princes over a very large portion of Christendom. The Church of England exhibits their theory under an *aristocracy* of bishops; and similar features are continually furnished us in the ecclesiastical systems of various Protestant denominations under more *democratic* constitutions; but which, like the mustard seed of one of our Saviour's parables, only require opportunity to attain to a portentous magnitude. In former times these peculiarities were much more prominent than at present, for there has been a great moral improvement going on during the last hundred years, which has greatly softened down ecclesiastical presumption; and has, at least with the great body of Protestants, induced a more distinct perception of the truth of our Redeemer's declaration, that his kingdom is not of this world; that it is within us; that it is a spiritual kingdom; that it belongs alone to the understanding and conscience, and that it is perfectly consistent with various forms of ecclesiastical polity. The direct influence of this conviction has, in the United States, established it as an undoubted truth, that no one sect of Christians can be regarded as the only true and visible church of Christ, nor that any one is better entitled to the protection of the laws than other Christian sects. But we must not forget that our conviction of the truth of this doctrine has been chiefly obtained through the peculiarities of our republican institutions; and, consequently, that in the ancient monarchies of Europe, where particular sects have long enjoyed an especial protection of the state, we must not be surprised that the doctrine of the equality of all religious sects is not only a novelty to many persons, but that it is regarded with great abhorrence by all those who benefit from the ecclesiastical patronage of the state.

In England, where a numerous body of dissenters are arrayed against the great privileges enjoyed by the Established Church, the doctrines to which we have just alluded have become matters of deep interest to all parties concerned, and the movements of parliament already seem to indicate the withdrawing of that exclusive patronage by which the Church of England has been for so long a time distinguished. The Established Church, as might be supposed,

is greatly opposed to these anticipated innovations, and has used every exertion to prevent them from taking place. Among other agencies employed by her clergy have been the publication of the writings at the head of this article, now more commonly known by the name of the Oxford Tracts; the doctrine, argument, and tendency of which we shall now lay before our readers, with such comments as the nature of the subject may seem to require.

The Church of England, from the time of the Reformation until the present day, has ever been a lordly corporation. Her ministers are a dignified *corps*, enjoying rank, revenue, and much legal authority. Parliament has made laws which not only secured their privileges, but restrained and punished all those who did not recognize the Church to be of divine appointment, and with a ministry who traced their office and authority through a long succession of consecrated individuals backward to the apostles of Jesus Christ. The noble and the rich, as well as mere commoners of learning and abilities, have crowded into the Church, and, as might be anticipated, have become zealous defenders of a corporation which amply provided for talented, if not disinterested advocates.

This view of the lordly and long established Church of England, with great privileges hereditary to her organization, at once explains the haughty indignation with which the clergy of that sect express themselves whenever their dignity, authority, or emolument is threatened with any diminution, so that we can readily understand why this proud corporation, under the terror of our reforming age, have come forth in the Oxford Tracts, proclaiming to the world that "*the state would forget their God*" should they withdraw that exclusive patronage with which the English Church has been hitherto regarded. It requires no prophet to reveal the motives which have dictated the Oxford Tracts; but as they have themselves stated their object explicitly, we avail ourselves of their own exposition, which, as it was no doubt the object nearest their hearts, so they have stated it in the first of the Tracts in such clear terms that he that runs can read, and also understand, without the aid of any commentary. The reader will please observe that the first Tract is formally addressed to the clergy of the Established Church.

"Should the government and the country," say the Tracts, "so far forget their God as to cast off the Church, and to deprive it of its temporal honors and subsistence, *on what will you rest the claim of respect and attention which you make upon your flocks? Hitherto you have been*

upheld by your birth, your education, your wealth, your connections; should these secular advantages cease, on what must Christ's ministers depend? Is not this a serious practical question? We know how miserable is the state of religious bodies not supported by the state. Look at the dissenters on all sides of you, and you will see at once that their ministers, depending upon the people, become the *creatures* of the people. Are you content that this should be your case? Alas! can a greater evil befall Christians than for their teachers to be guided by them, instead of guiding?"

The Oxford Tracts, therefore, very clearly show why they have been published in England, and any speculation upon motives becomes superfluous after this candid avowal of personal and temporal considerations. We trust the readers of the Tracts will not forget this avowal of motives while reading the remaining Tracts, for there might be doubtful passages of Scripture to be interpreted, which it might not be Christian prudence to understand in the light that the self-interest of the Oxford divines may perhaps recommend to the obedience of those whom they are accustomed to teach.

But let us now inquire why these Tracts have been republished in the United States. Every one must be aware that in former times the Church of England was paramount in most parts of our country, and enjoyed all the advantages comprehended in a recognition by the British government. To her communion pertained the officers of the crown, and all those families of distinction in England that sent younger sons and younger brothers to make their fortunes in America. The clergy of the Episcopal sect, therefore, before our revolution, maintained a dignity of function and privilege in this country derived from the grandeur of the English Establishment, and looked forward to obtain similar honors and emoluments on an American foundation. But when the protection of the state was withdrawn from the Episcopal Church, after the revolutionary struggle had terminated, her clergy sunk down to the same level with those of other sects, and they have been obliged ever since to use the means employed by other sects to maintain their corporate existence. The Episcopal Church of the United States since that time has possessed no more importance, in the view of the people of our country, than any other denomination of Christians; and for the most part they feel no more interest as to what is transacted in her conventions than they do as to the proceedings of the most insignificant sect among us. It is, however, true, that the clergy

of the Episcopal sect in the United States have not generally entertained this more reasonable opinion of themselves, for many of them do notoriously cherish a belief that they are superior to the clergy of other sects, as being of the line of the episcopally ordained English successors of the apostles. This reminds us of what we are told occurs at times in Europe among impoverished individuals of noble families, who, though reduced to labor for their support, like ordinary mortals, nevertheless often entertain a notion that they are of a superior race, and that they ought to be regarded with peculiar consideration, though their work is not better done than that of other persons similarly employed. A family recognition was once formally extended by the proud English to the American episcopacy, when the late Bishop White and others received ordination from them, accompanied, however, with the ungracious condition that no American Episcopalian should have an interest in the profitable monopoly of the elder branch; and so rigorously has this prohibition been construed, that an American Episcopalian is not permitted even to preach in an English Episcopal pulpit.

But it is not only a sympathizing decayed family reverence toward the honors and dignities of the English Church that has moved the Episcopal sect in the United States to republish the Oxford Tracts; but these volumes contain a lofty exposition of many doctrines and opinions which belong to the common faith of the two churches that are wholly independent of any question of state protection. The Church in the United States, as well as the English branch, maintain they are of a divine constitution, and possess an apostolically ordained ministry, with exclusive right to administer the sacraments, and to pronounce absolution for Protestant sins; nor is it a single time that they have had the assurance to say, that Protestants not of the Episcopal sect were, like the heathen, "left to the uncovenanted mercies of God." Seeing, therefore, that the pretensions of this class of Episcopal churches are exalted to the greatest height by the Oxford Tracts, we perceive at once the manifest reason why the sect in the United States should republish what is very harmonious with their own notions of themselves, and of which they can adopt or reject just as much or as little as it may be convenient to profess in such a community as ours.

From what the Oxford Tracts have themselves stated, we

understand their prime object is either to induce the state not to withdraw their exclusive patronage, or, should they not succeed in this, to secure a comfortable living independent of the laity, should the state cut those attachments that have hitherto bound the Church to the state. To accomplish this end, the clerical authors of the Tracts have used every means to induce the English parliament and the nation to regard the clergy of the Church of England as a divinely constituted body, having great spiritual power and influence. If they can fully persuade the nation to believe this, they anticipate from their religious consciences that enjoyment of honor, power, and emolument which they have hitherto received from the government, independent of popular estimation. If they can succeed in persuading men of the truth of their doctrines on this subject, they may confidently anticipate what is stated in the conclusion of the tenth Tract.

"Then will you" (i. e., the laity) "look at us," (the clergy,) "not as gentlemen, &c., not as your superiors in worldly station, &c., but as messengers from HIM who seeth and worketh in secret, &c. Then you will honor us with a purer honor than you do now, namely, *as those who are intrusted with the keys of heaven and hell, as the heralds of mercy, as the denouncers of wo to wicked men, as intrusted with the awful and mysterious gift of making the bread and wine* CHRIST'S *body and blood*, as far greater than the most powerful and the wealthiest of men in our unseen strength and our heavenly riches," &c., &c.

Having shown the motives that produced the Oxford Tracts, we shall now exhibit the machinery by which they propose to accomplish an end so interesting to them as the securing of their future honors and revenues. They commence, as we have already stated, with the doctrine, that if the "state forsakes them, the state forgets God;" and, to justify this position, they assert, throughout the Tracts, that the Church of England is the true catholic church, as constituted by Christ or the apostles; and hence, as having the divine Author of Christianity for her founder, so it must follow, by unavoidable inference, that all are guilty of sin or schism if they withdraw from this divinely constituted church, or of sacrilege if they assail any of its privileges.

"We," say the Oxford divines, "have been born not of blood, nor the will of the flesh, nor by the will of man, but of GOD. The Lord JESUS CHRIST gave his Spirit to his apostles; they, in turn, laid their hands on those who should succeed them, and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops,

who have appointed us as their assistants, and, in some sense, representatives."*

This assumption of the Tracts manifestly implies two most important facts; *first*, that Christ did establish an ecclesiastical corporation or church, with sacred powers to ordain ministers, &c.; and, *secondly*, that the clergy of the English Church are legitimately descended from the apostles in virtue of their episcopal ordination.

Though all rules of logic require those who assume facts tending to their benefit, to prove those facts true before they draw conclusions from them, yet the Oxford divines have done nothing of this kind, and we might dismiss their assumption as an unreasonable absurdity, for surely no one is required *to prove the negative* to unwarrantable assumptions made by avowedly interested persons; yet as we have something to say on the general subject that may be useful to our readers, independent of any controversy with the Oxford divines, we will make the doctrine of these Tracts subservient to our purpose by analyzing their assumptions, both as regards the divine constitution of their Church, and the succession of their clergy by regular ordination from the apostles.

The doctrine of apostolic succession, as claimed by the English Church, is of no importance unless the fact be first established that Christ or the apostles did constitute a corporation of ecclesiastics, who were alone authorized to make clerical ordinations. It is, therefore, needless for us to inquire whether all the formalities of a valid ordination have been observed or not in the Catholic or the English Church, until we have ascertained the fact, that Christ or the apostles did establish a church making such ordinations essential. All that we shall observe on this point is to caution our readers not to be confused by any notion that a long succession of clergy

* The manifest advantage of such a theory of clerical commission, as claimed in our text, may be profitably contrasted with a *naive* observation made in the fourth Oxford Tract: "Look on your pastor as acting by man's commission, and you may respect the authority by which he acts; you may venerate and love his personal character; but it can hardly be called a *religious veneration*. There is nothing properly *sacred* about him. But once learn to regard him *as the deputy of Christ* for reducing man to the obedience of God, and every thing about him becomes changed; every thing stands in a new light."

The *policy* to be pursued in such cases must be evident, but what is the rule of the Scripture on the subject?

from an early period of Christian history proves any thing whatever as to the divine appointment of that clergy. It is with a chain of successive ordinations as it is with a material chain,—it can never be stronger than its weakest link. No matter how strong it may be in every other part, it will inevitably break at the defective link. Now it is undeniable that *as* there has been a body of Christian people successively living in the world from the times of the apostles until the present day, *so* there has always been during that continuous existence a successive number of religious teachers or instructors, whom we now technically denominate the clergy. In like manner there has been a regular succession of professors and tutors in all colleges and universities from the earliest time that such institutions acquired a corporiety; but such a succession will prove nothing as to the nature of the charter under which they have acted. The fact of a regular succession of ordained clergymen from a very ancient period, therefore, proves nothing as to their *divine* appointment at the beginning. The point at issue is, whether Christ or the apostles made episcopal ordination essential to the functions of religious teachers, or whether ordination originally implied any thing else than a mere public recognition of a man's ability to teach on the part of those who were competent to ascertain his capacity and gifts.

The point, therefore, that we shall discuss with the Oxford divines is, whether Christ or his apostles established an ecclesiastical corporation of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, who were vested with exclusive powers to ordain their successors in the ministry, administer the sacraments, &c. This point must be determined before we can admit the Church of England to be the true catholic church of Christ, and who enjoys all the benefits and privileges that he is asserted to have conferred on the church.

All the leading Christian sects agree, with the Oxford divines, that bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as being recognized by the Scriptures, must be considered as sanctioned by apostolic authority; but the theologians and doctors of all Protestant sects differ from them as to the commission, function, or authority that was conferred on these ministers of the church. There is no dispute whatever as to the fact whether there were bishops, presbyters, and deacons in office in the churches established by the apostles, but the controversy is, what were their powers and functions in

those churches? Now on this point the Oxford divines have assumed the well-known argument, so long employed by their church, namely, that the episcopal form was that constitution of the Christian church which is recorded to have been in operation by the earliest fathers; and therefore since that form can be traced up to the age *nearly* succeeding the apostles, so it is most unreasonable not to regard this fact as abundant proof that episcopacy was established by the apostles; for it is urged, with a delusive plausibility, how could the primitive Christians forsake and follow a system differing from that established by the apostles?

But this inference, plausible as it may seem to those who are ignorant of this controversy, becomes naught in the fact that all other Protestant sects deny that the primitive church was of the constitution as claimed by the advocates of episcopacy, and that the testimony of the earlier fathers is contrary to such a supposition; and hence the inferences, as made by the English Church, are a direct begging of the question. A strenuous controversy has long existed among the differing sects of Christians as to what was the form of the primitive church, the rank, power, functions, &c., of her ministers, as set forth in the writings of the fathers of the first three centuries. But this question, we presume, will never be determined, seeing that the theologians of one sect claim the evidence of those fathers as establishing the doctrine of the Church of Rome, others that of the Church of England; others contend the testimony of the fathers demonstrates the doctrine of the Presbyterians, and others again claim their testimony to justify the position of the Independents. If we should rely upon the doctors of any one of these four churches, we should infer, from their writings, that those of the other three were the most prejudiced and unreasonable people in the world.

After the volumes upon volumes that have been written in this controversy, we should have studied to little profit if we did not come to the direct conclusion that neither Christ nor his apostles recognized any form of church establishment as essential to our Christian obedience; otherwise, the Scriptures surely would have told us so *expressly*, but this all sects agree they have not done.*

* Even the Oxford divines acknowledge this in their eighth Tract: "There is no part of the ecclesiastical system which is not *faintly* traced in Scripture, and *no part which is much more than faintly traced.*"

This judgment of ours is again directly confirmed in the fact that nothing can be gathered from the writings of the fathers that will establish the particular theory of any of the contending churches, though inferences more or less favorable to any one of them may be gleaned from these ancient writings. This, to us, is conclusive that no particular form of church or of ministerial function had been delivered to them as of *jus divinum, divine right,* for we cannot believe they would have forsaken such a system. But as there was no form bound on them as matter of obligation, so their practice was loose and undeterminate, and differed among them in various particulars, until expediency, sometimes misjudgment, and sometimes less pardonable motives, influenced them to become consolidated into forms of church organization which we cannot recognize as being that used in the apostolic age, but of that corruption which the apostles did foretell should take place in the church.

Now, to understand the constitution of the primitive church correctly, a short exposition only is necessary to show the fallacies of the positions assumed on this subject, not only by the Oxford divines, but by other writers on ecclesiastical polity. These controversialists, for the most part, very ignorantly suppose that the terms bishop, presbyter, and deacon were first used in relation to the church by our Saviour or his apostles, and that they were consecrated by them, for the first time, to designate the ministry of the Christian church. But never was there a more grievous mistake; for the words bishop, presbyter, and deacon were names of officers in the Jewish synagogues, and were familiarly used as

From the Dublin Review of May, 1840, pages 345, 346, a Roman Catholic publication, we take the following statement: "Avowedly there is no direct mention of the bishop of Rome in the Scripture, no specification of the spiritual authority given to St. Peter; no, nor even of the authority given to the successors of the apostles in general. On these subjects the Scripture is silent. Not one of the sacred writers has thought of describing in detail the plan of church government which the apostles established to be observed after their death. For that we must have recourse, as the Oxford teachers admit, to tradition."

We also subjoin the following observation of Dr. Miller of Princeton, a learned defender of the Presbyterian theory: "And here it is proper to premise, that whoever expects to find any formal or explicit decisions on this subject, delivered by Christ or his apostles, will be disappointed."—*Miller's Letters on the Christian Ministry, &c.*, p. 26.

such among the Jews for centuries before our Saviour's advent. In proof of this the reader can consult Lightfoot in various passages, especially see vol. vi, p. 226, &c., together with other writers on rabbinical usages.

It is also abundantly clear that the synagogue, with all its customs, though excellent in their design and use, were not of divine appointment. The synagogue service stood in relation to the temple service, which was of divine appointment, very much as a prayer meeting with us at the present day does in relation to the regular public service. The synagogue necessarily was much more conspicuous than our prayer meetings, because there was and could be but one temple to the whole Jewish nation; but throughout Judea, and everywhere among the Gentiles, the Jews could, and thought themselves obliged to, establish synagogues. Hence they are prominent in the latter periods of Jewish history as places of public assembly for religious worship. Our Saviour and his apostles continually attended the Jewish synagogues, and the first disciples were members of them until they were expelled by the unbelieving Jews. But when the first Christian believers had become sufficiently numerous, they assembled together as a body under the accustomed forms of the synagogue, as is evident from the manner in which their religious worship was performed, and in the appointment of the ordinary synagogue officers, namely, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, whose functions were perfectly well understood as being old institutions to which they and their fathers had been accustomed for centuries. But though Christ and his apostles thus used the form of the old Jewish synagogue, they nowhere tell us that they had conferred the sanction of a divine approbation upon that form, as being obligatory upon Christians for ever; consequently, as they have not done this, we cannot come to any other rational conclusion than that they considered the assemblies of Christians to be under ordinary synagogue usages, and which, as being perfectly understood, required no instruction from them. We therefore cannot look upon the primitive Christian churches to have been any thing else than mere synagogues, whether it regards the appointments of the ministers, or ceremonial of religious services. By these simple facts we can explain why the Scriptures are silent on the subject, as well as

every particular belonging to the history of the earlier Christians; for it becomes a very easy matter to understand how corruptions were superinduced upon synagogue usages, and how the simple bishops, presbyters, and deacons of the first Christian synagogues, in the course of three centuries, should have attained to an eminence altogether inconsistent with the original theory of their appointment as synagogue officers. On the contrary, the notion that Christ or his apostles did actually establish a church under positive appointments, is altogether irreconcilable with the fact that the Scriptures nowhere recognize any such constitution. And further, the testimony of the fathers of the first three centuries could not have been so utterly inconclusive, had there ever been any particular church economy established either by the wisdom or the authority of Christ or his apostles.

The most impartial view of the primitive church that we are acquainted with is that of Lord King, formerly chancellor of England, who has, from the writings of the fathers of the first three centuries, brought together all those particulars more especially bearing on the subject. But the reader must not forget that a period of one hundred and fifty years intervenes between the times of the apostles and that of the earliest father, and consequently Lord King's book does not, for he could not, give any information as to the earliest state of things after the apostles, but during which period the mystery of iniquity must have worked strongly, seeing it had begun in the very days of St. Paul, under his actual cognizance.* 2 Thess. ii, 7.

But though we apprehend enough has been said to show how inconclusive are the assumptions of the Oxford Tracts as to the divine constitution of the English Church, and apostolical descent of her ministry, yet, to furnish our readers with other arguments to meet those who defend episcopacy upon the theory of the Tracts, we shall now show that all the evidence that the Church of England has ever been able to accumulate on those subjects is so palpably defective, that many of her most distinguished clergy have openly denied the Church of England to be of divine appointment, as well as other assumptions based upon the theory of her divine constitution. Among this number are persons no less eminent than Archbishops Usher and Tillotson. Bishops Burnett, Hoadly, Warbur-

ton, Watson, Tomline, &c., besides doctors and historians, such as Lightfoot, Chillingworth, Milner, Faber, &c.* But as the favorers of Oxford divinity are not ordinarily well read in the writings of the above regularly ordained clergymen of their own church, it may not be amiss to substantiate our assertion with some short quotations, which are both directly and indirectly pregnant with wholesome considerations.

Bishop Warburton, in his Tracts, page 467, makes the following observation upon one who is generally quoted as the great champion of episcopacy:—

"The great Hooker was not only against, but laid down principles that have entirely subverted *all pretences to a divine unalterable right in any form of church government whatever.* Yet, strange to say, his work was so unavoidable a confutation of Puritanical principles, which, by the way, claimed their presbytery as of divine right, that the Churchmen took advantage of the success of their champion, and now began to claim a divine right for episcopacy on the strength of that very book *that subverted all pretences to every species of divine right whatsoever.*"

Again, the same eminent bishop, in his Sermon on Church Communion, makes the following remarks:—

"My purpose in this discourse was only to expose the vain opinion of inherent sanctity, or superiority, or exclusive privilege, in one church above another, merely because founded by a Paul, a Peter, an Andrew, or a James, or merely because administered by an hierarchy, by an equal ministry, or a moderate episcopacy; because such opinions have produced, and do still produce, that wretched spirit, which here, on the authority of God's word, I have endeavored to discredit, and ventured to condemn, confiding in the oracles of eternal truth, *that he that is not against us is for us,*" (the sermon was preached upon Mark ix, 39, or Luke xi, 49, 50,) "and will be treated by our heavenly Father not as a rebel, but a subject; and, therefore, should be now considered by us as he will then be by him, who is the common Judge of us both."

* That we may anticipate any cavil concerning the sentiments of the individuals quoted in our text, we must remark, that though they are altogether opposed to the views of the Oxford divines, for these doctrines are of ancient date in the English Church, yet, nevertheless, all those quoted by us considered episcopacy to be of apostolic usage and approbation. They adopted that theory on the same grounds as the Presbyterians or the Independents have done with theirs, under the persuasion that it was most conformable with the usages of primitive times. But at the same time they do not esteem episcopacy to be of *divine enactment*, nor that it is *essential* to a Christian church. A good idea of their general sentiments on the subject may be formed from the quotations we make from Bishops Warburton and Tomline.

We will add to the foregoing the opinion of Bishop Tomline, the preceptor of the late William Pitt, prime minister of England:—

"As it has not pleased our almighty Father to prescribe any particular form of civil government for the security of temporal comforts to his rational creatures, *so neither has he prescribed any particular form of ecclesiastical polity* as absolutely necessary to the attainment of eternal happiness, &c. The gospel only lays down general principles, and leaves the application of them to men as free agents. Faith and good works are the only things indispensably required for salvation." And again, "*Neither Christ nor his apostles prescribed any particular form of ordaining ministers* to be observed in succeeding ages; but they left this, with other things of a similar nature, to be regulated by the church." (*Prettyman's* Elements of Theology*, vol. ii, pp. 396, 397, 427.)

Now, shall we be absurdly told, in reply to this, that other archbishops and bishops have maintained the divine constitution of the primitive church, and apostolical descent of the clergy of the English Church? Why, this is an undoubted fact; but what is their testimony worth when we consider the undue weight that great worldly honors and rich endowments necessarily had upon men testifying to a system that so deeply involved their own interest? The testimony of such persons, like that of the Oxford divines, cannot be received but as influenced by the bias of self-interest, which both reason and law exclude from witnessing in their own cause. But against this testimony of the self-interested there are many bishops and doctors of the English Church who, well aware of the controversy on this subject, have nevertheless honestly renounced the doctrine of a divine constitution for their Church, as well as the apostolical succession of their ministry. That they should do so, unless the doctrine maintained by the Oxford Tracts was altogether deficient in its supposed proofs, would be an incomprehensible proceeding on the part of men of acknowledged virtue, capacity, and learning.

We have thus furnished our readers with a conclusive argument against the assumptions of the Oxford divines; for it must appear preposterously absurd in their episcopal advocates to expect that unprejudiced persons should recognize their assumption of a divine constitution and succession, when bishops and doctors of their own Church scout such pretensions. But as we have other

* Tomlin, bishop of Lincoln, had his name changed from Prettyman.

objections to urge on this subject, we shall endeavor to make a deeper impression on our readers by a closer analysis of the Tracts.

The Oxford divines, after having most distinctly proclaimed that Christ or his apostles did establish a corporation of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, with exclusive powers to ordain their successors, administer the sacraments, &c., next fill up the outline of this bold assumption with traditions of the clergy, concerning their own authority and powers, together with the establishment of sundry rites, ceremonies, doctrines, &c., unknown to the Scriptures. After they have stuffed their work out to a sufficient magnitude, they present it to the world as the true catholic church of Christ, to whom he made an unfailing promise that "he would be with her to the end of the world."

But notwithstanding this specific promise of Christ that he would be with the church to the end of the world, the Oxford Tracts directly state that the Catholic Church, during the progress of a thousand years, fell into grievous errors of faith, doctrine, and practice!!! (*Tracts*, Nos. 30, 35, &c.) But then, again, we are assured by the Tracts the Church of England purified herself entirely from all the errors and corruptions that had occurred in the Catholic Church, and that she now possesses the original holiness and perfection of the church as at first constituted by Christ or his apostles. The Church of England, therefore, is the true and only catholic church, seeing the dissenters are all schismatics, and that the Romanists have, according to the conclusion of the thirty-fifth Tract, "so corrupted the truth of God's word, that they are not to be listened to for a moment." Now, we are free to confess that nothing can be more vexatiously incomprehensible than the above statement; for, in the first place, we cannot understand how a church having the promise of Christ's continuous presence until the end of the world could possibly become corrupt. And, again, when from the notorious corruptions of the Romish Church we could satisfy ourselves that the nature of Christ's promise to the church has been altogether misunderstood, so that the contradiction is from the absurd interpretation, and not from any failure of Christ's promise,—we say, when we have become convinced of this, our understanding is utterly confounded in being told by the Oxford Tracts that the promise of Christ stands fast according to the Ro-

mish interpretation, has never failed, and is yet the peculiar boast and privilege of the Church of England!!!

But, according to the doctrine of the Oxford Tracts, Christ's promise to be with the church to the end of the world is fulfilled by the simple preservation of episcopal succession among the clergy. The promise of Christ was not to preserve the church from error in faith, doctrine, or practice, but that an episcopally ordained succession of ministers should never be wanting to the church. This promise then has never failed, so that no matter how profligate any of this apostolically ordained ministry may have become, nevertheless their wickedness does not the less make them the ministers of God to us, and through whom alone we may with confidence expect to obtain that salvation for which Christ died. But this position of the Oxford divines, instead of removing difficulties, only makes matters more confused; for, if the claim of the Church of England to be the true catholic church of Christ rests not upon a profession of the true doctrines of Christianity, but upon her episcopal succession from the apostles, how are we to regard the Greek Church, the Nestorian, Coptic, and other Eastern churches, that have an episcopal succession as well as the Church of England? Nay, so has the Church of Rome, undeniably. How can we then determine to which of these divinely constituted hierarchies our allegiance properly belongs? According to the doctrine of the Tracts it would seem to be an indifferent matter which we submitted to, seeing they all have episcopal ordination and succession. But then if this be true, is it not supremely absurd for the Church of England to obtrude herself on our consciences as being the only true catholic church, seeing her only argument is the apostolic succession of her clergy, which apostolical ordination is equally conceded to the Romish, the Greek, and various Eastern churches?

But again, if the promise of Christ to be with the church did not imply security from errors of faith and doctrine, and that it is alone fulfilled in the preservation of episcopal ordination, it surely would be reasonable for us to have anticipated that this great blessing would have been transmitted through a succession of apostolically minded men or bishops. Now without loading the Church of England with the ecclesiastical obliquities of popes and bishops before the Reformation, or of any of her own clergy since, we shall merely state, as an eminent proof of the whimsical absurdity

of the Oxford Tracts, that the Church of England, as such, has never had any choice whatever in selecting her bishops, those vaunted successors of the apostles. Neither could she refuse to accept them when nominated by the crown, but was obliged to take and consecrate them, fit or not fit, by communicating to them the Holy Ghost. The promise, therefore, of Christ, as to the successors of his apostles, does not rest on the Church in her corporate existence, but is vested in the prime minister of England, whom, by direct inference from the theory of the Oxford Tracts, we must presume to be qualified by the Holy Ghost to select individuals most suitable for the perfecting of the Church, and for transmitting that spirit of ordination without which no one can rightly administer the holy sacraments, or proclaim to the people, they being penitent, the remission of their sins.

That our readers may fully appreciate the correctness of the foregoing observation, we extract the following admissions from the fifty-ninth Oxford Tract:—

"The appointment of *all our bishops, and in much the greater number of instances of those who are to undertake the cure of souls*, is vested in the hands of individuals irresponsible and unpledged to any opinions or any conduct; laymen, good or bad, as it may happen, orthodox or heretic, faithful or infidel. The bishops, *every one of them*, are, as a matter of fact, appointed by the prime minister for the time being, who, since the repeal of the test act, may be an avowed Socinian, or even atheist.* A very large proportion of other church benefices, carrying with them the cure of souls, are likewise in the hands of the prime minister or of the lord chancellor, and other lay patrons, who, like him, may be of any or no religion. As to the election, (of the bishops,) the dean and chapter, with whom it still formally rests, have only twelve days given them to inquire into the character of the person nominated, *who may be an entire stranger to every one of them, or known through report most unfavorably;* if they fail to elect in this time, *election* becomes unnecessary, and the crown *presents* without it. And now the dean and chapter have eight days given them, and the archbishop twenty, for reflection; if within these periods the former fails *to go through the form of election*, and the latter *to consecrate*, both parties subject themselves to the pains and penalties of a *præmunire*, that is,

* This is a spiteful fling at the repeal of an act which the Oxford divines know very well never at any time prevented either atheist or Socinian from being prime minister. But it excluded every conscientious dissenter in England from any office of trust or honor, and the malevolence of the high churchmen overflowed on the consideration that they could persecute the dissenters no longer.

all their goods, ecclesiastical and personal, are liable to confiscation, and themselves to imprisonment till such time as they submit."

It must be evident from the foregoing extract, that to reconcile the statement there made with the doctrine of the Oxford Tracts concerning the divine constitution of their Church, it is necessary to consider the Redeemer of the world as having abandoned all government of the church as its head. He has divested himself of all agency other than that of sustaining the "awful authority" of the clergy of the Church of England, and of communicating the Holy Ghost to those bishops and ecclesiastics "whom prime ministers, chancellors or laymen, orthodox or heretic, faithful or infidel, see fit to appoint to the cure of souls." Though clergymen may be forced on the church unworthy of their appointment, yet are they afterward made fit by Christ himself, who sanctifies the patronage of the prime minister, chancellor, or laymen,* and intrusts the individual now made holy "with the keys of heaven and of hell, and with the mysterious gift of making the bread and wine Christ's body and blood," as we have already quoted from the tenth Tract in a preceding page.

Now, whatever other persons may think of a doctrine that involves such inferences, we cannot hesitate to term it blasphemous, and how any one not laboring under judicial blindness can think otherwise, we must acknowledge appears to us to be incomprehensible. But as we are unable to say any thing on this subject that can put it in a more odious light, we shall turn our

* As it is not an easy matter to ascertain the true motives of prime ministers, &c., in selecting bishops and other ecclesiastics, we give the following edifying extracts as illustrative of ordinary views upon such subjects: "In this manner did I acquire a bishopric. But I have no great reason to be proud of the promotion; for I think I owed it, not to any regard which he who gave it me had to the zeal and industry with which I had for many years discharged the functions and fulfilled the duties of an academic life, but to the opinion which, from my sermon, he had erroneously entertained, *that I was a warm, and might become a useful (political) partisan.* Lord Shelburne, indeed, had expressed to the duke of Grafton his expectation that I would occasionally *write a pamphlet for their administration*, &c. I had written in support of the principles of the Revolution, &c. I had taken part with the people in their petitions against the influence of the crown, &c., &c. But all this was done from my own sense of things, and without the least view of pleasing any party. *I did, however, happen to please a (political) party, and they made me a bishop.*" —*Bishop of Landaff's (Watson) Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 153.

attention to other matters, commending the preceding exposition to the consideration of such of the Episcopal sect in the United States as may happen to see these pages, the unavoidable inferences that follow the doctrinal theory of the Oxford Tracts. How much superior to such a system as this, and how much more conformable to the letter as well as to the spirit of Christianity is the doctrine of that respectable minority of the Church of England, who, though they advocate episcopacy under the belief that it is more conformable to the usages of the primitive church, and to an inferential approbation of the apostles, than any other form of church polity; nevertheless, at the same time, recognize other Protestant sects as being true members of the body of Christ, and fully entitled to all the privileges and blessings of the Christian profession. The doctrine of a divinely constituted church, and apostolic succession of clergy, on the contrary, is not only absurd, as we have already shown it to be, but it counteracts Christian charity, engenders pride and bigotry, has thrown the English Church out of communion with Protestant churches, and has arrayed her on the side of the Romish Church under circumstances highly prejudicial to the principles of true Christianity. This we shall hereafter attempt to demonstrate to our readers under an exhibition that involves the most serious considerations, even though we may err in the application we shall there make.

Hitherto we have regarded the Church of England only by controverting the magnificent position assumed for her by the Oxford divines, and not according to the light in which she ought to be regarded according to her public and private history. But we shall now devote some space to that subject, and an exhibition of her corporate history and proceedings, of which it may be said in the words of Junius to the duke of Bedford, "that there is still left ample field for speculation when panegyric is exhausted."

Whatever may be the views of the different Christian sects as to the constitution of the primitive church, or of the authority of the first Christian ministers, yet all will agree that, by fair means or by foul, the whole of western Christendom became consolidated into one universal system, which recognized the popes of Rome to be its true visible head. When the Reformation of Luther took place in Europe, the clergy of this Catholic Church were familiar to the eyes of all men as a corporation that had existed above a

thousand years under very full and defined constitutions as to their functions and privileges, the exalted character of which might be safely inferred from the fact, that the clergy themselves had been the legislators for themselves, and that they firmly believed they were of Christ's own appointment, and under the formidable protection of angels, saints, and martyrs. Under such a theory it may be readily understood that the clergy were amply provided for in large endowments and revenues, as well as rank and honors. They were further intrenched behind innumerable precedents, derived from fathers, councils, and popes, speculating upon, or legislating directly on their own privileges and authority. It would be altogether superfluous for us to prove this, or to show that whatever honor or profit may have been claimed by the Romish Church anywhere in Europe prior to the Reformation, undoubtedly was fully enjoyed by the clergy of that church in England. Hence it would be unreasonable to expect that any reformation could take place in that kingdom which would be favorably entertained by the great body of the clergy, whatever might be the sentiments of particular individuals. We, therefore, are not surprised to find that the Reformation was forced on the Church in England by the king and his courtier nobles, who stripped her of many temporal possessions, reduced her spiritual pretensions, compelled her to renounce the pope, and to recognize the king and his successors to be the head of the English Church. Having accomplished this rough reformation, the crown set up whatever remained of the old Romish Church in England under a new commission, derived from acts of parliament, as the English or Anglican Church: *Ecclesia Anglicana*, as termed in the first acts to that purpose.

But notwithstanding this reformation of the English Church, our readers must not forget that the improvements of Henry VIII. and of Queen Elizabeth were made upon a clergy who at heart were essentially papists, and who affectionately regarded all those doctrines and practices belonging to the Church of Rome which so greatly magnified the clerical function before the Reformation. And as the court soon discovered how useful the Church would become as a part of the state machinery, the clergy were soon indulged in the full expression of any doctrine, or the enjoyment of any advantage that they could arrogate to themselves and their Church, which did not interfere with the regal prerogative as its

head. The consequences of this tacit compact between the Church and the crown have occasioned some perplexity to those who read English history, from their not distinctly comprehending that, though the state considers the Church to be the creature of the state, and is treated as such, yet that the Church is also allowed by the state to consider herself what she pleases, and, further than this, encourages her in her most consequential assumptions by an exclusive state protection. To give our readers a proper view of this subject, we will *first* show the Church of England as acting unchecked by the state, and, *secondly*, as acting under the control of the state.

To show to what extent the clergy of the English Church have carried their spiritual pretensions, and the ingenuity with which they have arrogated to themselves the powers of the Romish clergy, we will avail ourselves of a few extracts from the masterly hand of Bishop Hoadly, who, a hundred years ago, in a work ironically dedicated to Pope Clement XI., thus satirically notices certain arrogant pretensions of the English Church, though justice compels us to say that the bishop's satire was more generally intended.

"Your holiness is not aware how near the churches of US Protestants have at length come to those privileges and perfections which you boast of as peculiar to your own church. . . . You *cannot* err in any thing you determine, and we *never do:* that is, in one word, *you are infallible*, and *we are always in the right*. We cannot but esteem the advantage to be exceedingly on our side in this case, because we have all the benefits of *infallibility* without the absurdity of pretending to it. . . . Authority results as well from power as from right, and a majority of votes is as strong a foundation for it as infallibility itself. Councils that *may* err, never *do!!*

"There was no manner of necessity in your church to discard the Scriptures as a rule of faith open to all Christians, and to set up the church in distinction to them. It is but taking care, in some of our controversies, to fix upon the laity that they must not abuse this right of reading the Scriptures by pretending to be wiser than their superiors, and that they must take care to understand *particular texts* as the church understands them, and as their guides, (the clergy,) who have an *interpretative authority*, explain them."

"Some have changed the *authoritative absolution* of the Romish Church into an *authoritative intercession* of the priest, who is now become, with US, a *mediator* between God and man. This creates the same *dependence* of the laity upon the priests, and shows how *dextrous* we are in changing words, when there is occasion, without changing things at all."

"As for us of the Church of England, we have bishops in a succession as certainly uninterrupted from the apostles as your church could communicate to us: and upon this bottom, which makes US a true church, we have a right to separate from you, but no persons living have any right to differ or separate from US. . . . Thus we have indeed left you, but we have fixed ourselves in your seat, and make no scruple to resemble you in our defenses of ourselves and censures of others, whenever we think it proper."

Such has been the proceeding of the Church of England as a corporation, acting as she pleased, unchecked by the state. We shall now show, in a brief manner, how she has acted under the direct control of the state.

The history of England shows us distinctly that the Church has ever been an important part of the political machinery of that country, and that she has been employed in every agency which the civil rulers of that kingdom have been engaged in, whether for good or for evil. Hence the opinions of the prelates and doctors of the English Church are, to a great extent, directly opposed to one another upon almost all the great questions belonging to the interests of mankind. At one period of English history they are more or less hostile to the Church of Rome, at another time more or less partial to her. At one time they advocate the adoption of principles more or less favorable to civil liberty, and at another time they vindicate the most arbitrary measures of the crown. This variety of principles and opinions indicates the different political changes which took place in the civil administrations of the government, which appointed bishops and other ecclesiastics favorable to the despotic temper of the court when the times encouraged arbitrary princes, or again as being favorable to the liberty of the subject, when the crown was compelled to regard the popular voice. In other words, according to the various contingencies under which the British constitution has gradually assumed its present features, so we shall always find, with but one important exception, which we shall soon advert to, that the Church of England echoed the opinions maintained by the court. This eminently servile Church, at a period when the liberties of the English nation were in the greatest danger from the assumptions of the crown, preached the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance to the usurpations of their arbitrary monarchs, or, as it is complacently stated by Dr. South, one of her divines, "*the Church of*

England is the only church in Christendom we read of, whose avowed principles and practices disown all resistance of the civil power, and which the saddest experience and the truest policy and reason will evince (that is, to the crown) to be the only one which is durably consistent with the English monarchy."

However, the great favor shown by the state to the Church of England ultimately gave rise to some mischievous consequences, for the Church being of divine appointment, according to her own continual teaching, and being recognized and protected as such by the state, she naturally became so powerful as to contend with the crown whenever this last attempted aught against church property or privileges; so that King James II., in calculating on the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, as preached by the English clergy, soon found, by his expulsion from the kingdom, that what the Church *professed* and what the Church *did* belonged to two very different categories. On the settlement of things in England under King William, a huge wen of absurdities was removed from the Church in the exclusion of the non-juring clergy, and her spiritual health might have been much improved had she adopted the good Christian doctrines and principles brought into her councils by Tillotson, Hoadly, Burnet, &c. But the old popish leaven was too strong to be counteracted; the Church rejected all attempts for improvement, and remained the same as ever, so that at last the convocation of the English clergy, A. D. 1718, was prorogued by the royal authority, nor have they ever been permitted to transact any business since that time, the court having found out, by the experience of King James II., that Dr. South's character of the Church of England was incorrect when he affirmed her to be "a church not born into the world *with teeth and talons, like popery and presbytery*, but like a lamb, innocent, and defenceless, and silent, not only under the shearer, but under the butcher too."

From our previous discourse it must be evident how it happens that the Church of England, though ever maintaining sundry old Romish doctrines with pertinacity, and at times advocating the most slavish submission to the crown, should at other times, by other bishops and doctors, also maintain doctrines directly the reverse, so that, in the opinions of some one party or other in her communion, we can find almost any kind of doctrine to suit the various consciences of men. If we should appeal to her different

doctors as of equal authority in determining controverted points, we could never come to any conclusion upon any subject. The nearest approach, therefore, that we can make toward ascertaining the real doctrines of the Church of England, as a corporation, will be to estimate them by the number, not by the worth of those advocating various opinions. Acting upon this principle, which, by the by, is the manner in which orthodoxy is generally ascertained in other churches, we should presume it to be undeniable that a majority of the clergy of the English Church have ever maintained an amount of popish doctrines, from popish times, sufficiently justifying the Oxford Tracts to be considered as an exhibition of her corporate faith substantially correct. We can, from an early period of the past history of the English Church, perceive more or less traces of similar opinions, and more or less explicit avowal of them by many of her doctors, even in times when the Church seemed to be most inclined toward the great principles of the Protestant communion.

But whatever doubts may exist as to the past attachments of the English clergy to the doctrines of the Church of Rome, yet, in the favorable reception of the Oxford Tracts, no one can doubt that a large body of the English clergy do regret the Reformation, and their consequent separation from Rome; and they would submit to as great humiliation as pride could submit to, would it procure a recognition of the English Church from the pope as being a true branch of the Catholic Church. The Rev. Mr. Trowde, of Oriel College, Oxford, a few years back attempted to ascertain the practicability of such a recognition, but failed, from the uncompromising temper of Romish infallibility. Another attempt may be more successful.

Though we have already exceeded the space we had anticipated would be sufficient to expose the unwarrantable assumptions of the Oxford Tracts, yet we are not ready to close our observations upon those writings. These Tracts are an exposition of the doctrines of a powerful sect, who, as sustained by the government of a great kingdom, have had a great influence in the moral and intellectual world. There are some very serious considerations involved in the history of the influence of the Church of England, as bearing upon the general history of Christianity, and which have a much closer connection with the Oxford Tracts than their writers could

have ever anticipated. We therefore request our readers will bear with us a little while longer.

Notwithstanding the promise of Christ that the gates of hades should not prevail against his church, and notwithstanding his promise to be with that church until the end of the world, yet he never taught his followers to expect that his kingdom should be established after the model of any of the things of this world, nor did he ever teach them to expect *they should cease to have tribulation in this world*, though he told them, in the very same verse, "to be of good cheer, for that he had overcome the world," John xvi, 33.

In strict conformity to this declaration, we learn from various passages of the book of Revelation, that the *saints*, certainly the true followers of Jesus Christ, are everywhere represented as enduring afflictions, persecutions, and death: see Rev. vi, 9, 10, 11; vii, 13, 14; xiii, 7; xvi, 6; xviii, 6, &c. Nor is there any entire deliverance intimated to them until after the downfall of antichrist and the mystical Babylonian harlot. Both of these events, all Protestant commentators of any reputation consider, are yet to be fulfilled. But among all the various exhibitions of the apocalyptic vision, of the various metaphorical beasts that should exercise dominion on the earth, and amid all the varieties of human operation there delineated, both as acting and as suffering, there is no symbol that exhibits the true church of Christ as having corporate existence, nor any corporate agency in the transactions of these anticipated events of future Christian history.*

But if Christ had given a corporate existence to his church, like what the Oxford divines have claimed for it, and which had the

* But though there is no church of Christ represented in the apocalypse existing as a visible corporate body, yet, as if in express confutation of any hypothesis on the subject, or on that systematic *unity* which is so much extolled by the Oxford and other high church divines as essential to the very being of a true church, we find that *two witnesses*, clothed in sackcloth, (Rev. xi, 1–13,) were revealed to St. John as *God's witnesses for religious truth* during the long domination of the Romish beast, of which we shall presently speak. According to all late Protestant commentators deserving attention, these two witnesses are the two churches of the Waldenses and Albigenses; and the most able work proving this is a volume recently published by the Rev. Mr. Faber, an English clergyman of the Establishment, and entitled, "The Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses."

promise of his presence until the end of the world, ought we not to expect that the corporate existence and corporate agencies of this church would be recognized in a volume addressed to Christians, professedly treating of future things, and alone interesting to them as being members of the body of Christ? If this non-recognition of a visible church in the book of Revelation is not sufficient to authorize us to reject such an hypothesis, let us try what the theory is worth under a discussion of the affirmative proposition, that Christ did establish a visible corporate church. Now if this be true, the Church of Rome is the only one that can, from her great antiquity, advance even the shadow of a claim to be that true church. Yet most assuredly the Church of Rome cannot be the church of Christ, for she is plainly set forth as "a harlot, drunk with *the blood of the saints*, and with *the blood of the martyrs of Jesus*," Rev. xvii, 4, 6, 18. It is impossible to doubt who this emblematical harlot represents, when we have been expressly told, "she is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth."

It is, therefore, clear, at least to every Protestant, that the Church of Rome cannot be the visible church of Christ, for she is represented to have *persecuted* the saints and martyrs of Jesus. These saints and martyrs, therefore, were external to the Church of Rome; and as being so, to what visible church are they to be referred?

If we should take up the whimsical claim of the Church of England to this honor, even under the grossest impropriety in the use of tropical figures as considering her the virtuous daughter of a drunken, profligate harlot, the claim cannot be sustained for a moment, for where was the true church of Christ from the times of the apostles until A. D. 1533, when Henry VIII. founded the Church of England? The absurdity of the supposition requires no comment, and the words of Christ, promising to be with the church to the end of the world, must be understood to contemplate a fulfilment entirely different from the one assumed by the Church of Rome in the first place, or by the Oxford Tracts in the second, under their slight modification of the popish theory.

But if we have been unable to discover that VISIBLE CHURCH, or ecclesiastical corporation, to which belonged the *persecuted saints and martyrs* of the apocalyptic vision, there is a good hope that we may be able to ascertain the visible churches *to*

which they did not belong, and by doing this who can tell what light may follow the exhibition of such negative proof? We shall, therefore, proceed to the investigation of this matter.

St. John, in the thirteenth chapter of the apocalypse, says, between the first and seventh verses, that he saw rising out of the sea a great beast, whose peculiar character as being essential to our commentary we shall give in his own words:—

"1. And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy.

"2. And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion, and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority.

"3. And I saw one of his heads as it were wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed, and all the world wondered after the beast.

"4. And they worshiped the dragon which gave power unto the beast: and they worshiped the beast, saying, Who is like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him?

"5. And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies, and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months.

"6. And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.

"7. And it was given unto him to make war with the *saints, and to overcome them;* and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations."

The eighth, ninth, and tenth verses, being unimportant to our exposition, are omitted.

According to all Protestant commentators of any value this symbolic beast represents western Christendom in that ecclesiastico-political condition resulting from popish influences, which brought the kingdoms of Europe into an absolute submission to the papal authority, and which, as the soul of the system, gives her peculiar character to the entire confederacy. The Romish Church, as having the entire control of things both temporal and spiritual, is considered to have absorbed the kingdoms of Europe into her corporiety, and this papal condition of things is represented in the apocalypse by a symbolic beast, whose various heads and horns show plainly its compounded nature.

But after St. John had described this great beast, he next informs us, between the eleventh and eighteenth verses of the same

chapter, that he saw another beast coming up out of the earth, whose peculiarities we must also exhibit in the descriptive language of the vision. Rev. xiii, 11, &c.

"11. And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.

"12. *And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them that dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed.*

"13. And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men:

"14. And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast, saying to them that dwell on the earth, *that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword and did live.*

"15. And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, *that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed.*

"16. And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads:

"17. And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name."

The identification of this latter or two-horned beast with its antitype has hitherto been unsuccessful. Commentators on the apocalypse not only differ considerably among themselves on the subject, but their solutions have depended upon varying the proprieties observed everywhere else in the interpretation of the symbolic figures employed by the prophets who have thus tropically intimated to us the existence of future things. We therefore shall take that course which reason itself suggests to us, namely, that where symbols or figures have been used to represent particular states of things, so we must consider the employment of similar symbols to indicate analogous conditions of things throughout the whole writings of the same prophets.

Upon the principle, therefore, that as the beast with seven heads and ten horns represents a politico-ecclesiastical combination of ten kingdoms under papal domination, so the evident analogy of a beast with one head and two horns cannot but suggest to us the existence of a politico-ecclesiastical constitution, characterized by the peculiarity of its being composed of two kingdoms united together in one common government, which is indicated in the vision by the circumstance of the two horns being on one head. This view is directly sustained by the explanation made to the prophet Daniel

concerning the *ram with two horns* seen by him in a vision, (Dan. viii, 3,) and which an angel of God informed him indicated the Persian empire, as the united kingdom of Media and Persia.

Being, therefore, justified in our notion that the two-horned beast of the apocalypse symbolizes a politico-ecclesiastical state existing in the combination of two kingdoms under one crown, our next attempt will be to ascertain what kingdom does this symbolic beast represent. It may abridge our researches on this subject to keep in mind, that as the seven-headed ten-horned beast is undeniably the Roman Catholic Church in her state of domination, so the two-horned beast, by St. John's description, must be a politico-ecclesiastical state which glorifies the Romish Church, (Rev. xiii, 12,) which has erected an image resembling the Romish Church, who persecutes those who refuse to worship that image, and who allows no civil privileges but to those who do honor that image

We next defy any one who is not predetermined not to see to avoid coming to the conclusion, that the beast with two horns represents Great Britain in a politico-ecclesiastical attitude, that is, a compound of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, which have, in their common parliamentary legislation, perfected that image of the Romish Church, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND; which they have established by test and corporation acts so omnipotent in the government of the kingdom, that, in the language of the prophecy, "all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, received a mark in their right hand or in their foreheads, that *no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark*, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name."*

We cannot conceive how any one can be embarrassed with any misgivings as to the correctness of our application of this prophecy, unless they might suppose that the British government is based on the *three* kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. But such a notion is altogether fanciful. Ireland has never been but an appendage to England, as a country conquered by her. Ireland never had any voice in the British parliament until A. D. 1800, when a union was established between them, under the title

* This ingenious speculation of our learned correspondent is worthy of the most serious and careful consideration. But while we commend it to the candid reader as well worthy of patient investigation, *we* must not be considered as pledged for its defense.—ED.

of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The ram of Daniel's vision, to which we have previously referred, again furnishes us with a parallel exhibition, for it represents the Persian kingdom as composed of the two principal kingdoms of Media and Persia, and takes no notice of Babylonia, or of any other kingdom or nation subject to the Persian empire.

We have, however, another statement to make on this point. In the nineteenth chapter of Revelation, after describing the war made by HIM who rode on a white horse against the seven-headed ten-horned beast, aided by the kings of the earth, and which terminates in the utter discomfiture of the beast and his allies, it is there stated, at the twentieth verse, that the seven-headed beast was taken, "and with him *the false prophet* that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshiped his image."

Now from this latter statement we perceive distinctly that the beast with two horns, described in Rev. xiii, is here called the *false prophet*, for the twentieth verse of the nineteenth chapter minutely repeats a part of the character of the two-horned beast, as expressed in the fourteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter. The identity of the two, therefore, is undeniable.* This change of appellation, therefore, to *false prophet*, must indicate some marked peculiarity in the two-horned beast by which this term becomes appropriate. And we must confess our previous reference of the British ecclesiastical establishment to the two-horned beast is altogether unjustifiable if we are unable to vindicate the application of the term "false prophet" to that ecclesiastical establishment. In order to understand this matter distinctly, we must go back once more to the origin of the Church of England.

At the time of the Reformation, and for many years after, the testimony of the English Church was distinctly given to the world that the Church of Rome was the antichrist of the Scriptures, and,

* Some persons, from a careless view of the book of Revelation, have supposed that the *false prophet* designates the Mohammedan religion. But this is clearly erroneous; for *as* the two-horned beast and the false prophet are undeniably the same, *so* the two-horned beast is the friend and ally of the Romish beast. But Mohammedanism, both politically and theologically, has ever been directly hostile to the papal economy, which is with the Musselmans synonymous with Christianity. Therefore Mohammedanism cannot be "the false prophet."

consistently with such a doctrine, she assailed the peculiarities of the Romish faith, in common with all other Protestant churches; and there are no arguments more powerful and convincing against the popish system than are to be found in the writings and sermons of many of the English clergy of the sixteenth and earlier part of the seventeenth centuries. It was in this great principle that the Church of Rome was the Man of sin and antichrist, that they vindicated their separation from that church. Their cry then was continually, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues," Rev. xvii, 4. In harmony with this doctrine, the Church of England sympathized deeply in the tribulations of their Protestant brethren throughout Europe. They recognized their churches to be branches of the true church of Christ, and they extended the hand of fellowship to their ministers and preachers. But in process of time things were changed. The episcopal constitution of the Church of England, which at first was pure Erastianism, and was chiefly vindicated on the ground of being more conformable to primitive usages than any other system, gradually laid claim to apostolic succession, the result of which was, that after much angry contention on the subject, she cut off the dissenters upon her own soil as schismatics, and out of the pale of the true church of Christ. But after the Church of England had thus renounced the Puritans and dissenters, it became impossible, under her theory of apostolical succession, to hold brotherly communion with any other Protestant churches out of England, none of whom either had episcopal ordination, or regarded it as being any wise essential to their ecclesiastical ministrations. The Church of England, therefore, as a corporation, began at an early period to stand aloof from the entire body of Protestants in Christendom. She ultimately withdrew from them altogether, and has concerned herself little about them unless when it might be convenient to quote their ill treatment by the papists as justifying her own personal quarrel with the Church of Rome concerning the Irish tithes and livings.

At the same time that the English Church withdrew from the Protestant communion she adopted many of the old popish notions that the first reformers had rejected; gradually she began to sympathize with Rome by justifying certain of her practices, and imitating her in others; and finally she recognized Rome to be a true

church, though corrupt in some particulars. Accordingly, popish priests, if they embrace the doctrines of the Church of England, are at once received into her communion on the strength of their popish ordination; but all Protestant ministers, without distinction, openly declared to be schismatics from the church of Christ, are obliged to be reordained if they should seek admission into the body of English clergy.

If, therefore, the Church of Rome be the man of sin and the antichrist, the preceding facts show most distinctly how the term *false prophet* attaches to the Church of England. She began by prophesying, i. e., preaching, (for the words are synonymous,) in behalf of the great principles of Protestantism, and she has changed her practice from preaching or prophesying those principles into one directly the reverse. She no longer treats Rome as the antichrist, but has become her sympathizer and apologist, as far as this could be done consistently with her well known origin; and the Oxford divines and their many advocates are manifestly seeking a still further conformity with Rome in so many particulars, that the popular mind in England is disturbed, not knowing what is to be the end of all the machinery now set at work by them and their adherents.

Though any person acquainted with the history of the Church of England can have little doubt of the truth of this exposition of her want of conformity as a corporation to the great doctrines of Protestantism, yet we are not sorry that we can dispense with the labor of proving it, for the Oxford divines, in Tract No. 71, or vol. iii, p. 27, unhesitatingly affirm that *the Church of England is not a Protestant Church.* This statement, which directly establishes our theory why she is to be regarded as the *false prophet* of the apocalypse, we shall now lay before the reader:—

"And such again," say the Oxford Tracts, as above quoted, "*is the mischievous error; in which the Church in her formal documents certainly has no share, that we are but one among many Protestant bodies*, and that the differences between Protestants are of little consequence; whereas, THE ENGLISH CHURCH, *as such, is not* PROTESTANT, only politically, i. e., externally, or so far as it has been made an establishment, and subjected to national and foreign influences. It claims to be merely *reformed*, not PROTESTANT; *and it repudiates any fellowship with the mixed multitude which crowd together, whether at home or abroad, under a mere political banner*," (i. e., with all other Protestants.) "*That this is no novel doctrine is plain from the emphatic omission of the word* PRO-

TESTANT *in all our services;* even in that for the fifth of November, *as remodeled in the reign of King William,* and again from the protest of the Lower House of Convocation* at that date, on this very subject, which would have had no force, except as proceeding upon recognized usages. The circumstance here alluded to was as follows:— In A. D. 1689, the Upper House of Convocation agreed on an address to King William, to thank him 'for the grace and goodness expressed in his message, and the zeal shown in it for the *Protestant religion in general,* and the Church of England in particular.' To this phrase" (the one in italics) "the Lower House objected, as importing, as Birch in his Life of Tillotson says, *their owning common union with the foreign Protestants.* A conference between the two houses ensued, when the bishops supported their wording of the address on the ground that *the Protestant religion* was the known denomination of the *common doctrine of such parts of the west as had separated from Rome.* The Lower House proposed, with other alterations of the passage, the words, 'Protestant churches' for 'Protestant religion,' being unwilling to acknowledge religion as separate from the Church," (i. e., the Church of England.) "The Upper House, in turn, amended this,—'the interest of *the Protestant religion in* THIS'" (i. e., the Church of England,) "'*and all other Protestant churches;*' but the Lower House, *still jealous of any diminution of the English Church by this comparison with foreign Protestants,* persisted in their opposition, and gained at length that the address, after thanking the king for his zeal for the Church of England, should proceed to anticipate that thereby the interest of the Protestant religion in (not *this, and,* but) all other Protestant churches would be better secured. Birch adds, 'The king well understood why this address omitted the thanks which the bishops had recommended, for.... the zeal which he had shown for the Protestant religion; and *why there was no expression of tenderness to the dissenters, and but a cool regard to the Protestant churches.*'"

Surely, if there is any meaning in words, we can come to no other conclusion than that the above extract, whether as relates to the transaction itself, in King William's days, A. D. 1689, or in its concurrent adoption at the present time by the Oxford divines, fully justifies our view that the British Church and state, *first* symbolized in the apocalypse as the *two-horned beast,* is correctly represented, in the *second place,* as *the false prophet;* and in thus showing the identity of both symbols with the same antitype, who can doubt the accuracy of our whole exposition of this part of the

* The ecclesiastical assembly of the Church of England is called the Convocation. It consists of two bodies, or houses; the upper, consisting of the bishops; and the lower, of a certain number of the inferior clergy, selected for this object according to ancient customs or laws. There has been no convocation of the English clergy for business since A. D. 1718.

apocalyptic vision. The subject, however, with all its inferences, we leave to the serious consideration of our readers, be they of what denomination of Christians they may.

Our identification of the Church of England, arrayed as an ally on the side of the *Romish beast* in the predicted great battle of Armageddon, unavoidably leads us to conclude that great mystical event cannot be far distant from its fulfilment, since the preparatory movements already indicate future action. Let us add to this, that the Church of Rome is now actually employed, for the first time, in the active emission of popular tracts, advocating, with all her plausibility, the peculiar dogmas and superstitions of her antichristian foundation. The Church of England, by the Oxford Tracts, and similar productions, is zealously engaged in a similar work, that more or less directly justify the Romish pretensions as being matters of common interest. At the same time the immediate servants of the dragon, the Owens, Fanny Wrights, and such like, by the publication of all manner of obscene and irreligious books, are doing all they can to oppose the influences of genuine Christianity. Now, are these triple efforts prefigured by the thirteenth and fourteenth verses of the sixteenth chapter of Revelation? Let the reader judge :—

"13. And I saw *three* unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of *the dragon*, and out of the mouth of *the beast*, and out of the mouth of *the false prophet;*

"14. For they are the spirits of devils working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth, and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty.

"16. And he gathered them together into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon.

"17. And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air, and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven from the throne, saying, IT IS DONE.

"18. And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings, and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake, and so great."

Christian men and brethren! if we are correct in these views, are you aware how near at hand these things are? Most commentators consider the *fifth* apocalyptic vial has been poured out, (Rev. xvi, 10,) and the recent commotions in Turkey, Syria, and Egypt, the wars of the Russians in Caucasus and Central Asia, the British invasion of Affghanistan, and possibly ere this of the

Chinese empire, will fully justify us to suppose the effusion of the *sixth* vial "upon the great river Euphrates" has already commenced.* If this be so, who can be but startled to find at what age of the world we have arrived, and what are the mighty things of God that may be fulfilled in these our days! "Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments are made manifest!"

ART. V.—*The Rich against the Poor. The Laboring Classes.* By O. A. BROWNSON.

THIS strange production first made its appearance in the Boston Quarterly Review, but has been since circulated in the form of a pamphlet, with a view, no doubt, to its influence upon the then pending presidential election. As, however, this political struggle will have been over before these strictures will make their appearance, they can have no bearing upon that agitating question, whatever may be their character. But this does not supersede the necessity of exposing the dangerous doctrines set forth in the pamphlet before us. They are of a general character. They strike at the root of social order. And the main principle which the author aims to establish, according to his own showing, is of such a startling character that it will require a long time to bring it into practical operation. He does not, indeed, "propose this as a measure for the immediate action of the community." He only means to discuss it now, with a view to prepare the public mind for its full development and for final and decisive action. What this main principle is we shall see presently.

The following are the principal points which our author seems to think are essential to accomplish his object:—

1. That property must cease to be hereditary.

"As we have abolished hereditary monarchy," says he, "and hereditary nobility, we must complete the work by abolishing hereditary property. A man shall have all he honestly acquires, so long as he himself belongs to the world in which he acquires it. But his power

* "And the *sixth* angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates, and the water thereof was dried up, *that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared*," Rev. xvi, 12.

over his property must cease with his life, and his property must then become the property of the state, to be disposed of by some equitable law, for the use of the generation which takes his place."

And this is so essential for the accomplishment of his object that he adds—

"We see no means of elevating the laboring classes which can be effectual without this."

2. The laws of matrimony must be abolished. This preliminary step to the consummation of his wishes is so contrary to the common sentiments of civilized society, that our author, with all his boldness of thought, seems afraid to take it with his customary independence, lest he might shoot so far ahead of the public feeling as to produce a shock in the community, and thereby defeat his benevolent plans of reform. He therefore hints at this rather obscurely; yet it is sufficiently plain not to be misunderstood. It is to be one of the rounds in the ladder on which he is to ascend the throne of popular dominion. Speaking of the iron sceptre which custom, religion, and civilization hold over the freedom of man, he says—

"He cannot make one single free movement. The priest holds his conscience, fashion controls his tastes, and society with her forces invades the very sanctuary of his heart, and takes command of his love, that which is purest and best in his nature, which alone gives reality to his existence, and from which proceeds the only ray which pierces the gloom of his prison-house."

The meaning of this passage, though veiled in obscurity, cannot well be misunderstood. It teaches, as an indispensable preliminary to freedom of thought and action, and to that equality of condition for which the author most strenuously pleads, that society must be broken loose from the shackles of wedlock, that instead of having love centred in one object, it may roam at large, and mix its longings among the many hearts which may, each in its turn, solicit its wild and ungovernable embrace. This is freedom from the restraints of the laws of matrimony. This is turning our youth loose to graze and luxuriate in the field of licentiousness, and to choose their pastures as the lawless instinct of their natures shall dictate. And to enforce this wholesome precept Mr. B. says—

"It is not strange, then, that some should prefer the savage state to the civilized. Who would not rather roam the forest with a free step and unshackled limb, though exposed to hunger, cold, and nakedness, than crouch an abject slave beneath the whip of the master?"

This writer seems to forget, in his eagerness to emancipate the race from the manacles of civilization, that woman, in the hands of a savage, is the slave of a brutal appetite, and of a lordly, lounging despotism, as relentless as the tiger, and as lawless in its rule as the ferocious bear. But we shall have occasion to recur to this topic before our remarks are closed.

3. The next step in Mr. B.'s race of reform is the annihilation of priests—the utter extermination of this order of men from the face of the earth. Indeed, this seems so essential for the consummation of his grand object, that he dwells upon it with a peculiar zest, as if he enjoyed the pleasurable emotion of their utter annihilation by anticipation. Hear him in the following language :—

"But, having traced the inequality we complain of to its origin, we proceed to ask again, What is the remedy? The remedy is first to be sought in the destruction of the priest. We are not mere destructives. We delight not in pulling down; but the bad must be removed before the good can be introduced. Conviction and repentance precede regeneration. Moreover, we are Christians, and it is only by following out the Christian law, and the example of the early Christians, that we can hope to effect any thing. Christianity is the sublimest protest against the priesthood ever uttered, and a protest uttered by both God and man; for he who uttered it was God-man. In the person of Jesus both God and man protest against the priesthood. What was the mission of Jesus but a solemn summons of every priesthood on earth to judgment, and of the human race to freedom? He discomfited the learned doctors, and with whips of small cords drove the priests, degenerated into mere money-changers, from the temple of God. He instituted himself no priesthood, no form of religious worship. He recognized no priest but a holy life, and commanded the construction of no temple but that of the pure heart. He preached no formal religion, enjoined no creed, set apart no day for religious worship. He preached fraternal love, peace on earth, and good-will to men. He came to the soul enslaved, 'cabined, cribbed, confined,' to the poor child of mortality, bound hand and foot, unable to move, and said, in the tones of a God, 'Be free! be enlarged! be there room for thee to grow, expand, and overflow with the love thou wast made to overflow with!'

"In the name of Jesus we admit there has been a priesthood instituted, and, considering how the world went, a priesthood could not but be instituted; but the religion of Jesus repudiates it. It recognizes no mediator between God and man but him who dies on the cross to redeem man; no propitiation for sin but a pure love, which rises in a living flame to all that is beautiful and good, and spreads out in light and warmth for all the chilled and benighted sons of mortality. In calling every man to be a priest, it virtually condemns every possible priesthood; and in recognizing the religion of the new covenant, the

religion written on the heart, of a law put within the soul, it abolishes all formal worship.

"The priest is universally a tyrant, universally the enslaver of his brethren, and therefore it is Christianity condemns him. It could not prevent the re-establishment of a hierarchy, but it prepared for its ultimate destruction, by denying the inequality of blood, by representing all men as equal before God, and by insisting on the celibacy of the clergy. The best feature of the church was in its denial to the clergy of the right to marry. By this it prevented the new hierarchy from becoming hereditary, as were the old sacerdotal corporations of India and Judea.

"We object to no religious instruction; we object not to the gathering together of the people on one day in seven, to sing and pray, and listen to a discourse from a religious teacher; but we object to every thing like an outward, visible church; to every thing that in the remotest degree partakes of the priest. A priest is one who stands as a sort of mediator between God and man; but we have one mediator, Jesus Christ, who gave himself a ransom for all, and that is enough. It may be supposed that we, Protestants, have no priests; but for ourselves we know no fundamental difference between a Catholic priest and a Protestant clergyman, as we know no difference of any magnitude, in relation to the principles on which they are based, between a Protestant Church and the Catholic Church. Both are based upon the principle of authority; both deny in fact, however it may be in manner, the authority of reason, and war against freedom of mind; both substitute dead works for true righteousness, a vain show for the reality of piety, and are sustained as the means of reconciling us to God without requiring us to become Godlike. Both, therefore, ought to go by the board.

"We may offend in what we say, but we cannot help that. We insist upon it, that the complete and final destruction of the priestly order, in every practical sense of the word priest, is the first step to be taken toward elevating the laboring classes. Priests are, in their capacity of priest, necessarily enemies to freedom and equality. All reasoning demonstrates this, and all history proves it. There must be no class of men set apart and authorized, either by law or fashion, to speak to us in the name of God, or to be interpreters of the word of God. The word of God never drops from the priest's lips. He who redeemed man did not spring from the priestly class, for it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah, of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning the priesthood. Who, in fact, were the authors of the Bible, the book which Christendom professes to receive as the word of God? The priests? Nay, they were the inveterate foes of the priests. No man ever berated the priests more soundly than did Jeremiah and Ezekiel. And who were they who heard Jesus the most gladly? The priests? The chief priests were at the head of those who demanded his crucifixion. In every age the priests, the authorized teachers of religion, are the first to oppose the true prophet of God, and to condemn his prophecies as blasphemies. They are always a let and a hinderance to the spread of truth. Why then retain them?

Why not abolish the priestly office? Why continue to sustain what the whole history of man condemns as the greatest of all obstacles to intellectual and social progress?"

We have given this quotation entire, that the reader may be convinced that we do the writer no injustice when we affirm that priests are the particular objects of his hostile feelings—that they, above all others, stand in the way of his chariot of universal reform.

Now it may be asked, *What is the grand ultimatum of all this?* And it is certainly proper, before we proceed further in our animadversions, that this question should be answered. It is, then, to restore mankind to a state of perfect equality in respect to property—that the distinction between the *rich* and the *poor* should cease to exist, now and for ever—that all should work alike—that there should be no longer master and servant, the hirer and the hired, the teacher and the taught, the priest and the people.

That this is the final object of all this upsetting of institutions, uprooting of long-established societies, relations, usages, customs, and laws, is manifest from the following language:—

"No one can observe the signs of the times with much care, without perceiving that a crisis as to the relation of wealth and labor is approaching. It is useless to shut our eyes to the fact, and, like the ostrich, fancy ourselves secure because we have so concealed our heads that we see not the danger. We or our children will have to meet this crisis. The old war between the king and the barons is well nigh ended, and so is that between the barons and the merchants and manufacturers,—landed capital and commercial capital. The business man has become the peer of my lord. And now commences the new struggle between the operative and his employer, between wealth and labor. Every day does this struggle extend further, and wax stronger and fiercer; what or when the end will be, God only knows.

"In this coming contest there is a deeper question at issue than is commonly imagined; a question which is but remotely touched in your controversies about United States Banks and Sub-Treasuries, chartered banking and free banking, free trade and corporations, although these controversies may be paving the way for it to come up. We have discovered no presentment of it in any king's or queen's speech, nor in any president's message. It is embraced in no popular political creed of the day, whether christened Whig or Tory, *Juste-milieu* or Democratic. No popular senator, or deputy, or peer seems to have any glimpse of it; but it is working in the hearts of the million, is struggling to shape itself, and one day it will be uttered, and in thunder tones. Well will it be for him who, on that day, shall be found ready to answer it.

"What, we would ask, is, throughout the Christian world, the actual

condition of the laboring classes, viewed simply and exclusively in their capacity of laborers? They constitute at least a moiety of the human race. We exclude the nobility, we exclude also the middle class, and include only actual laborers, who are laborers and not proprietors, owners of none of the funds of production, neither houses, shops, nor lands, nor implements of labor, being therefore solely dependent on their hands. We have no means of ascertaining their precise proportion to the whole number of the race; but we think we may estimate them at one half. In any contest they will be as two to one, because the large class of proprietors who are not employers, but laborers on their own lands or in their own shops, will make common cause with them.

"Now we will not so belie our acquaintance with political economy as to allege that these alone perform all that is necessary to the production of wealth. We are not ignorant of the fact that the merchant, who is literally the common carrier and exchange dealer, performs a useful service, and is therefore entitled to a portion of the proceeds of labor. But make all necessary deductions on his account, and then ask what portion of the remainder is retained, either in kind or in its equivalent, in the hands of the original producer, the workingman? All over the world this fact stares us in the face, the workingman is poor and depressed, while a large portion of the non-workingmen, in the sense we now use the term, are wealthy. It may be laid down as a general rule, with but few exceptions, that men are rewarded in an inverse ratio to the amount of actual service they perform. Under every government on earth the largest salaries are annexed to those offices which demand of their incumbents the least amount of actual labor, either mental or manual. And this is in perfect harmony with the whole system of repartition of the fruits of industry which obtains in every department of society. Now here is the system which prevails, and here is its result. The whole class of simple laborers are poor, and in general unable to procure any thing beyond the bare necessaries of life."

These paragraphs need no interpretation. However impracticable such a state of society may be—and its impracticability has been demonstrated a thousand times—our author seems determined that the experiment shall be again made, at all hazards. Nothing daunted from the failures of former visionists, whose splendid theories have been demolished the moment they were brought to the test of experiment, nor at all disheartened from the bloody prospects before him, he dashes on with giant strides, and seems even to invoke rather than deprecate the sanguinary conflict which he thinks inevitable to consummate the reign of universal equality. Hear him in the following strong language upon this subject:—

"It will be found only at the end of one of the longest and severest struggles the human race has ever been engaged in, only by that most

dreaded of all wars, the war of the poor against the rich; a war which, however long it may be delayed, will come, and come with all its horrors. The day of vengeance is sure; for the world, after all, is under the dominion of Providence." [It is presumed that the reader least of all expected to hear this recognition of a *Providence* from such a writer.]

The above quotation occurs in the first part of the pamphlet before us. And when we read it we entertained a hope, at least, that before he concluded he might cool down into a more temperate mood, or that he might modify the language so as to give his readers a less shocking view of his warlike anticipations. This hope, however, was blasted in reading the last page, where we find him, in the concluding paragraph but one, reaffirming the same convictions in yet stronger and more fearful language. Here he says—

"And is this a measure to be easily carried? Not at all. It will cost infinitely more than it cost to abolish either hereditary monarchy or hereditary nobility. It is a great measure, and a startling one. The rich, the business community, will never voluntarily consent to it, and we think we know too much of human nature to believe that it will ever be effected peaceably. It will be effected only by the strong arm of physical force. It will come, if it ever come at all, only at the conclusion of war, the like of which the world as yet has never witnessed, and from which, however inevitable it may seem to the eye of philosophy, the heart of humanity recoils with horror."

And who that has a spark of humanity left can even read these lines without shuddering with horror? Yet our author nerves himself up for the combat as if he were actually playing with the lightning and controlling the thunder. Though his patriotic blood boils over with burning charity for the poor, he can deliberately throw the "rich and the business community" into the "fiery furnace which is heated seven times hotter" than ever furnace was heated before, and look calmly on while the conflagration is raging around him, though it be such a fire "as the world has never yet witnessed." And yet this unprecedented war, this unheard-of struggle, this horrid and most sanguinary conflict, is to be invoked in the name of Providence, and all for the good of the race!

Perhaps, however, we do him injustice. It shall not come in his time, unless, indeed, he be very young. There must be preparation; and lest his readers might suppose that he is wanting in moral and physical courage to meet this awful crisis, he thus speaks of its final consummation, taking care, in the mean time, to

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let us know that when this *great day of wrath* shall come, there will be needed stout hearts and fearless martyrs. *He*, however, only *discusses* the measure. *His* heroism, therefore, is the heroism of words, and even these he seems almost afraid to utter plainly and unequivocally, lest it might awaken misgivings in the minds of his readers respecting the expediency and feasibility of his plan. That he recognizes the lawfulness of martyrdom in support of a just cause, and even anticipates its necessity in sustaining that which leads to general equality and popular dominion, is manifest from his concluding paragraph.

"We are," he says, "not ready for this measure yet. There is much previous work to be done, and we should be the last to bring it before the legislature. The time, however, has come for its free and full discussion. It must be canvassed in the public mind, and society prepared for acting on it. No doubt they who broach it, and especially they who support it, will experience a due share of contumely and abuse. They will be regarded by the part of the community they oppose, or may be thought to oppose, as 'graceless varlets,' against whom every man of substance should set his face. But this is not, after all, a thing to disturb a wise man, nor to deter a true man from telling his whole thought. He who is worthy of the name of man speaks what he honestly believes the interests of his race demand, and seldom disquiets himself about what may be the consequences to himself. Men have, for what they believed the cause of God or man, endured the dungeon, the scaffold, the stake, the cross—and they can do it again, if need be. This subject must be freely, boldly, and fully discussed, whatever may be the fate of those who discuss it."

It is probable that those who have not read the entire pamphlet, may be ready to conclude from the above extracts that Mr. Brownson is a genuine follower of Fanny Wright—that he is a thorough-paced infidel, and therefore wishes to upset Christianity, and build up deism or atheism on its ruins. Nothing is further from his thoughts. He is a full believer in Christianity. In destroying all distinctions in society—all inequalities between the rich and the poor, the learned and unlearned, the ignorant and the wise, in exterminating priests, and pursuing a course which must inevitably bring on such a war as the world never yet witnessed—he most piously, and pathetically, and eloquently invokes the genius of Christianity to his aid. So far from deprecating this system of religion as a corrupter of human society, he makes it the palladium of the liberty and equality which he designs to establish, and as the grand panacea which is to eradicate the disorders which now so grievous-

ly afflict the human race. To be convinced of this, read the following extract from his pamphlet:—

"The next step in this work of elevating the working classes will be to resuscitate the Christianity of Christ. The Christianity of the church has done its work. We have had enough of that Christianity. It is powerless for good, but by no means powerless for evil. It now unmans us and hinders the growth of God's kingdom. The moral energy which is awakened it misdirects, and makes its deluded disciples believe that they have done their duty to God when they have joined the church, offered a prayer, sung a psalm, and contributed of their means to send out a missionary to preach unintelligible dogmas to the poor heathen, who, God knows, have unintelligible dogmas enough already, and more than enough. All this must be abandoned, and Christianity, as it came from Christ, be taken up and preached in simplicity and in power.

"According to the Christianity of Christ, no man can enter the kingdom of God who does not labor with all zeal and diligence to establish the kingdom of God on the earth; who does not labor to bring down the high, and bring up the low; to break the fetters of the bound and set the captive free; to destroy all oppression, establish the reign of justice, which is the reign of equality, between man and man; to introduce new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, wherein all shall be as brothers, loving one another, and no one possessing what another lacketh. No man can be a Christian who does not labor to reform society, to mold it according to the will of God and the nature of man; so that free scope shall be given to every man to unfold himself in all beauty and power, and to grow up into the stature of a perfect man in Christ Jesus. No man can be a Christian who does not refrain from all practices by which the rich grow richer and the poor poorer, and who does not do all in his power to elevate the laboring classes, so that one man shall not be doomed to toil while another enjoys the fruits; so that each man shall be free and independent, sitting under 'his own vine and fig tree, with none to molest or to make afraid.' We grant the power of Christianity in working out the reform we demand; we agree that one of the most efficient means of elevating the workingmen is to Christianize the community. But you must Christianize it. It is the gospel of Jesus you must preach, and not the gospel of the priests. Preach the gospel of Jesus, and that will turn every man's attention to the crying evil we have designated, and will arm every Christian with power to effect those changes in social arrangements, which shall secure to all men the equality of position and condition which it is already acknowledged they possess in relation to their rights. But let it be the genuine gospel that you preach, and not that pseudo gospel which lulls the conscience asleep, and permits men to feel that they may be servants of God while they are slaves to the world, the flesh, and the devil; and while they ride roughshod over the hearts of their prostrate brethren. We must preach no gospel that permits men to feel that they are honorable men and good Christians, although rich and with eyes standing out with fatness, while the

great mass of their brethren are suffering from iniquitous laws, from mischievous social arrangements, and pining away for the want of the refinements and even the necessaries of life.

"We speak strongly and pointedly on this subject, because we are desirous of arresting attention. We would draw the public attention to the striking contrast which actually exists between the Christianity of Christ, and the Christianity of the church. That moral and intellectual energy which exists in our country, indeed throughout Christendom, and which would, if rightly directed, transform this wilderness world into a blooming paradise of God, is now, by the pseudo gospel which is preached, rendered wholly inefficient, by being wasted on that which, even if effected, would leave all the crying evils of the times untouched. Under the influence of the church, our efforts are not directed to the reorganization of society, to the introduction of equality between man and man, to the removal of the corruptions of the rich, and the wretchedness of the poor. We think only of saving our own souls, as if a man must not put himself so out of the case, as to be willing to be damned before he can be saved. Paul was willing to be accursed from Christ to save his brethren from the vengeance which hung over them. But nevertheless we think only of saving our own souls; or if perchance our benevolence is awakened, and we think it desirable to labor for the salvation of others, it is merely to save them from imaginary sins and the tortures of an imaginary hell. The redemption of the world is understood to mean simply the restoration of mankind to the favor of God in the world to come. Their redemption from the evils of inequality, of factitious distinctions, and iniquitous social institutions, counts for nothing in the eyes of the church. And this is its condemnation.

"We cannot proceed a single step, with the least safety, in the great work of elevating the laboring classes, without the exaltation of sentiment, the generous sympathy, and the moral courage which Christianity alone is fitted to produce or quicken. But it is lamentable to see how, by means of the mistakes of the church, the moral courage, the generous sympathy, the exaltation of sentiment, Christianity does not actually produce or quicken, is perverted, and made efficient only in producing evil, or hindering the growth of good. Here is wherefore it is necessary on the one hand to condemn in the most pointed terms the Christianity of the church, and to bring out on the other hand in all its clearness, brilliancy, and glory, the Christianity of Christ."

We believe the reader has now fully before him the objects, and the means to attain them, as well as the creed of the writer. And we have been thus particular and ample in our quotations, to prevent any misconception of his sentiments, that we may not be accused of misrepresentation. And here we take the liberty to remark that we freely award to him the virtue of *sincerity*. However enthusiastic he may be, he is not a hypocrite, for no hypocrite can be an enthusiast. He certainly has persuaded himself into a full belief that he is seeking the greatest possible good by

the best possible means. He is, therefore, the friend of the poor, the enemy of the rich, the hater of priests, the opposer of aristocracy, and a *believer in Christianity*.

He has therefore bound himself to submit to a test by which *we* wish to try all doctrines. And from this test he cannot in honor and conscience extricate himself, for it is of his own selection. Had he appealed to history, to philosophy, to heathenism, to deism, to atheism, or to an hypothesis of his own, the like of which no man ever saw, our work would have been much more laborious, and our task difficult. We should then have been compelled to show that history condemned his theory whenever it had been tried —that philosophy lends its aid for the support of a different state of things—that heathenism recognized no such leveling scheme—that neither deism nor atheism furnished principles or motives sufficiently strong to bind mankind together—and then, before we could have brought Christianity to bear upon his new theory, we should have been compelled to prove that Christianity is true, and therefore authoritative in its language. But we are happily saved all this labor. We have to contend with an author who, like ourselves, believes in Christianity, and therefore is bound to submit to its precepts and doctrines, however mysterious and self-denying. Nor does he believe in a mere nominal Christianity. It is to be the efficient instrument of this mighty renovation. It is to become the purifier of this corrupt mass. It is, in a word, to be the "axe laid to the root of the tree" whose bitter fruit has poisoned the whole human family, which shall with one mighty stroke fell it to the ground. When this is done, a universal shout shall go up to heaven, that all men are free and equal.

Having thus paved the way for an examination of the theory of the author, and shown the principles by which it is to be tested, we will endeavor now to look it calmly in the face, and see if its beauty is so irresistible as to charm us into its embrace. Lest, however, he should misapprehend our meaning, we will concede to him,

1. That there are evils in society which loudly call for the strong hand of reform. We allow that, as a general thing, the rich are wont to oppress the poor—that rulers are prone to tyrannize over the ruled, and that masters are often cruel to their servants. These evils exist, have existed, and are likely to exist while the world

stands, unless human nature itself be reformed. But we contend that these evils arise out of the *abuse*, and not from the right *use*, of the social relations—that they do not necessarily inhere in the system itself which sanctions the distinctions in society, but out of that common perversity of human beings which prompts them to a licentious use of their powers and privileges. We concede to him,

2. That there are more of these artificial distinctions created by wealth, by pride, by tyranny, by fashion, and that cupidity which a high state of civilization engenders, than is essential to a healthy and prosperous state of human society, yet these are excesses which grow from a state of moral and political corruption, which might be avoided were all the members of community under the influence of justice, mercy, and the love of God; and the remedy, therefore, is not to be found in the destruction of these distinctions, but in their suitable adjustment, in lopping off the hurtful excrescences of the social system, and in purifying the corrupt mass by such a process of moral refinement as Christianity furnishes.

3. It is also conceded that priests have been and are corrupt. History, which is the true interpreter of men's character, reveals the fact that there have been in all ages, among all religions, Jewish, Pagan, Mohammedan, and Christian, wicked and corrupt priests, who have ruled with despotism, and devoured, instead of having protected and fed, the flock. Against such priests we know that Christianity enters its solemn protest. But we contend that these evils do not necessarily arise from the order. This is also an *abuse* of the office. A priest may be as meek, as just, as merciful, and as pure in his heart and character, as the poorest and most hard-working man in the community. There have been such, and, therefore, there may be again. But Christianity condemns these corrupt priests. Christianity, also, proposes a remedy for them, not indeed by destroying them, not in the annihilation of the order, but by reforming them, by purifying their hearts and regulating their lives, and thus making them in all things "ensamples to the flock."

4. It is furthermore conceded that the church has been, at times at least, very corrupt. And hence, viewing Christianity as taught and exemplified by this corrupt church, it has been disfigured, polluted, and disgraced, as a sanctioner of licentiousness, and as a panderer to the corrupt passions of mankind. But is Christianity

itself responsible for these abuses? As well might you attribute the horrors of the Robespierrean murders in the days of the French revolution to the pure principles of republicanism, as to charge these evils of a fallen and corrupt hierarchy upon the pure church of Jesus Christ. "What is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord?" Learn we, then, to distinguish between the precious and the vile, between the right use and the wicked abuse of a good thing.

Having premised these things, let us now bring the doctrines of the pamphlet to the test of *the* book—the book of God—or that pure Christianity by which our author has consented to try his system. For, as before said, he has voluntarily selected this system of doctrines, morals, and precepts, not only as the model of his system, but as the rectifier of the evils of which he complains.

If, however, he object to the book of God as the final arbiter of the cause at issue between us, but appeals to Christianity, we beg leave to ask him how he came to a knowledge of Christianity? He has no right to conjure up a system of religion from his vivid imagination, and then call it Christianity. The only source whence the knowledge of Christianity is derived is the Holy Scriptures, and especially the New Testament. It is therefore from hence that we are to bring the truths which define the system.

Now do the writers of the New Testament anywhere declare that there are to be no distinctions in society? We believe not. They do, indeed, pronounce woes upon the rich, upon the unjust, upon the unmerciful, the hypocrite, the pharisee, and upon all sorts and classes of sinners. But they do not denounce the rich merely because they are rich, but because they "trust in uncertain riches;" because they oppress, and do not feed, the poor.

On the other hand, the Author of Christianity said to the people, "The poor ye have always with you, and whensoever ye will, ye may do them good." It was not, therefore, for being rich merely, that they should "hardly enter into the kingdom of God," but because they refused to "make to themselves friends with the mammon of unrighteousness," by dispersing abroad, giving to the poor, and making the hearts of the widow and fatherless to rejoice. While the Saviour said to one rich young man, "Sell what thou hast, and give to the poor," as being the most proper for him in his circumstances, to enable him to be a perfect follower of his Lord and Master, he commanded other rich men to give of their substance

to the poor; and the apostle charged them that were rich in this world, "that they be ready to give, glad to distribute, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life." Now, if there were no rich or poor men, (as there could be none of either, if all such distinctions were annihilated,) how could these precepts be obeyed? One of the most important, most merciful precepts of that Christianity which our author so much admires, and in which its beauty is set forth most conspicuously, could never be exemplified in practice, but must be rendered null and void, were the theory in question once established. And is it the intention of Christianity to defeat itself—to annihilate its own precepts?

But allowing that Christianity contemplates such a leveling in society as should destroy all these distinctions, and make all equally dependent on each other, or equally independent, does it sanction the means of this writer to accomplish such an end? He certainly must be aware that this religion breathes naught but peace and good will to man; that it abhors all sanguinary measures to propagate its precepts, or to force its duties and immunities on mankind; declaring that all "who take the sword" in its defense "shall perish by the sword." Where, then, does Mr. B. find in this Christianity a warrant for proclaiming such a war as the world never yet witnessed, in order to effect the consummation he so devoutly wishes? Does he find anywhere in the New Testament that the adorable Author of Christianity called upon the poor to arise, sword in hand, against the rich, and either exterminate them from the earth, or compel them to distribute their wealth equally among the poor? He knows, we must think, that he cannot.

Let us next inquire whether Christianity aims to upset all governments, and thus destroy all civil distinctions. This is so palpably absurd in itself, that it is a wonder that any man should ever adopt such a wild and visionary notion. Whoever has studied Christianity with candor and attention must know that it never intermeddled at all with the forms of civil governments. Neither Jesus Christ himself nor his apostles ever attempted, in the smallest degree, to alter or modify, much less to annihilate, the government of the country where they lived and labored. The great maxim adopted by the Master, and acted upon by his apostles and followers, was, "Render to God the things that are God's, and to

Cesar the things that are Cesar's." The apostles, who are the best interpreters of the principles of their divine Master, traveled into different countries, and therefore saw different forms of civil government; but instead of declaring a preference to one or the other, they simply directed their disciples to pray "for all that are in authority," to "honor the king," to be "subject to the powers that be," enforcing these precepts from the consideration that the "powers that be are ordained of God." These and the like precepts are evidently founded on the presumption that civil government, in some form, being essential for the existence and welfare of human society, is ordained of God for this very reason and end, and hence it becomes the imperative duty of all men to yield a willing and prompt obedience to these powers.

Observe: the apostle does not say that the *men* in power and all their *acts of administration* are ordained of God, nor yet that God has ordained that the power should be lodged in the hands of one man or five hundred. This is another part of the question, which, we shall soon see, Christianity disposes of in a way equally satisfactory. But it is the *powers* that are ordained of God; that is, as we humbly conceive, it is necessary in the nature of things, such is the unalterable constitution of human society, that just so much power must be intrusted to some one or more as is essential to command obedience, to preserve order in the social state, and to inflict penalties upon the incorrigibly disobedient and rebellious. Without this society cannot exist. It matters little whether this power is invested in the hands of one man, ten men, five hundred, or five thousand men, or in the whole community; it is never, let it be lodged wherever it may, less than absolute, and it must therefore be obeyed or its penalty suffered. And Christianity seeks not the destruction of this power, nor does it express its preference, how or by whom it shall be exercised. If its subjects live under a monarchy, as they did in the days of Nero, it commands them to obey, or patiently endure the penalty when the laws interfere with the rights of conscience, or infract the immutable laws of God. If they live under an aristocracy or democracy, or a mixture of both, it still commands them to obey or suffer, as before described. Its voice is always the same, and never encourages rebellion, except in a case of extreme necessity.

But now comes the test of its principles. Now its voice is

heard above the water floods. It proclaims to all, high or low, rich or poor, judge, legislator, governor, president, king, or emperor, that if they violate the laws of God, by acts of injustice, oppression, cruelty, unmercifulness, or by invading each other's rights, they are held responsible to a higher Judge, a more impartial and awful tribunal. Here the voice of Christianity is clear, loud, and distinct, and its claims are as unbending as the pillars of heaven. To all the unrighteous, the workers of iniquity, whether ruler or ruled, it pronounces woes, death, and destruction if they repent not. Here *God is no respecter of persons.* Without stopping to determine what shall be the form of the government, by whose hands it shall be administered, by one, by many, or few, it simply and authoritatively prescribes the laws by which the ruler shall regulate his conduct. The whole is summed up in these comprehensive words, "He that ruleth over men must be JUST." Nor can any king, emperor, president, governor, congress, or assembly violate this unbending precept with impunity. The truth of this is attested by the whole history of the world. What else has worked the destruction of kingdoms but acts of injustice, of rapine, of oppression, of cruelty, or of invading those inalienable rights which belong to men as moral, intellectual, and responsible beings? Let the downfall of Babylon, of Nineveh, of Rome, of Greece, and many other powerful states, attest the awful truth, "that sin"—that the transgression of those immutable laws which arise out of our social relations—is not only "a reproach to any people," but a sure precursor of the overthrow and destruction of commonwealths, kingdoms, and empires.

Here we say the voice of God, as it is heard in Christianity, is distinct and awful. The poor may be oppressed in his poverty, the rich may riot in his riches, the subject or citizen may suffer in his rights and privileges, and the ruler may triumph in his acts of injustice and oppression; but if any be wicked they shall be punished for their unrighteous deeds, they shall not escape the vengeance due to their crimes. On the other hand, if they all be governed, whatever their station, rank, or condition in life may be, by the laws of justice, truth, and mercy, they shall be blessed in their works. Neither the rich nor the poor, the ruler nor the ruled, shall be judged according to his riches or poverty, or his civil relations, but according to the use he has made of his

talents, whether physical, moral, intellectual, or civil. In this respect one law, one rule of judgment, is for all.

And is it not possible to conceive of a state of society, organized according to those laws which necessarily grow out of our social relations as members of community, a community recognizing the several ranks of legislative, judicial, and executive officers, or, in other words, the rulers and the ruled, where all the laws of justice, truth, and mercy are exemplified in practical life? May not the ruler rule in righteousness, and the ruled obey, from regard to the rights of all the members of the community? May not the rich be just and merciful, while the poor are actuated by the same principle? Why may not the ruler and the ruled, the mechanic, the farmer, the merchant, the day laborer, the lawyer and his client, and all other classes of society, feel the pressure of those motives which arise out of their mutual relations and dependences, and act according to the immutable principles of justice, truth, and brotherly love? We see no other impossibility of this than what arises out of the perversity of human nature.

And let us here remind our author that Christianity makes provision for the removal of even this perversity. Nor do we see how he can evade this point. It is, in truth, the very point which gives vitality to the system he so much admires, and invokes to his aid. But it will be powerless, unless he admits it as a remedial system. As a mere system of ethics it was not needed. The world had this before. It is therefore as a remedy for the evils he so justly deplores, that Christianity shines so brightly, and so endears itself to man. A Christianity without a CHRIST is nothing but a name. But a Christ is a SAVIOUR. And what is a Saviour to us, unless he SAVE US? What from? Not from ignorance, merely, but from the greatest of all curses—from SIN, from *injustice*, from *untruth*, *unmercifulness*, and from all those kindred evils which flow from these cardinal ones. And those who are *thus* saved, whether they be rich or poor, ruler or ruled, will always be governed by those principles which Christianity inculcates.

We offer no apology for these remarks. Having volunteered his confession of faith in Christianity, he has made himself responsible to all its doctrines, its precepts, and results. He must take it as it is. He has no right to select that portion of it which suits his purpose as a politician, and reject the rest as fabulous, or as the work of

priestcraft. He must take the whole or none. And we have no greater wish in his behalf than that he may *feel* its saving power in all its length and breadth. If we know our heart, and can judge of its promptings, we have not a particle of ill will, not a feeling of hostility toward him, but would that he were altogether such as we are, except those infirmities which sometimes oppress us in the midst of life.

Let us now approach another branch of our subject, which our author handles with more seeming severity than any other. We allude to his censure upon *priests*. And here we choose to meet him again upon his own ground—upon Christianity. To *teachers* of religion he has no objection. It is to *priests* that he brings his most potent objections; these, he tells us, are the authors of despotism, the upholders of tyranny, the oppressors of the poor, and the panderers to the rich. As before said, we are quite willing to grant, what no one can, in truth, deny, that there have been corrupt and wicked priests, both under the Old and the New Testament dispensation. Nay, we will allow that there have been, and are now, despots, tyrants, and oppressors in the priesthood, and that we have no other justification or apology to make for them, than such as he would make for the like characters among civilians. But what we contend for is, that such priests have desecrated their office, violated their most sacred obligations, and perjured themselves before the altar of their God; that such hirelings have *abused*, and not *used* aright, one of God's best gifts to man. If, therefore, when Mr. B. says that priests are the authors of despotism, he alludes to *such* priests, we have no controversy with him. We will assist in either reforming them, or of ridding the church of them; not, indeed, by cutting their throats, or confiscating their goods, or making war upon them with the temporal sword, but by putting them out of the priest's office.

These things being conceded to satisfy our author that we are no apologists for iniquity, even in the priesthood, we must beg leave to dissent from him when he intimates that Christianity does not recognize such an order of men as are styled priests. Both under the law and under the gospel—and the gospel is but a new and improved edition of the law—there were priests, preachers, elders, or presbyters, or bishops; for we suppose he has too much good sense to dispute about a word, or a name merely, as this would

be a useless logomachy, utterly unbecoming a man of sense and candor.

What we contend for is, that Christianity, in its first estate, in its most pure and palmy days, recognized an order of men denominated *ministers*, or *priests*, if the term suit better, who devoted themselves to teaching the people, and watching over their spiritual interests; and that those who thus "served at the altar, were partakers of the altar," or in other words, those who thus "communicated to the people spiritual things, received from them of their carnal things." Even Jesus Christ himself, who "was a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedeck," was ministered unto by those pious women who attended upon his ministry.

Who were the apostles? Were they not priests, according to the popular acceptation of that word? And were they not sent out by the special command of Jesus Christ himself? And did he not say unto them, "Take neither purse nor scrip, nor have two coats;" and also forbid their going from house to house, as common beggars, assigning as a reason, that "the laborer is worthy of his hire?" This was the beginning of Christianity, properly so called. And it was promulgated, defended, and established by these ministers or first ambassadors of Jesus Christ. Nor can our author put his finger upon a single period of the church in which this order of men was not recognized. And will he say that they have always been despots? Upon cool reflection, we think, he will not. Was Aaron a despot? Was John the Baptist? To say nothing of Jesus Christ, who was anointed to preach the gospel to the poor: were the twelve apostles, the very expounders of Christianity, and their immediate successors, lordly despots? Truth will not allow him to say this.

But we will come a little nearer home. We take it that Mr. B. is a son of New-England, a descendant of the pilgrims. And who were the pilgrims? Were they not those who fled from the tyranny of the old world to seek an asylum in the new? Were they not headed and led in their bold and perilous enterprise by priests? True, they were persecuted by lordly priests and civil despots at home. But these were among the corrupt priests which Christianity repudiates. They were those who abused their profession by lending their influence to the support of a civil despotism, as abhorrent to the principles of a pure Christianity, as were the

popes of Rome who sanctioned the persecution and massacre of the Protestants. But surely those puritan ministers, who suffered a banishment from their pastoral charges, and expatriated themselves from their country for the sake of a pure conscience, and sought a refuge from the storms of persecution in this howling wilderness, were not cruel despots. They and their flocks laid the foundation for that civil and religious liberty, which has since reared itself in beauty and glory in this western world. They may, therefore, be considered as the fathers of that very liberty which we prize so highly, and which now permits our author to think, and write, and publish his thoughts without molestation. Here, then, are splendid exceptions to his sweeping remark, that priests are always despots. Not *always*, Mr. Brownson, else your censures had never been seen, except to light the flame of your funeral pile. For had it not been for their love of civil and religious liberty, New-England would never have been lighted with the sun of freedom. These bold and adventurous sons of liberty, who crossed the ocean in search of a habitation where they might worship God free from the restraints of civil tyrants and of religious despots, were the very men who laid the foundation of that superstructure in which the children of freedom now shelter themselves, screened from the scorching sun of religious persecution, or the pelting storms of civil despotism.

We might also adduce numberless instances in more modern days, of ministers of Christianity who have been among the brightest benefactors of mankind, who, without the desire or expectation of temporal emolument, have sacrificed ease, honor, and every worldly prospect, for the sake of conferring the highest possible blessings upon their fellow men. But we forbear, lest we might seem to be offending against modesty. We conclude, therefore, this topic, by simply remarking that opposition to priests is no new thing. Ever since the introduction of sin into our world, a war has been waged against a class of men who were set for the defense of the truth; and because some in all ages have been found belonging to this class who have disgraced the profession, the whole fraternity have been condemned as enemies of righteousness, as lordly despots, or as hireling hypocrites. And surely we need not inform the author of the pamphlet before us, that this mode of reasoning is fallacious; so much so, that it would inevitably con-

demn every good thing in the universe. Have not the principles of civil liberty been abused? And will he therefore condemn and proscribe civil liberty? His own theory would not live a moment under such inconsequent reasoning.

What shall we say of matrimony? Is it necessary at this time of day to vindicate this ordinance? This *divine* ordinance? Indeed, the author avows his sentiments on this branch of his subject so obscurely, that he seems to be startled at his own position. Is it any wonder? Can any one suppose that such a doctrine can be broached without shocking the public sentiment, and exciting the indignant feelings of the community against the system that would sanction it?

But here our task is easy. We meet him again on Christian principles. These condemn his licentious theory. It need not be proved, because every believer in Christianity knows it to be true, that it forbids a promiscuous intercourse between the sexes. That the divine Author of Christianity has ordained that every man *shall have his own wife—that a man shall forsake father and mother, and cleave to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh—that marriage is honorable in all, and the bed undefiled, but the whoremongers and adulterers, God shall judge.* These are no vague precepts, uttered in equivocal language.

From the whole, then, we conclude that Christianity condemns the theory we are opposing in all its leading characteristics. And does not reason do the same? Has she ever uttered her voice in behalf of that licentiousness which a dissolution of the marriage covenant must inevitably sanction? Where has the experiment ever been made? Where? Nowhere, except in the brain of a few wild fanatics. But have they not ended in disgrace, in a disruption of society? How could it be otherwise? When one of the strongest bands which bind society together is broken, and the members are licensed to riot at pleasure, in all the wildness of ungovernable passion, what is there left to cement society together? When all the endearing relations of husband and wife, father and mother, brother and sister, son and daughter, are dissolved, must not every social tie be sundered, and society itself be scattered to the winds?

With whom do we reason? Not with a brute. Had our author sound and indisputable premises, no one is capable of more conclusive reasoning. He is certainly no novice in the science of human nature, any more than in the art of reasoning. Is he then

a father? Has he sons or daughters? And is he willing to bring his theory to the test of experiment in his own family? All the feelings of his nature shrink with horror at the bare mention of the thing. But the Christianity in which he professes his faith, bids him do as he would be done by. He cannot, therefore, without a violation of his principles, suffer that to be done to others, which he himself, in similar circumstances, would not have done to him.

Indeed, the proposition is so glaringly absurd, that we hardly know how to meet and expose it. What need is there of this? Does it not fully expose and refute itself? As light makes itself manifest by its own shining, so there are some errors so obvious, that they need only to be mentioned to be seen and abhorred. Their own absurdity is so manifest that they require no other refutation than to be exhibited as they are. And is it not so in the present instance? Has not the theory been condemned in all ages, by all nations, by all religions, whether Jewish, Christian, or Pagan? So universally condemned, that the severest penal laws have been enacted against the adulterer? And no man who sustains the relation of a father, a husband, or brother, but must rise instinctively and indignantly against the violators of the conjugal relations, and frown upon that licentiousness which will result from a dissolution of the marriage covenant. Now, a law so universally sanctioned, must be founded in the very nature of man—must be suited to, and hence originate from, the very relations of human society. Its transgression, therefore, must be a most flagrant rebellion against the laws of social order. Repeal then the law, and the foundations of society are broken up, and all the social relations are at once and for ever dissolved.

But while this theory is too absurd to admit of logical refutation, the consequences resulting from it are so tremendously awful as to forbid its being passed over slightly. With all the restraints of law, of religion, of custom, and the evils of licentiousness staring us in the face, how many are nevertheless carried away in this impetuous stream of iniquity? What then would be the state of society were this law repealed, the sanctions of religion removed, and the force of custom annihilated? One desolating flood of iniquity, of misery, and blood would sweep over the land, and leave us not a vestige of liberty, of religion, or social order remaining. All our institutions, civil and religious, would be swept away, with

the destruction of that domestic peace and harmony arising out of the marriage relation. This relation, indeed, is the foundation of all order, of all social happiness, if not of all civil and religious privileges and enjoyments. And yet to insure these our author would blot from the statute-book the laws which recognize and regulate the solemn and endearing relation of husband and wife, and of course that of father and mother, brother and sister. This, indeed, is striking at the root of society at once and for ever.

And then comes the agrarianism of Owen, and of other fanatics of the same school. He is willing, it is true, that those who acquire property should inherit it while they live. But all *hereditary* property is to cease, and the state is to take upon itself the distribution of it after the demise of those who acquired it. This is somewhat different from that community of goods for which some wild visionists have pleaded, and which is exemplified by the Shaking Quakers, and has been attempted by a few others.

Does he persuade himself that he has found a prototype of this in the example of the primitive Christians? Nay, but this example is against him. Those who already inherited the property, whether by regular descent or otherwise, were the persons who voluntarily "sold their possessions," and brought the avails and "laid them at the apostles' feet." And that this was a voluntary act of their own, for which no command was issued either by the apostles or others, is manifest from the words of St. Peter to Ananias: "While it remained was it not thine own? and after it was sold was it not in thine own power?" They were therefore under no obligation to make this sacrifice of their property for the general good; and it seems that it formed no precedent for the future action of the church, for we hear no more of its being sanctioned either by precept or example—a proof this that it was found an inconvenient and unprofitable way of investing property. And the epistles of St. Paul demonstrate that he and his coadjutors recognized the right of individual property by their addresses to the rich, and the charities which they exhorted them to bestow to supply the wants of the poor.

How soon, indeed, would all motives to industry, to economy, and to all restraints upon profligacy be removed were such a system to be introduced. Not only does Christianity condemn this mode of procedure, but all history, all experience, and the philoso-

phy of human nature rise up against it. This, however, is necessary for the perfection of our author's plan for leveling all distinctions in society, and making all equally independent, by making them equally rich and equally poor. But as the plan itself is wholly impracticable, so the means to effect it can never be defended.

So far we have tested the author's principles mainly by Christianity—not indeed by any of its disputed doctrines, but by those precepts about which there can be little or no controversy. Of this mode of trying his theory he has no right to complain. Being a believer in Christianity, and deriving his knowledge of it from the Bible, to the Bible he must go. Its history, its morality, its civil and religious precepts all condemn him.

But will not his country also condemn him? He has appealed to *Americans*. Their patriotism he invokes to sanction and aid him in his career of reform. And what does his country say to him? What speaks its history? He will allow, it is thought, that here there is as much civil and religious freedom found as in any other country. How came it here? Did it originate in the principles for which he pleads? Did our revolutionary fathers fight for the purpose of establishing such a system of government as that for which he contends? Surely not. If they did they fought in vain. Such an object, according to our author's own showing, was not attained. Though they have secured as great a degree of civil and religious liberty as any reasonable man would wish to enjoy, they achieved it, not by annihilating all distinctions in society, by destroying priests, by enacting such laws as should prevent a man, by his own industry and economy, from acquiring wealth, and of transmitting it to his descendants, much less by dissolving the marriage relation.

Were they novices in political economy? Did they, for the want of wisdom, establish a despotism?

But suppose that our author could succeed in effecting his object by the means he sanctions; what would be the result? Surely he is not so lost to common sense as to suppose that perfect equality could long subsist. In that dreadful conflict, that war which is to rage with unprecedented fury, with a violence such as the world never witnessed, who is to command the armies? Is every man to "fight on his own hook?" Is each man to single out his man,

and fight his fellow face to face? If not, there must be officers, superior and inferior. But there can be no officers without common soldiers. And when the victory is achieved, how is the state to be governed? Is every man to do what is right in his own eyes? Does he flatter himself that when the laws of matrimony are all repealed, the rights of hereditary property annihilated, the distinctions between the rich and poor destroyed, and the relations of hirer and hired dissolved, that mankind will be so pure, so upright, and so peaceable in their dispositions, that they will not need the restraints of law, the sanctions of religion, or the power of a civil government? This, indeed, would be a paradise; yet is it not a "paradise of fools?" Let the horrors of revolutionary France answer this question. May it never receive such another answer! The despotism of a Nero and the despotism of a mob are alike to be dreaded. They have both been exemplified in practice, the one in Rome, and the other in Paris. Do we need another drama of a like character to convince us of the horrid results of such lawless violence? If Napoleon established a despotism in France, it was because such principles as are advocated by Mr. Brownson had made it necessary. The despotism of the many, maddened with rage against the rulers, the priests, the rich, and all who opposed them in their career of blood, became so intolerable, that the people were glad to exchange it for the despotism of a military chieftain. And the iron rod of Bonaparte was a thousand times more lenient than the bloody guillotine of Robespierre and his Jacobinical clubs. The fury of the populace became so irresistible, so voracious of human blood, and rose to such a pitch of unrestrained frenzy, that nothing could prevent France from becoming an Aceldama, a field of blood, but the strong arm of a military despot. This alone controlled the raging elements, and stayed the devastating storm which was sweeping over the land with a resistless and most destructive fury.

And shall we invoke such a storm here? Are the American people prepared for a catastrophe so dreadful? Are they ready to sacrifice the constitution and laws of their country to such a Moloch as this? Will they surrender up their laws, their religion, their civil and domestic institutions, at the command of him who borrows his ideas of law and order from an example so terrible? If so, then did our fathers suffer, and bleed, and die in vain. Then

have we lived to no purpose. The experiment of free government has proved a failure, if indeed it must now be exchanged for the visions of our author.

Are we too serious and too much in earnest upon this subject? Is there, in truth, no danger to be apprehended from putting afloat such doctrines? Does not every body know how easy it is to inflame the passions of the populace? Let, then, the poor classes, the working classes, who always form the great majority of any and every country, be persuaded that their rulers are cruel oppressors; that the rich are tyrants; that all priests are despots; that the laws of matrimony are arbitrary; that all day-laborers are slaves, deprived of their natural rights by those who pay them wages; how soon would the fearful catastrophe arrive which would end in such a war "as the world never witnessed!" And is this the consummation of our hopes? Alas for the day that shall bring such tidings to our ears! The day shall be enrolled in the calendar of our history as the day of blood—as the day in which the epitaph of our national history shall be written.

But who shall write it? Who is to survive this universal carnage? Who will tell the story of our wrongs to posterity? Either a despot or his slave. For those who can be guilty of such horrid deeds will not spare the tree of liberty. Human blood and gore, shed in such a cause, never yet nurtured such a tree. No, indeed! It will have been plucked up by the same ruffian hands that spilt the blood of those who stood in the way of their revolutionary chariot. This chariot, its wheels reddened with the blood of the slain, will roll on until some military despot shall mount the fiery car, and, seizing the reins of the furious steeds, will drive fiercely over the fair plains of American freedom. And will not all the institutions, civil and religious, which now stand as monuments of that spirit of liberty which actuated the souls of their founders, be prostrated before his resistless sway?

Is this a fancy picture? Has it not been drawn to the life a thousand times? Has not wild democracy, like that depicted by our author, always, in every country and in every age, ended in either a civil or a military despotism? Where is the exception? It cannot be otherwise. There is no other way to control the maddened frenzy of the multitude; else would they wade in blood until there were no more victims to be devoured.

Let, then, the people of America look to this. If their rulers are corrupt and wicked, either reform them, or supply their place with better. Let Christianity, in its powerful influence upon the heart and conscience, purify the mass, and then let them, in the lawful exercise of the elective franchise, put those men into office who will regard the laws of justice, of wisdom, of truth, and mercy. For the exercise of this right, God has made the people of America responsible. Let them discharge their duty or suffer the consequences.

The writer of this article deplores as deeply, he presumes to think, as any one can, all abuses of power, of privilege, of riches, or of poverty. He deplores more especially the mutual criminations among the political partisans of the day, and thinks that the perpetual ringing upon the changes, "Corruption! Corruption!" is calculated to induce that very corruption each one professes to deprecate. And if one half that is said by one party against the other were true, one might conclude that neither is fit to live. This ceaseless war of recrimination for mere party purposes is unwise —it is wicked, unless, indeed, the facts are proved true. Does it not tend most inevitably to destroy all confidence in the rising generation in rulers? Does it not hence tend to rebellion, to revolution, to an annihilation of all order, of all government? And when these are gone, what have we left but anarchy? what but the very war and bloodshed which our author so coolly and deliberately invokes?

Though no party politicians, we are *Americans*. We are lovers of *our country*. We love its institutions, civil and religious. We trust we venerate the men who achieved our national independence. We therefore deplore any malversation in any department of the government, either in the states or the general government, either in the judicial, legislative, or executive; or any mal-practices among the people, whether they be rich or poor, whether in civil or religious society. And we fully believe there is but one way to prevent, or, where they exist, to do away these and the like evils. How much soever our author may seem to sneer—for he does seem to do so—at the thought that Christianity, as it is promulgated in the Bible, is to work a cure of moral and political evils, we believe it is the only effectual remedy, and we believe it *is* a remedy. Let its powerful truths be *felt*, let them enter the

heart, let them inform the *judgment* and regulate the *life*, control the *passions* and rule the *conduct*, and all shall be well. Let the ruler and the ruled, the rich and the poor, be governed by these truths, and the rights of all are secured.

Who doubts this? Let such read Christianity, and have their doubts removed. *Believe*, *love*, and *obey*. These are the cardinal duties which Christianity enjoins. Who doubts the salutary influence of these virtues? Let him try them. Let him *believe* in God our Saviour, *love* him and his neighbor, and *obey* the command, *Do as you would be done by*, and all shall be well.

If we have not mistaken the character of the tract before us, its doctrines are fraught with the most alarming consequences. We may, indeed, speculate coolly in our closets, and publish our speculations to the world; but once let them be reduced to practice, what will be the result? What would be the result of our author's theory? What? Why, according to his own showing, "such a war as the world never witnessed."

Now the question is, can we look on with indifference, and see such doctrines promulgated? We may think they are too absurd or too contemptible to demand our notice. They do indeed seem so to sober thought. Yet what absurdity has not gained its proselytes—in religion, in philosophy, in civil matters? He must be quite ignorant of human nature, and of history, its best and surest interpreter, who does not know that in all ages mankind have been the dupes of sophistry, of errors the most revolting, and of dogmas the most absurd and incredible. And have we not a proof of this in the very book before us? When have we seen more monstrous doctrines put forth? And not by a novice; not in jest; but in sober earnest; by an enlightened mind; in great seriousness and earnestness; and in a style at once elegant and captivating. Shall we pause here, and ask ourselves how these things can be? There is no need of this. The thing has been done, however inadequate we may be to account for it. The poison has been concocted and ingeniously mixed to suit the palates of a certain class of readers, and so carefully covered over with the sugar of love to them, that they are ready to swallow it without asking a question about it. Shall we allow them to do it without warning them of their danger?

Let the press speak out in tones of thunder. Let its conductors remember their high responsibility. On them rests, in a great

measure, the duty of warning the people against the approach of the enemies of our country. Let them then confine themselves to facts, and not amuse their readers with visionary theories respecting the *beau ideal* of an impracticable government—of a state of society that never has been and never can be realized. Let them lift up their voice against injustice, fraud, falsehood, and all those evils originating from that restless disposition which is perpetually seeking for change. If these were unitedly to proclaim a war against "all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men," whether in high or low places, whether among the rich or the poor, in the ruler or the ruled, we should soon see a change come over society of a most salutary and cheering character. If, instead of endeavoring to render each other odious as political opponents, or as mere sectarists in religion, they were unitedly to condemn the evil wherever it is found, and justify the good among all parties, their wholesome influence would soon be felt throughout the length and breadth of the land. And is this too much to hope? Why should it be? There are many virtuous men, we doubt not, in both political parties, among all sects and denominations, that now control the press, who see and deplore the evils of this mere partisan warfare. Let these set the example. Let them then summon their brethren to the work. They will, unless we much misinterpret the public feeling, find themselves nobly sustained by a large and influential portion of the American community. But should they fail of accomplishing their object, they will have deserved well of their country, and their high example will be quoted for the benefit of posterity.

If our voice could be heard, we would "cry aloud and spare not," and call upon all, from Maine to Louisiana, to come forth and harness themselves for the great moral combat against anarchists of every description, whether in the church or state. To one and all we would say, Lay aside debate concerning minor differences, and hoisting the flag of union, on one side let the motto be, *Our country, all for our country*, and on the other, *Our religion, all for our religion*—for the peace and prosperity of the one depend on the success and stability of the other. To the support of this sentiment, let us append the following from Washington's Farewell Address:—"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morals are the indispensable supports.

In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and of citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles."

To those who are imbued with this spirit of patriotism, these pages are dedicated, in the humble hope that they may contribute at least a mite toward the preservation of our civil and religious liberties. Nor do we despair of convincing even the author of the pamphlet we have been reviewing of the error and impracticability of his scheme. His mind, we trust, is open to conviction. We are willing to believe him a lover of his country, and that he has persuaded himself to believe that he seeks its welfare while he denounces the evils of which he complains. He certainly cannot cooly and deliberately wish evil to the land of his birth. He has, therefore, in the heat of party politics, suffered his judgment to be warped by erroneous views, and has invoked means to accomplish his object, which, in a more dispassionate moment, he will condemn and repudiate. Let him then be dealt with as a fellow-citizen whose erring judgment may be changed by the force of truth, and he will, it may be hoped, be brought back to the path which has been marked out by experience, and trodden by the wise and good in all ages.

Be this as it may, we cannot doubt that there is good sense enough in the American community, as well as virtue, to resist all such attempts to revolutionize our country, by uprooting those institutions under the protection and influence of which we have been so long and so greatly blessed.

We cannot conclude our remarks more appropriately than in the words of the father of his country in the admirable address from

which we have already quoted; and of his love for his country's welfare he has left behind him the most indubitable evidence. He says,—

"Toward the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also, that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit at least are as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitutions of the country; that facility of changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property."

ART. VI.—1. *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as believed and taught by the* Rev. JOHN WESLEY, *from the year* 1725 *to the year* 1777.

2. *The Last Check to Antinomianism. A Polemical Essay on the Twin Doctrines of Christian Imperfection and a Death Purgatory. By the Author of the Checks.* [Found in the Works of the Rev. JOHN FLETCHER.]

3. *Entire Sanctification: or, Christian Perfection, stated and defended by* Rev. J. WESLEY, Rev. A. WATMOUGH, Rev. Dr. A. CLARKE, Rev. R. WATSON, and Rev. R. TREFFRY. Baltimore: Armstrong & Berry. Woods, Printer. 1838.

4. *A Treatise on Christian Perfection, by* RICHARD TREFFRY. Second edition. London: Published by John Mason. 18mo. 1838.—pp. 250.

THE subject of *entire sanctification* is, we are happy to say, at the present time exciting great interest in the churches of this country. And now that many in other churches are waking up to the real importance and Scriptural character of this doctrine, it is certainly no time for Methodists, who have cherished it from the beginning, either to leave it in the back ground, or to swerve from the true position of our venerated fathers and our standards of doctrine upon the subject.

It is not so much with a view to cast new light upon this great doctrine, as to contribute our humble mite toward keeping it before our readers, that we undertake this review at the present time. The true Methodist ground was so clearly stated, and so ably defended, and the whole subject so thoroughly investigated, by Messrs. Wesley and Fletcher, that but little has been done by subsequent writers of the same views but to repeat what they, in the same language, or in substance, had written. And though these authors did not deal in dogmatical assertions or mystical vagaries, but gave the subject a plain, common sense, and Scriptural exposition, and substantiated their positions by the word of God and matter of fact, their views have been misrepresented by enemies, and, in some instances, misunderstood by friends. And may it not be fairly doubted whether, as a people, we have not regarded it more as a doctrinal speculation than an affair of the heart and life? We have contended nobly for the doctrine from the pulpit and from the press, but where are the witnesses that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanses

from all sin? It is matter of joy, indeed, that many such can be found, but it is to be lamented that their number, in comparison with the great mass of Methodists, is so very small. For if our view is the correct one, instead of finding here and there an individual instance of this blessing—"like angels' visits, few and far between"—we ought to be a *holy people.*

It does, however, appear that the *work of holiness* is reviving among us. Instances of entire sanctification are multiplying, and it is not a strange thing to hear clear, sober, and Scriptural professions of that blessed state among our people. These professions, instead of calling forth severe criticism and merciless contempt, meet a ready response in many hearts, and awaken an undying solicitude in multitudes to know the truth and power of this great salvation for themselves.

In furtherance of this great object, we shall endeavor to bring before the reader, from the works whose titles we have exhibited at the head of this article, the great leading principles of this general subject, so stated, arranged, and defended, as to help the serious inquirer to a more easy and full apprehension of the nature of sanctification, and the way of making this knowledge experimentally and practically available. In doing this, we shall observe the following order, viz.:

1. Define the doctrine. 2. Answer objections. 3. Adduce proof. 4. Show the way by which entire holiness may be attained. 5. Present motives to seek it. 6. Show the course of conduct appropriate to those who may have attained to this blessed state.

In reference to a state of entire sanctification, our authors employ the term, *τελειος, perfection,* because it is a Scriptural term, and properly expresses what they mean. But lest some foreign and fanciful sense should be given to the term in this connection, our authors proceed to define and limit its use, when applied to Christian character and experience.

The following questions and answers, from Mr. Wesley's "Plain Account of Christian Perfection," will show what were his views upon the subject:—

"Question. What is Christian perfection?

"Answer. The loving God with all our heart, mind, soul, and strength. This implies that no wrong temper, none contrary to love, remains in the soul; and that all the thoughts, words, and actions, are governed by pure love.

"QUEST. Do you affirm that this perfection excludes all infirmities, ignorance, and mistake?

"ANS. I continually affirm quite the contrary, and always have done so.

"QUEST. But how can every thought, word, and work, be governed by pure love, and the man be subject at the same time to ignorance and mistake?

"ANS. I see no contradiction here: 'A man may be filled with pure love, and still be liable to mistake.' Indeed, I do not expect to be freed from actual mistakes till this mortal puts on immortality. I believe this to be a natural consequence of the soul's dwelling in flesh and blood. For we cannot now think at all, but by the mediation of those bodily organs which have suffered equally with the rest of our frame. And hence we cannot avoid sometimes thinking wrong, till this corruptible shall have put on incorruption."

Mr. Fletcher says:—

"The perfection we preach is nothing but perfect repentance, perfect faith, and perfect love, productive of the gracious tempers which St. Paul himself describes, 1 Cor. xiii."

Dr. Clarke says:—

"This perfection is the restoration of man to the state of holiness from which he fell, by creating him anew in Christ Jesus, and restoring to him that image and likeness of God which he has lost. A higher meaning than this it cannot have; a lower meaning it must not have. God made him in that degree of perfection which was pleasing to his own infinite wisdom and goodness. Sin defaced this divine image; Jesus came to restore it. Sin must have no triumph; and the Redeemer of mankind must have his glory. But if man be not perfectly saved from all sin, sin does triumph, and Satan exult, because they have done a mischief that Christ either cannot or will not remove. To say he cannot, would be shocking blasphemy against the infinite power and dignity of the great Creator; to say he will not, would be equally such against the infinite benevolence and holiness of his nature. All sin, whether in power, guilt, or defilement, is the work of the devil; and he, Jesus, came to destroy the work of the devil; and as all unrighteousness is sin, so his blood cleanseth from all sin, because it cleanseth from all unrighteousness.

"Many stagger at the term *perfection* in Christianity; because they think that what is implied in it is inconsistent with a state of probation, and savors of pride and presumption: but we must take good heed how we stagger at any word of God; and much more how we deny or fritter away the meaning of any of his sayings, lest he reprove us, and we be found liars before him. But it may be that the term is rejected because it is not understood. Let us examine its import.

"The word 'perfection,' in reference to any person or thing, signifies that such person or thing is complete or finished; that it has nothing redundant, and is in nothing defective. And hence that observation of

a learned civilian is at once both correct and illustrative, namely, 'We count those things perfect which want nothing requisite for the end whereto they were instituted.' And *to be perfect* often signifies 'to be blameless, clear, irreproachable;' and, according to the above definition of Hooker, a man may be said to be perfect who answers the end for which God made him; and as God requires every man to love him with all his heart, soul, mind, and strength, and his neighbor as himself, then he is a perfect man that does so; he answers the end for which God made him; and this is more evident from the nature of that love which fills his heart: for as love is the principle of obedience, so he that loves his God with all his powers will obey him with all his powers; and he who loves his neighbor as himself will not only do no injury to him, but, on the contrary, labor to promote his best interests."

Mr. Treffry observes:—

"Christianity being the doctrine of Christ, we infer that Christian perfection implies a conformity to the will of Christ, in all that relates to inward and outward holiness, to the temper of our minds, and the conduct of our lives: or, in other words, it is the full maturity of the Christian principle, and the consistent and uniform exemplification of Christian practice. By the Christian principle, we understand that divine virtue, from which the several graces and fruits of Christianity spring, and by which they are supported and kept in continual operation. Or, in other words, it is that which resembles the germinating power in vegetation, that unfolds itself in buds, blossoms, and fruits, containing 'within it, as in an embryo state, the rudiments of all true virtue; which, striking deep its roots, though feeble and lowly in its beginnings, silently progressive, and almost insensibly maturing, yet will shortly, even in the bleak and churlish temperature of this world, lift up its head and spread abroad its branches, bearing abundant fruits.'"

Again:—

"Perfection has a two-fold character; there is a perfection of parts, and a perfection of degrees. A thing is perfect in the former sense, when it possesses all the properties or qualities which are essential to its nature, without any deficiency or redundancy: thus a machine is perfect when it has all its parts, and these parts so admirably disposed as completely to answer the purpose for which it is formed. Thus a human body is perfect when it has all the limbs, muscles, arteries, veins, &c., that belong to a human body, and thus I conceive every Christian believer is perfect, as he is endowed with all the graces of the Spirit, and the 'fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ to the glory and praise of God.' And this kind of perfection admits of no increase; any addition would deface the beauty and destroy the harmony of the whole: add another wheel to your watches, and the purpose would be defeated for which they are formed: imagine another limb joined to a human body, and it would disfigure rather than beautify it, and retard rather than accelerate its motion. In religion, indeed, the imagination

cannot picture any additional virtue, nor the mind conceive of any new grace to be joined to the Christian character; the feeblest saint is as perfect in this sense as the most established Christian, and the babe as complete as the man. And I greatly question whether the glorified spirits in heaven are more perfect in this view than the saints upon earth; for if old things pass away, and all things become new, when the soul is vitally united to Christ, may we not suppose that the most consummate state of blessedness in the kingdom of God consists in the endless accessions which those graces will receive that adorn the soul in this world?

"Do the spirits of just men made perfect love God with an intense ardor and growing attachment? And is not 'the love of God shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us?' Do not we 'love him because he first loved us?' Do they possess 'a fulness of joy, and pleasures for evermore?' And do not 'we rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory?' 'And return to Zion with singing and everlasting joy upon our heads?'

"Do they see Christ as he is, and participate his likeness? 'And do not we behold, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, till changed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord?'

"Do they say with a loud voice, 'Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and riches, and wisdom and strength, and honor and glory, and blessing?' And do not 'we sing and make melody in our hearts unto the Lord?'

'Thee they sing with glory crown'd,
We extol the slaughter'd Lamb,
Lower if our voices sound,
Our subject is the same.

"Far be it from me to assert any thing positively on this subject. It is possible there may be latent powers in the human soul which never can be developed in this world, but which may, in a future state of existence, give birth to new and endless enjoyments; for if this life be only 'the bud of being,' what finite mind can conceive the glories that will await us, when we blossom with unfading beauty in the garden of paradise?

"Perfection may be considered in reference to its degrees. I do not like this term, as I am conscious it may be abused, but it is the best I can find to express my meaning: it implies the having all the 'fruits of the Spirit' brought to such maturity, as to exclude every opposing principle, and every contrary temper. A man may be perfect in the former sense, and imperfect in the latter: just as a child may be perfect in parts, and imperfect in degrees; he may have all the limbs, and so on, of a human being, but not the strength, the vigor, nor the intellectual endowments of a man. And thus a Christian, who has been recently 'born of God,' and just introduced into the glorious liberty of the gospel, may have all the graces of Christianity, and yet these may exist in imperfect degrees: for instance, every Christian possesses a confidence in God, a trust in his promises, and a reliance upon his veracity; not the confidence of ignorance, nor of presumption, but the

genuine offspring of experimental knowledge, for 'they that know thy name, (saith David,) will put their trust in thee.' But this confidence, though perfect in its principle, is imperfect in its degree. It is sometimes disturbed by doubts, molested by fears, or harassed by anxious cares; but when the soul has attained to maturity in Christian holiness, this confidence is perfect, and doubt, distrust, and fear, cease to exist. And though, in reference to worldly things, the Christian may walk 'in darkness, and have no light,' the fig tree may not blossom, nor fruit be in the vine, friends may desert him, and foes meditate his ruin, yet 'he shall not be afraid of evil tidings; his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord:' hence he can say with Job, 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him,' or with the poet,

'Though waves and storms go o'er my head,
Though health, and strength, and friends be gone,
Though joys be wither'd all, and dead,
Though every comfort be withdrawn;
On this my steadfast soul relies,
Father, thy mercy never dies.'

"Every believer in the Lord Jesus Christ loves God, and gives the most indubitable evidence of that love, by keeping God's commandments, and doing the things that please him. But this love, although perfect in its nature, is not in its degree. There may be an undue attachment to the world, an improper fondness for the creature, or an inordinate degree of self-love; but when the Christian has gone on 'unto perfection,' then he 'loves God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind, and with all his strength, and his neighbor as himself.' This love knows no rival; neither the seductions of sin, nor the lures of the world, nor the charms of the creature, can alienate the affections from the sole object that has engrossed them. For such a man, wealth has no value, pleasure no attraction, honor no brilliance, and dignities no splendor: hence he adopts the language of the poet:—

'All my treasure is above,
All my riches is thy love;
Whom have I in heaven but thee?
Thou art all in all to me.'"

It will be perceived from the above extracts, that our authors use the terms perfection, sanctification, and holiness interchangeably, as having the same signification, when used in the Bible in relation to Christian character and experience.

Sanctification may be represented under two aspects—*first* as a *work*, and *secondly* as a *state*. As a work, 1, it is *present* and *instantaneous;* and 2, *permanent* and *continued*. The present work embraces, 1. Cleansing from sin; and 2. Setting apart to a holy use. What we mean by being cleansed from sin, is, being saved from its pollutions, its love, and its power, through an application of the

blood of Christ by the agency and influences of the Holy Ghost. By being set apart to a holy use, we mean being consecrated to the service of God, by the grace and power of God, upon our own voluntary surrender. In this transaction the will of God and the will of the creature harmonize.

That part of the work which is continued embraces the sustaining influences of the Spirit, defending the soul from the assaults of sin, and inspiring the peculiar feelings and tendencies of a loving, submissive, and devoted mind. In short, whatever of divine influence is necessary to sustain the flame of perfect love, to insure a growth in grace, to impart joy and peace, and to preserve the soul in the hour of temptation. But,

Secondly. Sanctification is a *state.* The state of sanctification implies, 1. The death of sin. 2. The life of righteousness. 3. Habits of obedience.

After premising these few things, we are prepared to give an answer to the inquiry whether sanctification is *instantaneous* or *gradual.* Upon this distinction much depends. We must understand whether we are authorized from the Scriptures to conclude that it is wholly *gradual* or wholly *instantaneous,* or partly both gradual and instantaneous, and if so, in what respects is it gradual and in what respects instantaneous, before we can have a rational understanding of the subject, and especially before we shall be prepared to employ the best and most successful efforts for its attainment.

Upon this important point Mr. Wesley holds the following language:—

"A man may be dying for some time, yet he does not, properly speaking, die, till the instant the soul is separated from the body; and in that instant he lives the life of eternity."

The following passage is quoted by Mr. Fletcher from Mr. Wesley with approbation, and of course is to be regarded as an expression of the views of both of these great lights of the church:—

"Does God work this great work in the soul gradually or instantaneously? Perhaps it may be gradually wrought in some, I mean in this sense,—they do not advert to the particular moment wherein sin ceases to be. But it is infinitely desirable, were it the will of God, that it should be done instantaneously; that the Lord should destroy sin 'by the breath of his mouth,' in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. And so he generally does,—a plain fact, of which there is evidence enough to satisfy any unprejudiced person. Thou therefore look for it every moment. Look for it in the way above described; in all

those good works, whereunto thou art created anew in Christ Jesus. There is then no danger; you can be no worse, if you are no better, for that expectation. For were you to be disappointed of your hope, still you lose nothing. But you shall not be disappointed of your hope; it will come, and will not tarry. Look for it then every day, every hour, every moment. Why not this hour, this moment? Certainly you may look for it now, if you believe it is by faith. And by this token you may surely know whether you seek it by faith or by works. If by works, you want something to be done first, before you are sanctified. You think, 'I must first be or do thus or thus.' Then you are seeking it by works unto this day. If you seek it by faith, you may expect it as you are; and if as you are, then expect it now. It is of importance to observe that there is an inseparable connection between these three points,—expect it by faith, expect it as you are, and expect it now. To deny one of them is to deny them all: to allow one is to allow them all. Do you believe we are sanctified by faith? Be true then to your principle, and look for this blessing just as you are, neither better nor worse, as a poor sinner that has still nothing to pay, nothing to plead, but 'Christ died.' And if you look for it as you are, then expect it now. Stay for nothing: why should you? Christ is ready, and he is all you want. He is waiting for you; he is at the door! Let your inmost soul cry out,

> 'Come in, come in, thou heavenly guest!
> Nor hence again remove:
> But sup with me, and let the feast
> Be everlasting love.'"

Mr. Watmough, after urging, with no little force, from various representations made in the Scriptures, and especially several things with which the process of sanctification is compared, that the process is not a *long one*, sums up the evidence in the following particulars:—

"My first observation shall be this; that from what has been said, as well as from the nature of the thing, it appears that there must be a moment when the sanctifying process has its commencement in the soul; and that moment is the moment in which we are justified, and born again of God. Then it is that the leaven of grace begins to operate, that the old man of sin becomes nailed to the cross, and that the body of sin begins to be destroyed. My second remark is this, that from the commencement to the termination of this process, two principles, contrary to each, exist in our nature; namely, *the remains of the carnal mind*, and *the hallowing grace of God*. This is an important fact, and demands the most serious consideration of believers, as much of their peace of mind, till they are wholly sanctified to God, will often depend upon right conceptions of this very point. If they have clear views of it, they will attribute the coldness and languor, and evil desires and thoughts, which they sometimes find within them, to the stirrings and emotions of sin that dwelleth in them, even the remains of a carnal mind, and will not

surrender their justifying confidence in Christ, when the tempter tempts them to do so on that very account. Thirdly. The celerity of the sanctifying process depends upon man. He may hinder it by unfaithfulness, or forward it by diligence directed aright. Fourthly. If the Christian be faithful, the process goes on. The body of sin is more and more destroyed, and grace gains the ascendant. Thus the moment arrives at last when sin is entirely done away, and the whole soul of the believer filled with grace. This is that entire sanctification for which I contend through the whole of this work. Fifthly. In this way the reader will perceive what is usually intended by the term 'instantaneous,' when applied to the work in question. It simply means, that the work which purifies the understanding, memory, will, conscience, and the passions in general, as described in a former part of this work, together with the members and senses of the body, and fills and subjects them all to the dominion of grace, is *finished!* and this finishing or termination of the process, from the very nature of the thing, must take place in a moment, or be instantaneous, if ever it take place at all. So that the greatest advocates for the gradual, and even protracted process of this work, can have no just ground of exception to a sober and chastened use of the term. Sixthly. Let us be careful, however, not to limit the Holy One of Israel, as to *time*, in the performance of this work. Time, indeed, can be nothing to Him, who can do in a moment as much as in an age. Had he seen fit, he could have formed the world in the twinkling of an eye, just as well as in the space of six days. And if, in the process of that work we are discussing, we allow a regular order to take place, a beginning, a subsequent progression and increase, and then a completion or finishing of the work; if we allow all this, as we certainly ought, if we would think and speak aright; is not the Deity able to attend to it all in a moment of time? So that, whatever may be the case or experience of some individuals, there can be no necessity of supposing that God must be either years, or months, or days in accomplishing this work. The thief on the cross was both justified and sanctified in less than a day. And it is greatly to be feared that those who contend for a long and tedious process of this work, form their opinions on false and fallacious principles, and not on the doctrines of God. They look at the experience of men; and because some good men have been years in the ways of the Lord, and never enjoyed this blessing, hastily infer that others must be so too. They never appear to think that these men, though faithful, perhaps, in all other respects, have not been faithful in this; or that they have erred in their views concerning it; and have not sought it, because, through some unhappy circumstance or other, they have not seen it to be a blessing which it was their privilege to enjoy. Thus they have not only injured themselves, but, by their example, though ignorantly, I grant, others also. The longest period allowed for the sanctifying process, in the passages referred to above, is but a few days; and there are others which contract it to periods not longer than would suffice to wash, or even sprinkle the body with water, or to exchange our clothes. Let us ever, with gratitude, remember that this great work is *the work of our God*. My seventh, and last remark upon this head is this, that

when we speak of sanctification being finished, complete, entire, or the like, we refer only to one branch of it, namely, the destruction of sin. All sin, whether in the soul or body, must come to an end, if man be faithful; but the grace which destroys it may afterward flow for ever into the heart. Divine light may increase and discover new scenes of wonder to the soul, which will incite the passion of wonder to greater ardor. Love will rise in proportion; desire and hope will follow after; and joy, in rosy mantle, and crowned with songs of rapture, will have her place in the bright celestial train. The body, being freed from sin, will not weigh down the soul, nor despoil the renewed wings of the eagle within with such a weight of sensual appetites and risings of desire as formerly kept her fluttering near the ground. So that being freer to mount aloft, and range the celestial regions above the clouds, and storms, and tempests of this lower world, she will gaze on the Sun of righteousness with unutterable ecstasy and peace, and drink in the foretastes of everlasting bliss."

Our corollary from the positions of our authors is, that sanctification is in part to be sought as a change to be instantaneously wrought in the soul, and in part as a state and work of grace in the soul which will increase and enlarge in its blessedness, and in its influence upon the interests of God's moral kingdom through life and even to eternity. So far as it contemplates the destruction of sin, and consecration to God, it is to be regarded as a distinct change which we must experience before death, and which we may experience at any time subsequent to justification.

The "seventh and last remark" of the last author quoted is of great importance to a right understanding of this subject. It strikes most minds that to speak of a work being finished and yet advancing, is a contradiction. Here, doubtless, many, very many, stumble. How is it, say they, that we may be fully sanctified at once, and yet advance in sanctification? It seems that it cannot with any consistency be said a work is still *going on* when it is already *finished*. And such is the careless and confused manner in which this doctrine is often set forth, that it seems to involve a plain contradiction. But when it is understood that it is not pretended, or ought not to be pretended that the whole work and condition of sanctification is brought to a conclusion at any point upon which we may fix our attention, this materially alters the case. The body of sin may die, be dead, and never revive, and of course must have died at some particular time, and can never be more than dead; but the righteousness by which the spirit lives may continue endlessly to increase.

Hence believers should look for an instantaneous death of sin: should fix their attention upon this object, and seek, with unceasing diligence, its instantaneous consummation. The struggle will be long or short, according to the strength of faith exerted, and the ardor of desire felt in the pursuit of the object. And why should we leave our corruptions to die a lingering death when they may be dispatched at once? We are persuaded that most of our people who come short of this blessing, mistake in their views of this *deliverance from sin.* They think it a great and wonderful thing, *too great for them,* and perhaps they consider it the greatest thing that God can do. But that eminently pious man, Mr. Fletcher, says, *It is but a small thing to be saved from all sin, but to be filled,* &c.

Again, he says:—

"The work of sanctification is hindered, if I am not mistaken, by the same reason, and by holding out the being *delivered from sin,* as the mark to be aimed at, instead of being *rooted in Christ* and *filled with the fulness of God,* and with power from on high."—*Benson's Life of Fletcher,* p. 266.

And Dr. Clarke says:—

"To be filled with God is a great thing; to be filled with the *fulness* of God is still greater; to be filled *with all the fulness* of God is greatest of all."

Let it then be distinctly understood that when we speak of Christian perfection or entire sanctification as now attainable, we mean that it is possible for God's people *now to be saved from all sin,* and to be *fully consecrated to God;* and experiencing this great change, they will enter into a blessed state of progessive holiness and happiness. To this we would aspire. To this would we urge all Christians; and would, with Mr. Wesley, most unhesitatingly declare, that "it is the glorious privilege of every Christian, yea, though he be but a babe in Christ, to be so far perfect as not to commit sin." But it is alleged by some, that though a state of entire sanctification is promised in the gospel, yet it is not to be expected until death, or near the time of that great and dreadful change.

This error is successfully met by Mr. Watson in the following language:—

"The attainableness of such a state is not so much a matter of debate among Christians, as the *time* when we are authorized to expect

it. For as it is an axiom of Christian doctrine, that 'without holiness no man can see the Lord,' and is equally clear that, if we would 'be found of him in *peace*,' we must be found 'without *spot*, and *blameless*,' and that the church will be presented by Christ to the Father without 'fault,' so it must be concluded, unless, on the one hand, we greatly pervert the sense of these passages, or, on the other, admit the doctrine of purgatory, or some intermediate purifying institution, that the entire sanctification of the soul, and its complete renewal in holiness, must take place in this world.

"While this is generally acknowledged, however, among spiritual Christians, it has been warmly contended by many, that the final stroke which destroys our natural corruption is only given at death; and that the soul, when separated from the body, and not before, is capable of that immaculate purity which these passages, doubtless, exhibit to our hope.

"If this view can be refuted, then it must follow, unless a purgatory of some description be allowed after death, that the entire sanctification of believers, at any time previous to their dissolution, and in the full sense of these evangelic promises, is attainable.

"To the opinion in question, then, there appear to be the following fatal objections:—

"1. That we nowhere find the promises of entire sanctification restricted to the article of death, either expressly, or in fair inference, from any passage of Holy Scripture.

"2. That we nowhere find the circumstance of the soul's union with the body represented as a necessary obstacle to its entire sanctification.

"The principal passage which has been urged in proof of this from the New Testament, is that part of the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, in which St. Paul, speaking in the first person of the bondage of the flesh, has been supposed to describe his state, as a believer in Christ. But whether he speaks of himself, or describes the state of others, in a supposed case, given for the sake of more vivid representation in the first person, which is much more probable, he is clearly speaking of a person who had once sought justification by the works of the law, but who was then convinced, by the force of a spiritual apprehension, of the extent of the requirements of that law, and by constant failures in his attempts to keep it perfectly, that he was in bondage to his corrupt nature, and could only be delivered from this thraldom by the interposition of another. For, not to urge that his strong expressions of being 'carnal,' 'sold under sin,' and doing always 'the things which he would not,' are utterly inconsistent with that moral state of believers in Christ which he describes in the next chapter; and, especially, that he there declares that such as are in Christ Jesus 'walk *not* after the flesh, but after the Spirit.' The seventh chapter itself contains decisive evidence against the inference which the advocates of the necessary continuance of sin till death have drawn from it. The apostle declares the person, whose case he describes, to be under the *law*, and not in a state of deliverance by Christ; and then he represents him, not only as despairing of self-deliverance, and as praying for the interposition of a sufficiently powerful deliverer,

but as thanking God that the very deliverance for which he groans is appointed to be administered to him by Jesus Christ. 'Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

"This is also so fully confirmed by what the apostle had said in the preceding chapter, where he unquestionably describes the moral state of true believers, that nothing is more surprising than that so perverted a comment upon the seventh chapter as that to which we have adverted, should have been adopted or persevered in. 'What shall we say, then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid! How shall we, who are dead to sin, live any longer therein? Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death; that, like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection; knowing this, that OUR OLD MAN is crucified with him, THAT THE BODY OF SIN MIGHT BE DESTROYED, that henceforth we should not serve sin; for he that is dead IS FREED FROM SIN.' So clearly does the apostle show, that he who is BOUND to the 'body of death,' as mentioned in the seventh chapter, is not in the state of a believer; and that he who has a true faith in Christ, 'is FREED from sin.'

"It is somewhat singular that the divines of the Calvinistic school should be almost uniformly the zealous advocates of the doctrine of the continuance of indwelling sin till death; but it is but justice to say, that several of them have as zealously denied that the apostle, in the seventh chapter of the Romans, describes the state of one who is justified by faith in Christ, and very properly consider the case there spoken of as that of one struggling in LEGAL bondage, and brought to that point of self-despair, and of conviction of sin and helplessness, which must always precede an entire trust in the merits of Christ's death, and the power of his salvation.

"3. The doctrine before us is disproved by those passages of Scripture which connect our entire sanctification with subsequent habits and acts, to be exhibited in the conduct of believers *before death*. So in the quotation from Romans vi, just given,—'Knowing this, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that *henceforth* we should not serve sin.' So the exhortation in 2 Cor. vii, 1, also given above, refers to the present life, and not to the future hour of our dissolution; and in 1 Thess. v, 23, the apostle first prays for the entire sanctification of the Thessalonians, and then for their *preservation* in that hallowed state, 'unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"4. It is disproved, also, by all those passages which require us to bring forth those graces and virtues which are usually called the fruits of the Spirit. That these are to be produced during our life, and to be displayed in our spirit and conduct, cannot be doubted; and we may then ask whether they are required of us in perfection and maturity? If so, in this degree of maturity and perfection, they necessarily suppose the entire sanctification of the soul from the opposite and antago-

nist evils. Meekness, in its perfection, supposes the extinction of all sinful anger: perfect love to God supposes that no affection remains contrary to it; and so of every other perfect internal virtue. The inquiry, then, is reduced to this, whether these graces, in such perfection as to exclude the opposite corruptions of the heart, are of possible attainment? If they are not, then we cannot love God with our whole hearts; then we must be sometimes sinfully angry: and how, in that case, are we to interpret that *perfectness* in these graces which God hath required of us, and promised to us, in the gospel? For if the *perfection* meant (and let it be observed that this is a *Scriptural* term, and must mean something) be so comparative as that we may be sometimes sinfully angry, and may sometimes divide our hearts between God and the creature, we may apply the same comparative sense of the term to good words and to good works, as well as to good affections. Thus, when the apostle prays for the Hebrews, 'Now the God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you *perfect* in every *good work*, to do his will,' we must understand this perfection of evangelical good works so that it shall sometimes give place to opposite evil works, just as good affections must necessarily sometimes give place to the opposite bad affections. This view can scarcely be soberly entertained by any enlightened Christian; and it must, therefore, be concluded that the standard of our attainable Christian perfection, as to the affections, is a love of God so perfect as to 'rule the heart, and exclude all rivalry, and a meekness so perfect as to cast out all sinful anger, and prevent its return;' and that as to good works, the rule is, that we shall be so 'perfect in every good work' as to 'do the will of God' habitually, fully, and constantly. If we fix the standard lower, we let in a license totally inconsistent with that Christian purity which is allowed by all to be attainable; and we make every man himself his own interpreter of that *comparative* perfection which is often contended for as that only which is attainable.

"Some, it is true, admit the extent of the promises and the requirements of the gospel as we have stated them; but they contend that this is the mark at which we are to *aim*, the standard toward which we are to aspire, though neither is attainable fully till death. But this view cannot be true as applied to *sanctification*, or deliverance from all inward and outward sin. That the *degree* of every virtue implanted by grace is not limited, but advances and grows in the living Christian throughout life, may be granted; and through eternity, also: but to say that these virtues are not attainable, through the work of the Spirit, in that degree which shall destroy all opposite vice, is to say, that God, under the gospel, requires us to be what we cannot be, either through want of efficacy in his grace, or from some defect in its administration; neither of which has any countenance from Scripture, nor is at all consistent with the terms in which the promises and exhortations of the gospel are expressed. It is also contradicted by our own consciousness, which charges our criminal neglects and failures upon ourselves, and not upon the grace of God, as though it were insufficient. Either the consciences of good men have in all ages been delusive and over-

scrupulous, or this doctrine of the necessary, though occasional, dominion of sin over us is false.

"5. The doctrine of the necessary indwelling of sin in the soul till death, involves other antiscriptural consequences. It supposes that the seat of sin is in the flesh, and thus harmonizes with the pagan philosophy, which attributed all evil to matter. The doctrine of the Bible, on the contrary, is, that the seat of sin is in the soul; and it makes it one of the proofs of the fall and corruption of our spiritual nature, that we are in bondage to the appetites and motions of the flesh. Nor does the theory which places the necessity of sinning in the connection of the soul with the body, account for the whole moral case of man. There are sins, as pride, covetousness, malice, and others, which are wholly spiritual; and yet no exception is made in this doctrine of the necessary continuance of sin till death as to them. There is, surely, no need to wait for the separation of the soul from the body in order to be saved from evils which are the sole offspring of the spirit; and yet these are made as inevitable as the sins which more immediately connect themselves with the excitements of the animal nature.

"This doctrine supposes, too, that the flesh must necessarily not only lust against the Spirit, but in no small degree, and on many occasions, be the conqueror: whereas, we are commanded to '*mortify* the deeds of the body;' to '*crucify*,' that is, to put to death, 'the flesh;' '*to put off* the old man,' which, in its full meaning, must import separation from sin in fact, as well as the renunciation of it in will; and 'to *put on* the new man.' Finally, the apostle expressly states, that though the flesh stands victoriously opposed to *legal* sanctification, it is not insuperable by evangelical holiness. 'For what the *law* could not do, in that it was weak *through the flesh*, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be *fulfilled* in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit,' Rom. viii, 3, 4. So inconsistent with the declarations and promises of the gospel is the notion that, so long as we are in the body, 'the flesh' must of necessity have at least the occasional dominion.

"We conclude, therefore, as to the *time* of our complete sanctification, or, to use the phrase of the apostle Paul, 'the destruction of the body of sin,' that it can neither be referred to the hour of death, nor placed subsequently to this present life. The attainment of perfect freedom from sin is one to which believers are called during the present life, and is necessary to that completeness of 'holiness,' and of those active and passive graces of Christianity, by which they are called to glorify God in this world, and to edify mankind."

Another error into which some have fallen upon this subject, somewhat different indeed from the one we have just considered, but equally fatal to the practical influence of the doctrine of sanctification, is, that it is received at the moment of justification, and hence no distinct blessing, under that name, is to be sought or to be expected subsequently. Consequently it is alleged that all subsequent motions

of corruption are so many instances of backsliding from the justified state. Now if this view be presented by Methodists, it will not be irrelevant to urge, in opposition, the views of our standard writers.

In answer to the question, "When does sanctification begin?" Mr. Wesley says, "In the moment a man is justified, (yet sin remains in him, yea, the seed of all sin, till he is sanctified throughout.) From that time a believer gradually dies to sin, and grows in grace." Again. In answer to the question what he would say to those who have all the holy exercises and enjoyments attributed to sanctified persons "who are but newly justified," this author answers:—

"If they really do, I will say they are sanctified; saved from sin in that moment; and that they never need lose what God has given, or feel sin any more.

"But certainly this is an exempt case. It is otherwise with the generality of those that are justified: they feel in themselves more or less pride, anger, self-will, a heart bent to backsliding. And, till they have gradually mortified these, they are not fully renewed in love."

Mr. Fletcher says:—

"We do not deny that the remains of the carnal mind still cleave to imperfect Christians; and that when the expression 'carnal' is softened and qualified, it may, in a low sense, be applied to such professors as those Corinthians were to whom St. Paul said, 'I could not speak to you as to spiritual.' But could not the apostle be yet 'spoken to as a spiritual man? And does he not allow, that, even in the corrupted churches of Corinth and Galatia, there were some truly spiritual men—some adult, perfect Christians? See 1 Cor. xiv, 37, and Gal. vi, 1.'"

Again,—

"The same Spirit of faith which initially purifies our hearts, when we cordially believe the pardoning love of God, completely cleanses them, when we fully believe his sanctifying love."

In addition to these quotations, which certainly suppose sanctification subsequent to, and not always immediately connected with justification, we may refer to this author's "Address to Imperfect Believers," the whole of which proceeds upon the supposition that there is a class of "believers," and, of course, persons who are justified, who are not yet sanctified. Upon the principle under consideration, that masterly effort, and, if we rightly judge, the best part of the treatise, is grossly absurd. For it is a strong effort to urge on "believers" to an attainment which they have already reached, and which is a necessary concomitant of justifying faith.

Finally, we may urge, that as ministers in the Methodist Episcopal Church, we have fully set our seal to the doctrine of Wesley and Fletcher upon this point. In the Discipline, chap. i, sec. ix, quest. 4, "What method do we use in receiving a preacher at the conference?" the answer is,—

"After solemn fasting and prayer, every person proposed shall then be asked, before the conference, the following questions, (with any others which may be thought necessary,) viz.:—Have you faith in Christ? Are you going on to perfection? Do you expect to be made perfect in love in this life? Are you groaning after it?"

Here we say we "have faith in Christ," and that we are (not already perfect but) "going on to perfection," and are "expecting to be made perfect in love in this life," and "are groaning after it." Can any thing be plainer than that justifying "faith in Christ," and "perfect love," are two things, and that we may have one without the other?

From the whole we infer, that according to our standards, 1. There is no necessary connection between the blessings of justification and *entire* sanctification. 2. A person may be in a state of justification, and yet have sin, yea, "the seed of all sin remaining in him." 3. It is the privilege and duty of justified believers to seek entire deliverance from inbred sin, as a *second* and *distinct* blessing.

We shall now give a few specimens of the Scripture argument upon this point.

Mr. Watson takes the Wesleyan position, and sustains it by two passages of Scripture. In this we have the authority of the Scripture and of Mr. Watson united. This author proceeds:—

"That a distinction exists between a regenerate state and a state of entire and perfect holiness will be generally allowed. Regeneration, we have seen, is concomitant with justification; but the apostles, in addressing the body of believers in the churches to whom they wrote their epistles, set before them, both in the prayers they offer in their behalf, and in the exhortations they administer, a still higher degree of deliverance from sin, as well as a higher growth in Christian virtues. Two passages only need be quoted to prove this:—1 Thess. v, 23, 'And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.' 2 Cor. vii, 1, 'Having these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.' In both these passages deliverance from sin is the subject spoken of; and the prayer in

one instance, and the exhortation in the other, go to the extent of the entire sanctification of 'the soul' and 'spirit,' as well as of the 'flesh' or 'body,' from all sin; by which can only be meant our complete deliverance from all spiritual pollution, all inward depravation of the heart, as well as that which, expressing itself outwardly by the indulgence of the senses, is called 'filthiness of the flesh.'"

We need only add one remark here, and that is, that the passages above quoted evidently refer to those who are already in a state of grace. And though they had great and precious "promises," and were "not in darkness," but were "children of the light," still a *further cleansing*—an *entire sanctification* were set before them. To this they were urged, and God was besought to bestow it upon them.

Again: our blessed Saviour, in praying for his disciples, for those who "were not of the world, as" he was "not of the world," and for those who had been "given" him, says, "Sanctify them through thy truth, thy word is truth." Here observe, 1. They belong to Christ, &c.; but, 2. They are not yet sanctified, unless, indeed, Christ prays for what he knows was already done.

Again, (in Heb. vi, 1,) the Hebrew Christians, who must certainly be considered to be in a gracious state, are exhorted to "go on to perfection," which would scarcely be expected if they had already attained perfection.

We will give another Scripture proof, and then resign the question to the candid reader. In 1 John i, 7 we read, "If we walk in the light as he is in the light, the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." Observe, 1. In this passage we are supposed to be "in the light," and, 2. That by *walking* in this "light" we may be *cleansed from all sin*. To suppose that the moment we enter the *light* we are already *cleansed from all sin*, would be to make the language of this passage absurd. We are nowhere told that we must "walk in the light as he is in the light" in order to obtain justification, nor would it be consistent to urge us to do any thing in order to the attainment of what we already most assuredly have in possession.

We next urge fact and experience against the views set up. Who are those among us who are concerned for this blessing of perfect love? Are they those who have never been justified? or those who, having been justified, have fallen from that state? Not these, surely; but those who retain their justification, and do honor

to the Christian name; those who are most active and useful in the church. These are the persons who are most athirst for the blessing of a clean heart and entire consecration to God.

Again. Is it not presuming too far to suppose that those who have professed this high and holy state were mistaken—that they do not understand the character of their own experience? To say nothing of those among ourselves who have made professions of this kind, and have given the most indubitable proofs of their sincerity, let us refer to Messrs. Fletcher, Bramwell, Carvosso, Mrs. Rogers, Mrs. Fletcher, Lady Maxwell, and a host of others who have died in the faith. All these explicitly declare that they received a distinct witness of this *second blessing;* that while in a justified state they felt the workings of inward corruption: they sought by prayer and faith for deliverance, and obtained a clear and satisfactory evidence of entire sanctification; so that they "reckoned themselves dead indeed unto sin, and alive unto God through Jesus Christ." They now had the witness of perfect love, distinct from the witness of pardon which was communicated on their justification. Now shall we say they mistook the operations of their own minds? This we might do if there were any thing in their experience contrary to the word of God, or if they had in other instances exhibited signs of mental aberration or incorrigible enthusiasm we might be justified in supposing that they were self-deceived. But of the persons above named we can form no such conclusion. In all they say on other points, reason and the true spirit of the gospel are predominant. Why should we conclude them entirely beside themselves here? Indeed, if the gospel remains the same that it was in the days of John and Paul, we have good reason to conclude them in their sober senses even in their highest professions.

Finally, we may object to the notion that all who are justified are also sanctified, the fact that multitudes in all the Christian churches who exhibit the fruits of a state of justification, and are still destitute of the great blessing of a clean heart or perfect love. Now what shall we do with these upon the hypothesis here opposed? We must conclude, either that they were never really born of God, or that they have backslidden; and so, in either case, they are not in a state of salvation! This would be a sweeping conclusion, and one which we should be very slow to authorize.

2. We shall next proceed to anticipate several objections to this doctrine, and show how they are disposed of by our authors. The following is from Mr. Fletcher:—

"I repeat it, if our pious opponents decry the doctrine of Christian perfection, it is chiefly through misapprehension; it being as natural for pious men to recommend exalted piety, as for covetous persons to extol great riches. And this misapprehension frequently springs from their inattention to the nature of Christian perfection. To prove it, I need only oppose our definition of Christian perfection to the objections which are most commonly raised against our doctrine.

"I. 'Your doctrine of perfection leads to pride.' Impossible, if Christian perfection is perfect humility.

"II. 'It exalts believers; but it is only to the state of the vain-glorious Pharisee.' Impossible. If our perfection is perfect humility, it makes us sink deeper into the state of the humble, justified publican.

"III. 'It fills men with the conceit of their own excellence, and makes them say to a weak brother, "Stand by, I am holier than thou."' Impossible again. We do not preach Pharisaic, but Christian perfection, which consists in perfect poverty of spirit, and in that perfect 'charity' which 'vaunteth not itself, honors all men, and bears with the infirmities of the weak.'

"IV. 'It sets repentance aside.' Impossible; for it is perfect repentance.

"V. 'It will make us slight Christ.' More and more improbable. How can perfect faith in Christ make us slight Christ? Could it be more absurd to say, that the perfect love of God will make us despise God?

"VI. 'It will supersede the use of mortification and watchfulness; for, if sin is dead, what need have we to mortify it, and to watch against it?'

"This objection has some plausibility: I shall therefore answer it various ways:—1. If Adam, in a state of paradisiacal perfection, needed perfect watchfulness and perfect mortification, how much more do we need them, who find 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil' planted, not only in the midst of our gardens, but in the midst of our houses, markets, and churches? 2. When we are delivered from sin, are we delivered from peccability and temptation? When the inward man of sin is dead, is the devil dead? is the corruption that is in the world destroyed? and have we not still our five senses to 'keep with all diligence,' as well as our 'hearts,' that the tempter may not enter into us, or that we may not enter into his temptations? Lastly: Jesus Christ, as son of Mary, was a perfect man. But how was he kept so to the end? Was it not by 'keeping his mouth with a bridle, while the ungodly was in his sight,' and by guarding all his senses with perfect assiduity, that the wicked one might not touch him to his hurt? And if Christ our head kept his human perfection only through watchfulness and constant self-denial, is it not absurd to suppose that his perfect members can keep their perfection without treading in his steps?

"VII. Another objection probably stands in Mr. Hill's way: it runs thus: 'Your doctrine of perfection makes it needless for perfect Christians to say the Lord's prayer. For if God "vouchsafes to keep us this day without sin," we shall have no need to pray at night that God would "forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us."'

"We answer: 1. Though a perfect Christian does not trespass voluntarily, and break the law of love; yet he daily breaks the law of Adamic perfection, through the imperfection of his bodily and mental powers: and he has frequently a deeper sense of these involuntary trespasses than many weak believers have of their voluntary breaches of the moral law. 2. Although a perfect Christian has a witness that his sins are now forgiven in the court of his conscience, yet he knows 'the terrors of the Lord;' he hastens to meet the awful day of God; he waits for the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ in the character of a righteous Judge; he keeps an eye to the awful tribunal before which he must soon be justified or condemned by his words; he is conscious that his final justification is not yet come; and therefore he would think himself a monster of stupidity and pride, if, with an eye to his absolution in the great day, he scrupled saying, to the end of his life, 'Forgive us our trespasses.' 3. He is surrounded with sinners, who daily 'trespass against him,' and whom he is daily bound to 'forgive;' and his praying that he may be forgiven now, and in the great day, 'as he forgives others,' reminds him that he may forfeit his pardon, and binds him more and more to the performance of the important duty of forgiving his enemies. And, 4. His charity is so ardent, that it melts him, as it were, into the common mass of mankind. Bowing himself, therefore, under the enormous load of all the wilful trespasses which his fellow-mortals, and particularly his relatives and his brethren, daily commit against God, he says, with a fervor that imperfect Christians seldom feel, 'Forgive us our trespasses,' &c. 'We are heartily sorry for our misdoings, (my own, and those of my fellow-sinners,) the remembrance of them is grievous unto us, the burden of them is intolerable.' Nor do we doubt but when the spirit of mourning leads a numerous assembly of supplicants into the vale of humiliation, the person who puts the shoulder of faith most readily to the common burden of sin, and heaves the most powerfully, in order to roll the enormous load into the Redeemer's grave, is the most perfect penitent, the most exact observer of the apostolic precept, 'Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ;' and, of consequence, we do not scruple to say, that such a person is the most perfect Christian in the whole assembly.

"If Mr. Hill considers these answers, we doubt not but he will confess that his opposition to Christian perfection chiefly springs from his inattention to our definition of it, which I once more sum up in these comprehensive lines of Mr. Wesley:—

'O let me gain perfection's height!
O let me into nothing fall!
(As less than nothing in thy sight)
And feel that Christ is all in all!'

"VIII. Our opponents produce another plausible objection, which runs thus:—'It is plain from your account of Christian perfection, that adult believers are free from sin, their hearts being purified by perfect faith, and filled with perfect love. Now, sin is that which humbles us, and drives us to Christ; and therefore, if we were free from indwelling sin, we should lose a most powerful incentive to humility, which is the greatest ornament of a true Christian.'

"We answer: Sin never humbled any soul. Who has more sin than Satan? And who is prouder? Did sin make our first parents humble? If it did not, why do our brethren suppose that its nature is altered for the better? Who was humbler than Christ? But was he indebted to sin for his humility? Do we not see daily that the more sinful men are, the prouder they are also? Did Mr. Hill never observe, that the holier a believer is, the humbler he shows himself? And what is holiness, but the reverse of sin? If sin is necessary to make us humble, and to keep us near Christ, does it not follow that glorified saints, whom all acknowledge to be sinless, are all proud despisers of Christ? If humility is obedience, and if sin is disobedience, is it not as absurd to say that sin will make us humble,—that is, obedient,—as it is to affirm that rebellion will make us loyal, and adultery chaste? See we not sin enough, when we look ten or twenty years back, to humble us to the dust for ever, if sin can do it? Need we plead for any more of it in our hearts or lives? If the sins of our youth do not humble us, are the sins of our old age likely to do it? If we contend for the life of the man of sin, that he may subdue our pride, do we not take a large stride after those who say, 'Let us sin, that grace may abound; let us continue full of indwelling sin, that humility may increase?' What is, after all, the evangelical method of getting humility? Is it not to look at Christ in the manger, in Gethsemane, or on the cross? to consider him when he washes his disciples' feet? and obediently to listen to him when he says, 'Learn of me to be meek and lowly in heart?' Where does the gospel plead the cause of the Barabbas and the thieves within? Where does it say that they may indeed be nailed to the cross, and have their legs broken, but that their life must be left whole within them, lest we should be proud of their death? Lastly: what is indwelling sin but indwelling pride? At least, is not inbred pride one of the chief ingredients of indwelling sin? And how can pride be productive of humility? Can a serpent beget a dove? And will not men gather grapes from thorns, sooner than humility of heart from haughtiness of spirit?

"IX. The strange mistake which I detect would not be so prevalent among our prejudiced brethren, if they were not deceived by the plausibility of the following argument:—'When believers are humbled for a thing, they are humbled by it. But believers are humbled for sin; and therefore they are humbled by sin.'

"The flaw of this argument is in the first proposition. We readily grant, that penitents are humbled for sin; or, in other terms, that they humbly repent of sin: but we deny that they are humbled by sin. To show the absurdity of the whole argument, I need only produce a sophism exactly parallel: 'When people are blooded for a thing, they

are blooded by it. But people are sometimes blooded for a cold; and therefore people are sometimes blooded by a cold.'"

We add to the foregoing the following extraordinary argument from Mr. Toplady, and Mr. Fletcher's answer; not because much will be added to the strength of the objections or the defense, but as showing one variety of the objections with which this doctrine has ever been met in a very clear light.

"'A person of the amplest fortune cannot help the harboring of snakes, toads, &c., on his lands; but they will breed, and nestle, and crawl about his estate, whether he will or no. All he can do is to pursue and kill them whenever they make their appearance; yet let him be ever so vigilant and diligent, there will always be a succession of those creatures TO EXERCISE HIS PATIENCE, AND ENGAGE HIS INDUSTRY. So it is with the true believer in respect of indwelling sin.' *Caveat against unsound doctrine*, page 54. To this we answer:—

"1. From the clause which I produce in capitals in this argument, one would think that patience and industry cannot be properly exercised without indwelling sin. If so, does it not follow, that our Lord's patience and industry always wanted proper exercise, because he was always perfectly free from indwelling sin? We are of a different sentiment with respect to our Lord's Christian virtues; and we apprehend that the patience and industry of the most perfect believer will always, without the opposition of indwelling sin, find full exercise in doing and suffering the whole will of God; in keeping the body under, in striving against the sin of others, in testifying by word and deed that the works of the world are evil, in resisting the numberless temptations of him who 'goes about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour;' and in preparing to conflict with the king of terrors.

"2. Why could not assiduous vigilance clear an estate of snakes, as one of our kings cleared Great Britain of wolves? Did he not attempt and accomplish what appeared impossible to less resolute minds? Mr. Toplady is too well acquainted with the classics not to know what the heathens themselves have said of industry and love:—

'Omnia vincit amor.
Labor improbus omnia vincit.'

If 'love and incessant labor overcome the greatest difficulties,' what cannot a diligent believer do who is animated by the love of God, and feels that he 'can do all things through Christ, who strengtheneth him?'

"3. But the capital flaw of Mr. Toplady's argument consists in so considering the weakness of free-will, as entirely to leave God, and the sanctifying power of his Spirit, out of the question. That gentleman forgets, that 'for this purpose the Son of God' (who is 'Lord God omnipotent') 'was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.' Nor does he consider that a worm, assisted by omnipotence itself, is capable of the greatest achievements. Of this we have an illustrious instance in Moses, with respect to the removal of the lice,

the frogs, and the locusts: 'Moses entreated the Lord, and the Lord turned a mighty strong west wind, which took away the locusts, and cast them into the Red Sea; there remained not one locust in all the coasts of Egypt,' Exodus x, 19. If Mr. Toplady had not forgot the mighty God with whom Moses and believers have to do, he would never have supposed that the comparison holds good between Christ cleansing the thoughts and heart of a praying believer by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit, and a man who can by no means destroy the snakes and toads that breed, nestle, and crawl about his estate.

"4. The reverend author of the Caveat sinks, in this argument, even below the doctrine of heathen moralists. For, suppose the extirpation of a vicious habit were considered, would not a heathen be inexcusable if he overlooked the succor and inspiration of the Almighty? And what shall we say of a gospel minister who, writing upon the destruction of sin, entirely overlooks what, at other times, he calls the 'sovereign, matchless, all-conquering, irresistible' power of divine grace, which, if we believe him, is absolutely to do all in us and for us? who insinuates, that the toad—pride, and the viper—envy, must continue to nestle and crawl in our breasts for want of ability to destroy them; and who concludes that the extirpation of sin is impossible, because we cannot bring it about by our own strength? Just as if the power of God, which helps our infirmities, did not deserve a thought! Who does not see, that when a divine argues in this manner, he puts his bushel upon the light of Christ's victorious grace, hides this sin-killing and heart-cleansing light, and then absurdly concludes, that the darkness of sin must necessarily remain in all believers? Thus, if I mistake not, it appears that Mr. Toplady's argument in favor of the death-purgatory is contrary to history, experience, and gentilism; and how much more to Christianity, and to the honor of Him who to the uttermost saves his believing people from their heart-toads and bosom-vipers, when they go to him for this great salvation!"

But there are several passages of Scripture which are supposed to be explicitly against this doctrine. We shall consider some of the strongest of these, though it will not comport with our limits to consider them all, or to go through with a *protracted* investigation of any of them.

We shall first notice two passages from Solomon. The first is, (1 Kings viii, 46,) "There is no man that sinneth not." Upon this passage Dr. Clarke says:—

"On this verse we may observe that the second clause, as it is here translated, renders the *supposition* in the first clause entirely nugatory; for if there be *no man that sinneth not*, it is useless to say, IF *they sin*; but this contradiction is taken away by reference to the original, כי יחטאו לך *ki yechetu lach*, which should be translated IF *they shall sin against thee*, OR *should they sin against thee*; כי אין אדם אשר לא יחטא *ki ein Adam asher lo yecheta, for there is no man that* MAY *not sin*; i. e., there is no man *impeccable*, none *infallible*, none that is not *liable* to

transgress. This is the true meaning of the phrase in various parts of the Bible, and so our translators have understood the original: for even in the thirty-first verse of this chapter they have translated יחטא *yecheta*, IF *a man* TRESPASS; which certainly implies he *might* or *might not* do it; and in this way they have translated the same word, IF a *soul* SIN, in Lev. v, 1; vi, 2; 1 Sam. ii, 25; 2 Chron. vi, 22, and in several other places. The truth is, the Hebrew has no mood to express words in the *permissive* or *optative* way, but to express this sense it uses the *future* tense of the conjugation *kal*.

"This text has been a wonderful stronghold for all who believe that there is no redemption from sin in this life, that no man can live without committing sin, and that we cannot be entirely freed from it till we die. 1. The text speaks no such doctrine: it only speaks of the *possibility* of every man sinning, and this must be true of a state of *probation*. 2. There is not another text in the divine records that is more to the purpose than this. 3. The doctrine is flatly in opposition to the design of the gospel; for Jesus came to save his people from their sins, and to destroy the works of the devil. 4. It is a dangerous and destructive doctrine, and should be blotted out of every Christian's creed. There are too many who are seeking to excuse their crimes by all means in their power; and we need not imbody their excuses in a creed, to complete their deception, by stating that their sins are *unavoidable*."

The next is, (Eccles. vii, 20,) "There is not a just man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not." This passage should be interpreted like the foregoing, as Dr. Clarke shows. His paraphrase is as follows:—

"לא יחטא *lo yechta*, that *may not sin*. There is not a man upon earth, however just he may be, and habituated to do good, but is *peccable*—liable to commit sin; and therefore should continually watch and pray, and depend upon the Lord. But the text does not say, the *just man does commit sin*, but simply that he *may sin*; and so our translators have rendered it in 1 Sam. ii, 25, twice in 1 Kings viii, 31, 46, and 2 Chron. vi, 36."

A passage from St. James is often brought forward in opposition to this doctrine, viz., chap. iii, verse 2: "In many things we offend all." To this Mr. Wesley replies:—

"True; but who are the persons here spoken of? Why, those many masters or teachers whom God had not sent; not the apostle himself, nor any real Christian. That in the word *we*, used by a figure of speech, common in all other as well as the inspired writings, the apostle could not possibly include himself, or any other true believer, appears, First, from the ninth verse, 'Therewith bless we God, and therewith curse we men.' Surely not we apostles! not we believers! Secondly, from the words preceding the text: 'My brethren, be not many masters,' or teachers, 'knowing that we shall receive the greater

condemnation. For in many things we offend all.' *We!* Who? Not the apostles, nor true believers, but they who were to 'receive the greater condemnation,' because of those many offences. Nay, Thirdly, the verse itself proves that 'we offend all,' cannot be spoken either of all men or all Christians. For in it immediately follows the mention of a man who 'offends not,' as the *we* first mentioned did; from whom therefore he is professedly contradistinguished, and pronounced a 'perfect man.'"

Again, it is urged that St. John is against this doctrine, for he says: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves;" and, "If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." To this the same divine replies:—

"I answer, (1.) The tenth verse fixes the sense of the eighth: 'If we say we have no sin,' in the former, being explained by, 'If we say we have not sinned,' in the latter verse. (2.) The point under consideration is not, whether we have or have not sinned heretofore; and neither of these verses asserts that we do sin, or commit sin now. (3.) The ninth verse explains both the eighth and tenth: 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' As if he had said, 'I have before affirmed the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin.' And no man can say, 'I need it not; I have no sin to be cleansed from.' 'If we say we have no sin,' that 'we have not sinned, we deceive ourselves,' and make God a liar: but 'if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just,' not only 'to forgive us our sins,' but also 'to cleanse us from all unrighteousness,' that we may 'go and sin no more.'"

The last passage we shall notice among those which are employed against the doctrine of Christian perfection is the seventh chapter of Romans. In that chapter St. Paul says, "I am carnal, sold under sin," &c. And surely, it is urged, we, in these days, need not expect to attain a higher state of perfection than St. Paul had attained.

We need not here go into an exposition of this part of St. Paul's epistle, and a vindication of his character from what, to say the least, evidently amounts to a charge of gross inconsistency, but shall content ourselves with simply giving the general views of this important and interesting portion of Holy Scripture, taken by our authors, and with showing that they are sustained in their views by some of the most eminent commentators of ancient and modern times.

Mr. Wesley, in his note upon verse 7, says:—

"This is a kind of digression (to the beginning of the next chapter) wherein the apostle, in order to show, in the most lively manner, the

weakness and inefficiency of the law, changes the person, and speaks as of himself concerning the misery of one under the law. This St. Paul frequently does when he is not speaking of his own person, but only assuming another character, Rom. iii, 6; 1 Cor. x, 30, chap. iv, 6. The character here assumed, is that of a man, first ignorant of the law, then under it, and sincerely but ineffectually striving to serve God. To have spoken this of himself, or any true believer, would have been foreign to the whole scope of his discourse; nay, utterly contrary thereto; as well as to what is expressly asserted chap. viii, 2."

This view the reader will find carried out and fully sustained by Mr. Fletcher, and by Dr. Clarke, Dr. Coke, and Mr. Benson, in their commentaries *in loc.*

Some of the most learned commentators who may be presumed to dissent from our doctrine of Christian perfection, nevertheless take the same view of Romans vii, which is taken by our own divines and commentators. For which, see Dr. Macknight on the Epistles, Professor Stuart's Commentary on Romans, and Dr. Bloomfield's Critical Digest, *in loc.*

After thus much upon the most important proof-texts which are relied upon by those who plead for the necessary continuance of indwelling sin, we will now notice a few passages which our authors adduce to prove the opposite doctrine.

Mr. Wesley, in his Plain Account of Christian Perfection, presents the following summary of Scripture proof, which, together with his terse and appropriate remarks, we introduce as the best Scripture argument which we have found within so small a compass:—

"'He shall redeem Israel from all his sins,' Psalm cxxx, 8. This is more largely expressed in the prophecy of Ezekiel: 'Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean; from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you: I will also save you from all your uncleannesses,' xxxvi, 25, 29. No promise can be more clear. And to this the apostle plainly refers in that exhortation: 'Having these promises, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God,' 2 Cor. vii, 1. Equally clear and express is that ancient promise: 'The Lord thy God will circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul,' Deut. xxx, 6.

"Q. But does any assertion answerable to this occur in the New Testament?

"A. There does, and that laid down in the plainest terms. So 1 John iii, 8: 'For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil;' the works of the devil, without any limitation or restriction; but all sin is the work of the devil.

Parallel to which is the assertion of St. Paul: 'Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it might be holy and without blemish,' Eph. v, 25–27.

"And to the same effect is his assertion in the eighth of the Romans, verses 3, 4: 'God sent his Son, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.'

"Q. Does the New Testament afford any further ground for expecting to be saved from all sin?

"A. Undoubtedly it does; both in those prayers and commands, which are equivalent to the strongest assertions.

"Q. What prayers do you mean?

"A. Prayers for entire sanctification; which, were there no such thing, would be mere mockery of God. Such in particular are, (1.) 'Deliver us from evil.' Now, when this is done, when we are delivered from all evil, there can be no sin remaining. (2.) 'Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also who shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one,' John xvii, 20–23. (3.) 'I bow my knees unto the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would grant you that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend, with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled with all the fulness of God,' Eph. iii, 14, &c. (4.) 'The very God of peace sanctify you wholly. And I pray God, your whole spirit, soul, and body may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,' 1 Thess. v, 23.

"Q. What command is there to the same effect?

"A. (1.) 'Be ye perfect, as your Father who is in heaven is perfect,' Matt. v, 48. (2.) 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind,' Matt. xxii, 37. But if the love of God fill all the heart, there can be no sin therein."

But if the reader wishes a more general and comprehensive view of the argument from the Bible, he is referred to Mr. Fletcher's "Last Check to Antinomianism," where he will be entirely satisfied, if his eyes are not blinded by prejudice, that the doctrine we contend for is not only implied in a multitude of instances, in requisitions, in promises, and in examples, but is expressly taught as a doctrine in the book of divine revelation.

We next proceed to a consideration of the appointed way through which this state of holiness is to be attained.

And, 1. The only *foundation* is Jesus Christ. St. Paul says: (Rom. viii, 3, 4:) "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness

of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." Again: (Heb. ix, 13, 14:) "For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?" And again: (1 Cor. i, 30:) "Christ Jesus of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

As this is a point upon which there is no question, we shall not quote the language of our authors, though, had we space, we might introduce strong passages from them which would be interesting and instructive to the reader. Our position is, that Christ in his offices, as our *prophet*, our *priest*, and our *king*, is the grand *meritorious* and *procuring cause* of our *sanctification*.

2. The grand efficiency through which this great work is achieved is the HOLY SPIRIT.

No outward ordinances, no good purposes or resolutions can avail in the least toward that *radical renovation* implied in the sanctification of soul, body, and spirit. It is figuratively called a *creation*,—being "*created* anew in Christ Jesus unto good works." It is "putting on the new man, which after God is *created* in righteousness and true holiness." And what but divine power can create? The poet says—

> "'Twas great to speak a world from naught,
> 'Twas greater to redeem."

This is emphatically true of that part of the great process of redemption of which we are now speaking. If none but God could bring into existence this goodly world, with all its appendages, surely no other power can effect that moral renovation of the soul which is equally, if indeed not more eminently beyond all limited skill and power.

But it is especially indicated as the work of the Holy Spirit by being denominated the *baptism of the Holy Ghost*, *sanctification of the Spirit*, &c., &c. The view of our authors is, that the work is *effected* and *sustained by the direct agency of the Spirit of God upon the soul*.

Says Mr. Treffry:—

"The office of sanctification, or rendering the soul perfect in divine love, is not unfrequently attributed to the third Person in the ever-blessed Trinity, who is denominated the Holy Spirit, and who is sent by the Father, in the name of the Son, to work in us 'to will and to do of his own good pleasure.' He is called the Holy Spirit, not merely because he is essentially holy in himself, but as he is the source of holiness to us, producing in us all the fruits of holiness, cleansing and beautifying our souls that he may dwell in us, and make us the temples of his holiness: for we are washed, sanctified, and justified 'in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.' 'Not by works of righteousness,' saith the apostle, 'which we have done, but according to his own mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.'"

But, 3. The *conditions* upon which the Holy Spirit will effect this blessed work may be embraced in *repentance* and *faith.*

We must not, however, suppose that all other duties are waived. No person can ever perform these conditions while living in the neglect of any other known duty, either private or public, whether having relation to God, society, or himself. He must especially be diligent in all the means of grace. But the proximate cause of this grand deliverance is a *penitent faith in the atoning blood.*

Says Mr. Fletcher—

"If Christian perfection implies a forsaking all inward as well as outward sin; and if true repentance is a grace 'whereby we forsake sin;' it follows, that, to attain Christian perfection, we must so follow our Lord's evangelical precept, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,' as to leave no sin, no bosom sin, no heart sin, no indwelling sin, unrepented of, and, of consequence, unforsaken."

But this state of godly sorrow for sin, inherent, indwelling sin, must be associated with *faith.* And we will next endeavor to show the characteristics of this faith. Mr. Watmough gives the following plain and clear definition of the sanctifying faith of which we are speaking:—

"Now, in all kinds and degrees of saving faith, there are found to be three things, none of which can be spared or separated from the rest without rendering our faith ineffectual and dead. *The first is, a perception of the promise of the salvation we need. The second is, a conviction of its vital importance and truth. And the third is, embracing that promise with the affections or heart.* Each of these particulars we find in the faith of the patriarchs. Heb. xi, 13. And the last particular is so important to faith, that the apostle to the Romans has so spoken of faith as if it consisted alone in this very thing. 'With the *heart,*' says he, 'man believeth unto righteousness.' 'If thou shalt believe in *thine heart* that God hath raised him from the dead,' &c., Rom. x, 9, 10."

From these extracts it will be seen that we are not authorized to expect the blessing in the exercise of *mere godly sorrow*, nor by a *cold, unfeeling faith;* but by "*hearty repentance* and *true faith*" united. Among the helps to the right exercise of these great duties, we would notice, as of principal importance, those of *fasting* and *prayer*. But upon these we cannot enlarge. For further help the reader is referred to Mr. Fletcher's "Address to Imperfect Christians."

It is not possible that all the queries of one who has never attained this state should be answered. But in vastly too many instances we seem to be waiting to have our doubts solved, when we should be making our best efforts to get into the way. If an unrenewed sinner should tell us he would make no serious efforts to seek pardoning grace until he could see through the whole process, we should tell him he had stumbled upon a most foolish conclusion.

But we are waiting to *understand the subject.* Alas for us! And when will we ever *understand* it? Why, when we become in *good earnest* for the blessing. We need *heat* vastly more than we do *light* upon the subject. After all the light shed upon the way by the Holy Scriptures and our standard writers, if we still need to be taught the *theory*, it is indeed a pity for us.

Did we *feel* the *burden* of our *corruptions*, were we *athirst* for *God*, the *living God*, we should soon find out the way. And nothing but a deep and permanent conviction of the absolute necessity of holiness of heart will clear away our doubts and make the way plain. Hunger and thirst never sit still, nor magnify difficulties. Instead, then, of idly speculating, let us begin to "hunger and thirst after righteousness." Says Mr. Fletcher—

"Speculation and reasoning hinder us to get into the way, and lead us out of it when we are in it. The only business of those who come to God, as a Redeemer or Sanctifier, must be to feel their want of redemption and sanctifying *power from on high*, and to come for it by simple, cordial, working faith."—*Benson's Life of Fletcher*, p. 265.

Painfully to feel our need, then, is the great point to be gained. Then we shall *labor*, *agonize* to enter in at the strait gate. And though our efforts may for a time seem unavailing, if put forth aright they will, they must finally prevail. As says the author last quoted—

"Believers go on unto perfection, as the disciples went to the other side of the sea of Galilee; they toiled some time very hard, and with little success; but after they had rowed about twenty-five or thirty furlongs, they saw Jesus walking on the sea. He said to them, It is I, be not afraid; then they willingly received him into the ship, and immediately the ship was at the land whither they went; just so we toil, till our faith discovers Christ in the promise, and welcomes him into our hearts."

That we may in some measure contribute to the state of mind in relation to this subject, which we think of such vital importance, we will next consider the *motives* which urge this great subject upon our attention and our feelings. We find these well expressed and arranged by the venerable Treffry, of which we can only give a syllabus.

This writer urges us to go on to perfection because—1. It harmonizes with the divine will: 2. The object is infinitely desirable: 3. This is the only certain preventive of final apostasy: 4. It alone will secure permanent and satisfactory enjoyment: and 5, It is the only way to secure a qualification for eternal glory. (See Sermon on Heb. vi, 1.)

Hoping that by these considerations the serious reader will be moved to make a final and decisive effort to rest his soul upon the divine atonement for a full salvation from sin, and knowing that this effort will not prove fruitless, we will next and finally proceed to a few directions to such as have received this great blessing.

It seems to be a fact, and it is one much to be lamented, that very many of those who come into this glorious liberty fail to retain their confidence, and either relapse into a state of indifference, or are left in a condition of gloominess and discomfort. The causes of this state of things demand serious and careful examination. If we have not misjudged, these are various, and may not be the same in all cases. It may be, in many cases, neglect of duty, want of watchfulness, or spiritual pride. But we are persuaded, in a vastly larger number of instances it is the result of a *want of right views of the state of entire sanctification.* The individual supposes that it consists in a continued succession of ecstasies, or in constant transport; and, failing to realize his anticipations, he yields to temptation, and gives up his confidence. Or, perhaps, he supposes he is now above temptation, and ere he is aware he has left some unguarded place, and the enemy has stolen into his heart. Or,

possibly, he has thought to fan the flame by boisterous professions and extravagant expressions of his comforts and prospects, and by these means he has fumed away all his spirituality, and his "goodness has become as the morning cloud or the early dew." Now these errors may arise in part from the neglect or incompetency of the ministry to give suitable advice and instructions upon the subject; but they doubtless principally arise from a want of continued self-examination, a diligent and careful reading of the Scriptures, and unceasing prayer.

But whatever be the cause of the decline of so many who experience this grace, it undoubtedly becomes all individuals of this class to labor as for life to avoid the pending danger. As they would be useful, as they would honor God, as they would be happy here and hereafter, they should keep up an unceasing vigilance against every evil influence, and unremitting diligence in the discharge of all Christian duties.

We would advise and admonish all such in the first place to avoid all extravagant conceptions in connection with this subject;—never to associate in their minds with high degrees of grace the ideas of miraculous powers, visions, or extraordinary ecstasies. We would not wish to throw doubt over the facts which are recorded by Mrs. H. A. Rogers, as to extraordinary answers to prayer, and yet it will not be safe to conclude that these cases are necessarily or usually connected with a state of Christian perfection.

Such persons should be cautioned against *Solifidianism*, that is, resting in *faith alone*, without evangelical works. We, indeed, "stand" in this grace "by faith," "we walk by faith," we "live by faith;" but then it is a *penitent*, *loving*, *praying*, *obedient* faith. Not one that is "dead, being alone."

Again: they should be advised to make this great work matter of conversation on all suitable occasions. Our reasons for urging the prudent profession of this work of grace are simply these: 1. God no more lights this candle to have it put under a bushel, than that of justification. It seems, indeed, reasonable, that he should be honored in all his gifts, and especially in the highest and greatest which we may hope to receive in the present state. 2. Universal experience in this blessing proves that it cannot be enjoyed in secret. If we would retain it, we must profess it. Such was the experience of Mr. Fletcher and others of those who

lived for years in the splendors of this glorious light, and such, as far as we have made any observations in our intercourse with this class of Christians, is the case still. 3. Our heavenly Father designs by this means to make us instruments in his hands of spreading this heavenly influence. A simple and circumstantial account of the wonderful dealings of God with them, upon the part of those who have attained to, and who honor this holy state, will encourage others to seek it, and never fail, with the blessing of God, to be the means of spreading the holy fire.

Finally, we would say to this class of Christians, Be prudent in your professions, and in all your expressions on the subject of this sublime and blessed state. "Cast not your pearls before swine." Consider that this is not a doctrine to be dealt out indiscriminately to all classes of persons, not excepting skeptics and scoffers. By high professions and strong expressions before an ungodly world, you may bring this blessed doctrine into contempt, and be an occasion of stumbling to many. Many wise and salutary advices are given by our authors which we have not space to insert. For these the reader may consult Wesley's advice, see Plain Account of Christian Perfection, pp. 134–152, Fletcher's Address to Perfect Christians, and Treffry's Treatise, pp. 220–250.

Should we resume this subject, which with the leave of Providence we now intend, we shall review several American productions which have recently made their appearance, and excited no little interest among both the friends and foes of the doctrine of Christian perfection. ED.

ART. VII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *A Manual of Chemistry, on the basis of Dr. Turner's Elements of Chemistry; containing, in a condensed form, all the most important facts and principles of the Science. Designed for a text-book in Colleges and other Seminaries of Learning.* By JOHN JOHNSTON, A. M., Professor of Natural Science in the Wesleyan University. Middletown: Barnes & Saxe. 1840. 1 vol. 12mo. pp. 453.

Dr. Turner's Elements of Chemistry has been extensively used in the United States, as a text-book for students in our seminaries of learning. The arrangement of the work is generally excellent, and the details copious. The style is a model in that kind of writing, and the

important facts of the science, known at the time of its publication, are faithfully presented. It must be admitted, however, that the book is not so well adapted to the wants of beginners, as of more advanced students. The most sagacious explorers of nature are not always the most successful writers of elementary text-books. To collect and arrange facts, and to condense and compile from various authors, and from numerous articles in scientific journals, in such a manner as to exhibit the science in its fair proportions, and in such order that the mass of learners may follow and comprehend it, though requiring less genius, perhaps, than original investigations, do unquestionably demand equal industry and more patience. The discussions of rival, and sometimes of obsolete, theories, which occupy many pages of Dr. Turner's work, though useful to the lecturer and the adept, have a tendency to confuse and embarrass the tyro, and to induce in him the very erroneous belief, that the principles of the science are uncertain. It is believed that a text-book of chemistry should set forth the established principles of the science, and illustrate them by a sufficient number of facts to fix them strongly in the mind of the learner, without bewildering his reason with conflicting opinions, of whose truth or fallacy he is as yet incompetent to judge, and without overloading his memory with a mass of details equally unnecessary and discouraging.

Chemistry is both a science and an art. The science consists in principles; the art in manipulations. The student may gain a knowledge of the former from text-books, and from lectures, accompanied by experiments, with much less labor than he can acquire the practical dexterity requisite for success in the latter; and the time devoted to the subject in American colleges is seldom more than sufficient for the attainment of a good theoretical knowledge of the powers and properties of bodies, and of the laws and results of chemical action. Hence he desires a book from which he may learn to *know the science*, not to *practice the art*.

Professor Johnston's Manual is designed as a text-book, suited to the wants of the students in American colleges. The views set forth in the preface to his book, as will be obvious from the following extract, fully accord with our own.

"The object of the great majority of students, even of those who pursue a collegiate course, is, not to make themselves familiar with minute details of facts or processes of manipulation, but to understand the great principles of the science, and the leading facts which serve for its foundation. To facilitate in the accomplishment of this purpose, is the object of this work. In preparing it, the excellent 'Elements of Chemistry' of the late Dr. Turner has been adopted as the basis,

and all of that work incorporated in it which was suited to our purpose. His arrangement has been uniformly followed, with a few unimportant exceptions, which it is not necessary here to particularize. This arrangement, on the whole, is considered the best that has ever been proposed. The part of Dr. Turner's work omitted, is taken up chiefly with details of facts, and discussions of opinions and theories, which is indeed important in a work designed for the general student, but which would be out of place in a book prepared expressly to be used as a text-book."

Following the general arrangement of Dr. Turner, and, so far as was consistent with his plan, the language, also, Professor Johnston has given to the public a work containing, in a much smaller compass, all the most valuable matter found in that author. He has done more. Keeping pace with the progress of the science, he has collected and incorporated in his Manual many facts and illustrations from other sources. Several important discoveries and inventions of recent date, which have excited unusual attention and curiosity, have also found a place upon his pages. Among these we may mention the photographic process of M. Daguerre, the electro-magnetic engine of Mr. Davenport, and the solidification of carbonic acid, first effected five years ago, by M. Thillorier, of Paris, and more recently in this country, by Dr. J. K. Mitchell, of Philadelphia, and Dr. Webster, of Boston. The apparatus constructed and successfully used by Professor Johnston for obtaining the frozen acid, though similar in principle to that employed by Doctors Mitchell and Webster, is much less complicated and expensive. An engraving and description of this instrument are given in the Manual.

In treating of the compounds which the non-metallic elements form by combining with each other, the compiler has judiciously adopted the arrangement of Dr. Beck. Dr. Turner, as is well known, devoted seven sections of his work to what he calls "the compounds of the non-metallic acidifiable combustibles with each other;" and the student, having previously learned that nitrogen is *not* a combustible, (in the ordinary acceptation of the word *combustible*,) is surprised to find under this head a description of several of the compounds of nitrogen with other elements. The fact that hydrogen is a combustible, does not seem to be a sufficient reason why ammonia, which is a compound of nitrogen and hydrogen, should not be described under the head of nitrogen, as well as nitrous oxide, which is a compound of nitrogen and oxygen. In the Manual before us, the history of each non-metallic element is followed by the history of the compounds which it forms with those elements, whether combustibles or not, which have been previously described. The same order is observed with regard to the metals, so far as they

form combinations with non-metallic bodies. Like Dr. Turner, Professor Johnston has placed the compounds which metals form with each other in a separate section, instead of noticing under each metal the alloys which it forms with the preceding.

A separate chapter is very properly given to the salts, as we thus have the advantage of a classification of them into orders, genera, and species. This class of bodies is so numerous, that, without such a system, the study of their specific characters would be excessively tedious. Dr. Turner's excellent division of salts into oxy, hydro, sulphur, and haloid, is adopted.

The part occupied by analytical chemistry contains as much as will be found useful on that subject in a text-book for college classes. All that is necessary in a work of this kind is, to give the student some general idea of the methods of conducting these difficult and delicate operations, without going into any extended detail of complicated processes. Every person who attempts to perform analyses will, as a matter of course, provide himself with those works in which the subject is treated of at large.

It is a matter of commendation in this work that practical suggestions are often made in connection with the principles of the science, to show their application in processes of utility, and in explanation of natural phenomena. Such remarks seldom fail to excite interest in a class; and a principle is more easily remembered when it is associated in the mind with some familiar fact which it explains. On the whole, we believe that Professor Johnston's Manual will be found to answer the purpose for which it is designed, better than most of the compilations on the same subject now before the American public. We will express, however, what every reader will feel, a hope that the next edition will exhibit more care than the present in the correction of the proof sheets. The typographical errors are, unfortunately, numerous.

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2. *Bacchus.—An Essay on the Nature, Causes, Effects, and Cure of Intemperance.* By Ralph Barnes Grindrod. First American, from the third English edition, by Charles C. Lee, A. M., M. D. New-York: J. & H. G. Langley. 1840. 12mo., pp. 512.

We take great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of the above work from the publishers. And our gratification principally arises from a very strong conviction that the work will exert a most beneficial influence upon community. The number and importance of its facts, together with the ability and fidelity of its execution, entitle it to the

serious and respectful consideration of all intelligent and virtuous men. The history of intemperance is a history of wrongs—a delineation of crime, degradation, and wretchedness. And the various tributaries to this stygean stream, are becoming matters of patient and philosophical investigation. Philanthropists wisely judge that if we would dry up this tide of death we must cut off its resources. With this view our author institutes a philosophical inquiry into the history of alcoholic drinks, and shows that their use holds a direct connection with the degrading vice of drunkenness, and of course is always fraught with the greatest danger. He shows that *alcohol* is not "a good creature of God:" but is an *invention*, and one too, which, though it has its use, upon the whole, religion and humanity have cause to deplore.

To us quite the most interesting part of the work are the chapters upon the "temperance of the Hebrews," and of "the primitive Christians." Here our author discusses the various original words employed in the Scriptures for *wine*. And if he does not prove that wines strongly alcoholic were in all cases absolutely proscribed, he does most conclusively prove that there is no *sanction* of their use in any quantities, in the Holy Scriptures. But we must leave this work for the present, (though had we space, we should be happy to give it an extended review,) after expressing our sincere gratitude to the editor and publishers for the service they have rendered the cause of temperance in its republication, and most earnestly commending it to the attention of our readers. The mechanical execution of the work, for beauty and correctness, deserves high praise.

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3. *The Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* New-York: Published by George Lane. 1840. Duodecimo, pp. 216.

This large edition of the Discipline was wisely authorized by the late General Conference, for the accommodation of churches and families. And upon examining it, and seeing how much more easily it is read, even by those having good eyes, and how much more respectable it appears, we are really astonished that the project of putting our Discipline into this form had not entered some wise head long before. The Methodist Discipline is not merely a book of reference, or to be read by those who have sharp eyes. It should be *read* and *studied* by every *Methodist*, young and old; and we are quite sure those of our people who are becoming advanced in years, will greet this beautiful edition of it with no little pleasure. Let every Methodist family pro-

cure a copy for the *book case* or the *centre table*, as it will be an ornament to either, and will be much more likely to be read, and will be read with much greater pleasure and profit, than the diminutive type of former editions. It should also be noticed, that in this edition several typographical errors in the work have been corrected, and some deficiencies in the alphabetical index supplied.

As this fine large book will not be quite so easily buried under the rubbish, and the large and elegant type will be read without difficulty, we can but hope the excellent instructions and rules it contains may not now be quite forgotten, but may have the attention they deserve from both *ministers* and people.

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4. UPHAM'S PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS.—*New edition.*

1. *Mental Philosophy, embracing the three Departments of the Intellect, Sensibilities, and Will:* by THOMAS C. UPHAM, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. In three volumes.
2. *Abridgment of the work on the Intellect and Sensibilities.* Two volumes in one. For Academies and Schools.
3. *Outlines of disordered Mental Action.* Harpers' Family Library, No. 100. New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1840.

A NEW and beautiful edition of the philosophical works of Professor Upham is just from the press of Harper & Brothers. The efforts of this author to analyze, classify, and illustrate the phenomena of mind are truly deserving. The subject is one which has occupied the reflections and the pens of the most towering geniuses, and yet all its abstrusities have never been fathomed, nor its difficulties overcome. When such men as Locke, Reid, Stewart, and Brown have failed to agree upon many of the principles which govern the operations of the human mind, we are ready to inquire, "Who shall decide?" But though *metaphysics* has scarcely been reduced to the degree of certainty in many of its great leading principles to entitle it to the denomination of a *science*, yet this by no means proves that the labors of those who at different times and in different countries have devoted themselves to the consideration of the origin and succession of human thoughts, and the principles which govern human volitions, have been altogether in vain. Much has been done, very much, to illustrate these subjects, and relieve them of their difficulties. And to those who have devoted themselves to these investigations the world is laid under great obligations, though there should still remain mysteries which have not been explained. In investigating and exhibiting the leading theories which

have been broached upon the various parts of the general subject of which he treats, Professor Upham is patient and discriminating, and may be relied upon as giving us the best views which have been presented. He has removed many difficulties, settled many doubts, and explained and simplified many intricacies. And upon the whole we can most cheerfully recommend his works to the attention of all such as wish assistance in their endeavors to form a just acquaintance with the powers and susceptibilities, or various states of the human mind.

We give the following brief specimen from the work on the Will. It is the conclusion of a note to a section on "Slavery of Will."

"FOURTH.—If man's will be enslaved, so that he cannot of himself be and do what is required of him, what shall be said, on philosophical principles, of his accountability? The theological doctrine in general terms is, that, whatever may be true of the slavery of the will in the things of religion, man's accountability remains; and that he is not only required to do what is right and to avoid what is wrong, but that he is justly condemned, in particular, for not serving and loving God just as the Scriptures demand of him. This view is undoubtedly a correct one; and yet the human mind, in its search after justice as well as truth in this matter, will be desirous to find something explanatory of this seemingly inconsistent state of things, viz., slavery on the one hand, and moral accountability on the other. Different explanations are given by different theological writers. It will be said by some, for instance, that man, in virtue of his connection with Adam as the natural and federal head of the race, and also by his own personal acts, has brought himself into his present ruined situation. He has destroyed himself; and, therefore, stands accountable both for his present ruined state, and also for every thing which naturally flows out of that ruin.

"But it is believed that theologians commonly meet the difficulty here, in addition, perhaps, to the view just referred to, by connecting with the doctrine of the religious slavery of the will the great conservative doctrine of the grace of God, purchased by the blood of Christ, and manifested in the shape of a general and adequate offer of divine assistance to all who will sincerely do all they can for their religious restoration, whether it be more or less. * * * * Prostrate and inthralled by sin as we are, we may still, by the *grace of God*, speak of our freedom and accountability in religious things as well as in others, and that, too, without any prejudice either to fact or to language; but not in such a way as to appropriate to ourselves any merit. We find in Christ that purchased freedom which we had lost in Adam. And hence those frequent Scriptural appeals which are made to us just as if we had not lost our strength. We cannot of ourselves break our chains; but theologians very properly assure us, that there is a sense in which we may take hold of the arm of Christ, which has power to break them for us. Hence, although in our natural and inthralled state (if we choose to call it such) we can undoubtedly make important efforts of a certain kind, and which have a connection more or less inti-

mate with our final destiny, we are nevertheless properly said to be saved by the divine power, and to have no merits of our own. The necessity of human effort, in whatever shape and to whatever extent it is put forth, and the accessory and consummating influence of divine grace, seem both to be referred to in that interesting and instructive passage: 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure.'"

The style of these works is in general correct, perspicuous, and natural, and the great modesty and excellent spirit of the author cannot be too much admired. The present edition appears with the author's latest corrections and improvements, and for style of mechanical execution is altogether worthy of the well-earned reputation of the enterprising house from which it emanates. An able review of these works is in hand, and will appear in our next number.

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5. *Speeches delivered on Various Occasions.* By GEORGE G. COOKMAN, of the Baltimore Annual Conference, and Chaplain to the Senate of the United States. New-York: George Lane. 18mo. pp. 139.

THIS little work is most earnestly commended to the attention of the Christian public generally, as being calculated not only to impart useful instruction, but to diffuse the spirit of benevolence; and especially to awaken public interest in behalf of our great benevolent institutions. In these speeches will be found a sprightliness and vigor, with a novelty of expression, and an exuberance of figurative illustrations, almost peculiar to the author, and which impart the highest interest to his platform productions.

We have read these speeches with great pleasure, and, we hope, some profit, and have found nothing in relation to which we judge it necessary to guard the reader, unless we make an exception of several statements made in the last address. The author says, "Methodism, so called, is not a sect," p. 128. "Methodism is not a form," p. 129. "Methodism is not an opinion," p. 131. Though these statements are justified by the declarations of Mr. Wesley, and are undoubtedly true of "Methodism" before it assumed a distinct church organization, yet at this time they can only hold good in *a very qualified sense*, in relation either to the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, or the Wesleyan connection in England. For though Methodism is not *sectarian*, or *formal*, or *theoretical*, in any bad sense of these terms, it still must be admitted that the Methodists are as really and truly *a Christian*

sect, and as certainly have *formulas*, and as clearly have a set of *doctrinal opinions*, as any other Christian communion in the world. Our object in this notice is, so to *qualify* the statements alluded to, that they may not lead the reader into error, and by no means to detract from the value of the able and interesting speech in which they are found. We hope these excellent speeches may, in many cases, take the place of the *light reading*, which often has far less literary merit than they may justly claim, and never any of the *sanctifying fire* which gives them character.

The only regret the reader of this work will be likely to experience will be, that it is not longer.

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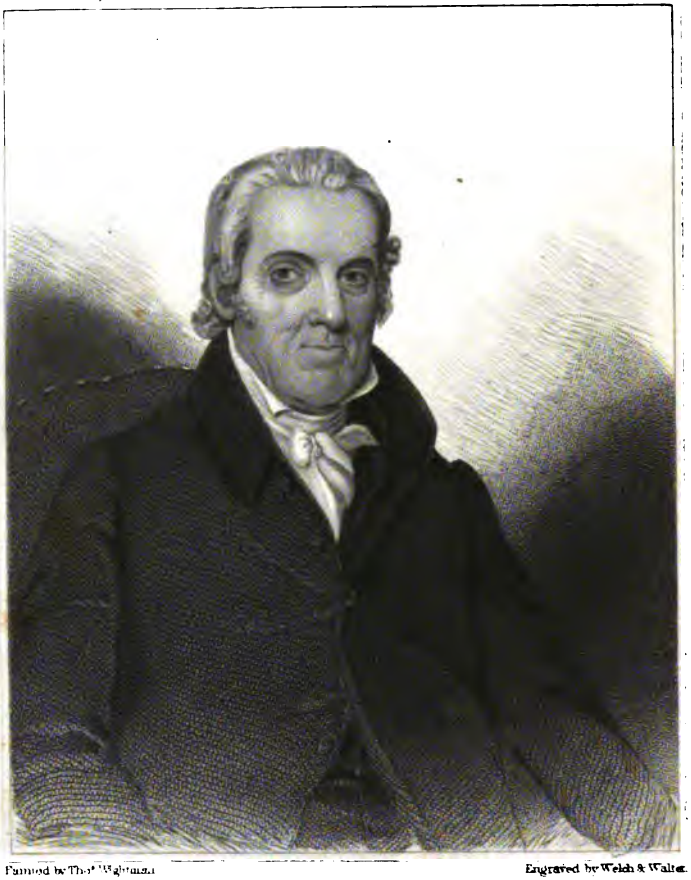
6. *Select Discourses on the Functions of the Nervous System, in opposition to Phrenology, Materialism, and Atheism*, &c. By J. Augustin Smith, M. D., President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New-York. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1840. 12mo. pp. 210.

This volume contains, 1st, a lecture on the diversities of human character from physiological peculiarities, and 2d, three discourses on the functions of the nerves. In the lecture, originality and independent thinking will be apparent to the reader, and command his respect, whatever he may be disposed to award to the theories of the author. And the discourses upon the nervous functions, including motion and sensation, will be found to present much that is new, ingenious, and instructive upon this *terra incognita* of metaphysical research. The criticism upon phrenology, which is anatomical, physiological, and metaphysical, although somewhat censorious as the sect will regard it, is more easily to be condemned than answered. And materialism and atheism, which are kindred sciences, will find their fabric of argument, so called, based on the phenomena of the sense of touch, to be swept away beyond recovery.

Professor Smith is undoubtedly a scholar and metaphysician, who understands the subjects on which he treats, and though his style is unique, and indeed *sui generis*, yet he deals his blows without fear or favor, relying upon his inflexible integrity of purpose, and the resources of his learning and logical acumen, for protection from the army of critics. The work is well worth perusal, especially as an antidote to popular delusion in these degenerate days, when philosophy is running mad.



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REV. JOSEPH MOORE.

of the South Carolina Conference.

Published at the Methodist Book Room, 200 Mulberry Street, New York.

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1841.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—1. *Report on Education in Europe to the Trustees of the Girard College for Orphans.* By ALEXANDER DALLAS BACHE, LL.D., President of the College. Philadelphia: 1839. 8vo. pp. 666.

2. *Biography of Stephen Girard, with his Will affixed.* By STEPHEN SIMPSON. Philadelphia: 1832. 12mo. pp. 316.

3. *Proceedings on the laying of the Corner Stone of the Girard College for Orphans, with the Address pronounced on that Occasion.* By NICHOLAS BIDDLE. Philadelphia: 1833. 8vo. pp. 28.

4. *Communication from the Board of Trustees of the Girard College for Orphans, to the Select and Common Councils of Philadelphia.* Presented July 16, 1840.

5. *Report of the Special Committee, appointed by the Common Council, on a Communication from the Board of Trustees of the Girard College,* THOMAS S. SMITH, Chairman. Read in Council, Aug. 27, 1840. Philadelphia: 1840. pp. 53.

OUR principal object in the present article will be to present our readers with a brief view of the contents of the valuable work which we have placed first at the head—Dr. Bache's Report on Education in Europe. Preliminary to this, however, we shall notice, as concisely as possible, the life of the remarkable man whose unparalleled munificence has laid the foundation of the greatest charitable institution in our country; and we shall dwell for a moment on those features of the proposed institution which are already developed, and which seem to us to require comment, on account either of their good or evil tendency.

STEPHEN GIRARD, merchant and mariner, as he styles himself in his will, was born at Bordeaux, in France, on the 24th day of May, 1750. Little is known of his parents or early education, ex-

cept that the former were in humble circumstances, and the latter was limited to the simplest rudiments. When about ten years of age, he left France, in a vessel bound for the West Indies, as cabin boy, in which capacity he shortly after arrived at the city of New-York, and was engaged for several years afterward in trading between that port and New-Orleans, as an apprentice and seaman. In 1769 he removed from New-York to Philadelphia, and commenced business on a small scale in Water-street, and in the following year was married to the daughter of a shipbuilder, living in the same street. The marriage appears to have been unhappy; he had but one child, who died in infancy, and his wife subsequently became insane, and died in the Pennsylvania Hospital. Up to the year 1776 he was engaged in trade to St. Domingo, which was suspended by the war, and resumed again in 1780. Two years afterward he took a lease, for ten years, of a number of buildings in Water-street, at a low rate, with the privilege of renewing again after the expiration of the term; and although the owner would gladly have been released from the obligation, Girard, true to the principles which he afterward more fully developed, insisted on claiming his right, and the large profit derived from the rent of these stores is thought to have laid the foundation of his immense fortune. For some years he traded in partnership with his brother John, but the irascible temper and indomitable self-will of Stephen, combined with other causes, induced a separation in 1790, at which time his property amounted to but thirty thousand dollars. After this separation the wealth of Girard increased with wonderful rapidity: his genius for trade, untrammeled by any connection with others, manifested itself in great enterprises, which were continued for a long series of years, and attended with almost uniform success. His prudence, skill, and foresight, enabled him to anticipate the course of events in trade, and soon obtained for him the character of a fortunate man. An instance of his good luck, as it was termed, was the fact of his having two vessels at St. Domingo at the time of the negro insurrection, during the excitement of which, many of the inhabitants hurried their property on board of the vessels in port, and were afterward massacred by the slaves. The property unclaimed, of course, fell into the possession of the shipowners; and the amount which remained in the hands of Girard, after all possible efforts had been made, without success, to discover

the heirs, exceeded, it is supposed, the sum of fifty thousand dollars. He entered into the India trade about 1790, and shortly after built several ships, the names of which—Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Helvetius—may serve as some index to the prevailing character of his mind.

Up to the year 1793, memorable in the annals of Philadelphia for the violence with which the yellow fever raged among its population, Girard was only known as a painstaking, industrious man, and a successful merchant. So far from being considered benevolent, his general habits of economy, and the entire absence of any thing like generosity in his character, had procured for him the reputation of selfishness. But, at this time, the conduct of Mr. Girard, from whatever motives it originated, bore the outward form, at least, of the purest and most self-sacrificing philanthropy; and he deserves, and should receive, the highest tribute of admiration and praise for these noble and priceless services to his distressed and dying fellow citizens, rendered, too, in the midst of universal terror and alarm, when, in the minds of most men, all humane and kindly feelings vanished, and the intensely selfish impulse of self-preservation took the place of benevolence and love. The following passage is quoted by his biographer, from a pamphlet by M. Carey, Esq., himself one of the noblest of those who stepped forward in that time of pestilence, and risked their lives for the good of their fellows, in which he gives an account of the ravages of the disease, and commemorates the names of those who united with him in deeds of mercy:—

"At the meeting on Sunday, September 15, a circumstance occurred, to which the most glowing pencil could hardly do justice. Stephen Girard, a wealthy merchant, a native of France, sympathizing with the wretched situation of the sufferers at Bush-hill, voluntarily and unexpectedly offered himself as a manager, to superintend that hospital. The surprise and satisfaction excited by this extraordinary effort of humanity can be better conceived than expressed." "The perseverance of the managers of that hospital was equally meritorious with their original magnanimous beneficence. During the whole calamity they have attended uninterruptedly, for six, seven, or eight hours a day, renouncing almost every care of private affairs. Stephen Girard, whose office was in the interior part of the hospital, has had to encourage and comfort the sick, to hand them necessaries and medicines, to wipe the sweat off their brows, and to perform many disgusting offices of kindness for them, which nothing could render tolerable but the exalted motives that impelled him to this heroic conduct."

From this time, up to the year 1812, Girard followed his mercantile business with unremitting activity; superintending, in his own person, the vast and complicated operations of the trade that grew up around him, and surprising all men by the extent of his schemes, the magnificence of his enterprises, and the grandeur of their results. At the same time, he was noted for his habits of strict economy; no useless expenditures were known about his person, houses, or ships; no extravagant salaries were paid to clerks or agents; no idle generosity, as he would have called it, diminished his means; but every avenue to wealth was opened and pursued, while every possible drain upon his property was effectually closed. Without children, without friends, almost without feeling (where money was concerned) for the wants of men, with no ear for the cry of poverty, and no heart to sympathize with wo, he was determined to be rich; the ambition grew up in his soul, strong and impulsive, to be distinguished for his wealth—and rich he became, for what was to prevent it?

In the year 1812 he assumed a new character, and to the name of the great merchant resolved to add that of the great banker. The charter of the old bank of the United States having expired, and its business being wound up, he determined to purchase the banking house, and to continue the operations of the institution on his own private account. On the 12th of May, in the year above mentioned, he commenced business with a capital of one million two hundred thousand dollars, to which, in the following year, he added one hundred thousand dollars more. So vast had been the increase of his wealth in twenty years, that he was able to accomplish this object without any material interference with the regular course of his mercantile business. From this time, to the period of his death, the bank continued in operation, and was of great service to the business community of the city of Philadelphia. Its credit was never shaken; his promise to pay was never violated; no note was ever presented at his counter that was not paid in specie, when specie was required. His ships continued to visit every land, and to bring home to his warehouses the richest and most timely freights: the products of every clime, the rich harvests of one land, and the famine of another; the peace and prosperity of one country, and the wars and bloodshed which devastated others, all were made tributary to his wealth and ministers to his

ambition. In his later years, according to the usual turn of human pursuits, the passion for building seized him, and, under his magic spell, old tenements vanished to make way for lofty warehouses; new streets were laid out, and whole blocks of dwellings arose in every quarter of the city. His health continued to be good; his vigorous frame and temperate habits enabled him to perform an amount of labor that would have destroyed an ordinary constitution; and, with untiring energy, he continued to direct the whole machinery of his vast estate, almost to the end. He hardly knew what bodily affliction was until the year 1830, when he met with an accident in crossing the street, from the careless driving of a market wagon, which confined him for some weeks, and which evidently contributed much to the breaking up of his constitution. In December, 1831, he was attacked with a prevailing influenza, as it was termed, which put a period to his existence on the twenty-sixth day of the month, in the eighty-second year of his age. The disease seized upon his brain, so that he was ignorant of his real condition when the last enemy came upon him. His biographer tells us, that "but a short time before he died, he got out of bed and walked across the room to a chair; but almost immediately returned to his bed, placing his hand to his head, and exclaiming, '*How violent is this disorder! How very extraordinary it is!*' These were the last words he spoke to be understood, and, soon after, he expired; thus verifying the opinion, which he had always entertained, that nature would remove him from this scene of existence, as she had brought him into it, without his care, consciousness, or co-operation."

A few remarks upon the character of Mr. Girard will close this desultory notice of his life. He was naturally a man of strong passions; his anger was easily excited, and sometimes became almost ungovernable; his appetites were strong, and were freely indulged, except when indulgence would interfere with business; and, on the whole, his physical constitution was such as seems to be essential to great eminence in any line of life—powerful and energetic in all its operations. Without such a constitution he might have been less irascible and more kindly, but without it he could not have performed, as he did through the whole course of his business life, the labor of three or four common men. The most that can be said of Girard's *moral* character is, that he was a good citizen, that he violated no laws, deprived no man of his

property, was just and upright, to a great extent, in all his dealings, and never applied his vast wealth either to oppress individuals or to injure the community. On the other hand, there are instances on record of his stepping forward in times of great public distress to relieve the wants of government by large loans, which other men were unwilling to subscribe. Such a case occurred during the late war, when the national treasury was empty, and government offered, in vain, a small loan of five millions, at seven per cent., which the capitalists were unwilling to touch, and which was finally taken, entire, by Mr. Girard. Another instance of public spirit, of a similar character, occurred in 1829, when he loaned the governor of Pennsylvania one hundred thousand dollars, on the personal credit of the executive, before the loan was authorized by the legislature. Whether these actions were dictated by an enlarged foresight, which had in view the welfare of the community, or by an ambition to do great things, or, by a narrower policy, to prevent any loss that might accrue to his own estate from the prostration of business and the depreciation of property; in any view of the matter, Girard should have the credit of these patriotic and praiseworthy actions, for such they certainly were. But, with all the praise that is due to the good deeds of Mr. Girard, we must yet, in justice, present his loose moral character, in connection with the fact of his being an infidel in religion, as the former is a most instructive commentary upon the latter. We are told by his biographer, that he was an "utter unbeliever in all modes of a future existence, and rejected, with inward contempt, every formulary of religion, as idle, vain, and unmeaning;" that he was known "to be totally irreligious; and to attempt to conceal what is notorious, would be to suppress one of the most extraordinary features of his character, without adding vigor to the cause of religion, or giving force to the precepts of virtue." The principal authors in his small library were Rousseau, Helvetius, and Voltaire; and whatever opinions he possessed on religious subjects seem to have been drawn from these sources.

After such an exposition of his religious opinions we do not need to be told that licentiousness and profanity were among the vices of Girard; while benevolent and charitable feelings were not among his virtues; that most actions of his life were the result of cool and deliberate selfishness; that friendship was a stranger to his bosom,

while love never played around his icy heart. But it is an ungrateful, even though it may be a necessary task, to record the unhappy fruits of infidelity, so practically and so prominently exhibited. Let us turn from the moral to the *intellectual* character of the man, where we shall see much to admire and to imitate.

We have already seen that he was possessed of talents of a high order, as, indeed, no indifferent abilities would ever have enabled him to surmount the difficulties that encompassed him when he commenced his career, a stranger, without friends, in poverty, and even without the rudiments of a commercial education, and to continue, for so many long years, a course of almost uninterrupted success, until the final consummation of all his desires and aspirations was obtained, in the enormous and almost unparalleled wealth which the wand of his own industry had called into being. We have always admired the character of the adventurous and skilful merchant; and when these qualities are crowned with splendid success, as in the case of Girard, there is no reason why the power of genius should not be recognized in the handiwork of the merchant, as well as in the productions of the pencil or the chisel, in the triumphs of the sword, in the creations of the poet, or in the discoveries of the philosopher. The keen sagacity, the comprehensive judgment, the ready memory, the prompt decision, and, perhaps more than all, the unhesitating boldness that must be employed by the men whose commercial enterprises involve their whole possessions, and whose plans and projects are limited only by the extent of the habitable world, are some of the highest and most powerful attributes of the human mind; and all these were possessed by Girard to a degree perhaps unrivaled in his age. It could not be but that such a man would feel keenly the want of an early education, though his pride prevented him from exhibiting any such feeling during his life, and, perhaps, the very consciousness of his inferiority in this respect may have increased the enjoyment of his success, and given zest to his delight in surpassing, beyond all bounds, the well-trained and highly educated merchants of the city of his adoption. But though he did not turn aside from the straight line of his daily and unintermitting toil to devote himself to any systematic efforts for the diffusion of education, although he was never so much as heard to intimate, during his life, a design of appropriating any portion of his vast wealth to such objects, it is

clear from the result that his mind had long dwelt upon the subject, that his own wants and deficiences had made no slight impression upon him, and that, solitary as he was, and aloof as he held himself from the ordinary sympathies and fellowships of men, the secret fountains of human feeling were not altogether dried up within him, nor the kindly affections of our nature entirely uprooted from his heart. The following passage from his will is interesting, both as confirming the remark just made, and as illustrating his own views of the necessity and advantages of early education:—

"And whereas, I have been for a long time impressed with the importance of educating the poor, and of placing them, by the early cultivation of their minds, and the development of their moral principles, above the many temptations, to which, through poverty and ignorance, they are exposed; and I am particularly desirous to provide for such a number of poor white male orphan children, as can be trained in one institution, a better education, as well as a more comfortable maintenance, than they usually receive from the application of the public funds," &c.—*Will, art. xx.*

To give effect to this determination, he resolved to lay the foundation of a *college for orphans*, on a scale sufficiently extensive to afford a wide sphere for the operations of his bounty, and sufficiently grand to attract universal attention, and thus to throw around his name a lustre which his wealth alone could never have imparted. Indeed, we have little doubt that the earnest ambition for posthumous distinction was not inferior to the desire of applying his hoarded treasures to useful and benevolent purposes, in impelling Girard to the course which he pursued; and, in our estimation, this ambition is a redeeming feature in his character, when thrown into contrast with the mere love of gain, the restless, unsatisfied craving of the miser's heart, which was supposed to be the moving spring of his actions, and the great rule of his conduct, during his long and busy life. If such were really his motives, we think he could not have laid his plans more wisely, in order to insure their accomplishment; and in this view of the subject, we think that the popular clamor which has been raised against the executors of his estate on account of the grandeur of the edifice which they are erecting, in pursuance of his will, is entirely wide of the mark. These marble walls will doubtless survive the waste of many centuries; these halls of science will be open and thronged with busy crowds, ages after even the names of most of the petty great men

of the day are forgotten; and while no other memorial of the great merchant will outlast a hundred years, this school for orphans will remain to perpetuate his name, and to add lustre to his character to the latest posterity. The design of Mr. Girard was, that after his death, to use his own language, "his works should speak for him;" the college was to be a monument of his wealth, munificence, and judgment; and visions of posthumous glory no doubt crowded up before his ambitious spirit, during the long years, when "without any of the ordinary stimulants to exertion, urged by neither his own wants, nor the wants of others, with riches already beyond the hopes of avarice, he yet persevered in this unceasing scheme of accumulation; and possessing so much, strove to possess more as anxiously as if he possessed nothing." To continue the beautiful language of Mr. Biddle's Address at the laying of the corner stone:—

"From the moment that foundation stone touched the ground, the name of Girard was beyond the reach of oblivion. He has now taken his rank among the great benefactors of mankind. While letters and the arts exist, he will be cited as the man who, with a generous spirit, and a sagacious foresight, bequeathed, for the improvement of his fellow men, the accumulated earnings of his life. He will be remembered in all future times by the emphatic title by which he chose to be designated, and with which he commences his will, a title by which we ourselves may proudly recognize him, as 'Stephen Girard, of the city of Philadelphia, in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, merchant and mariner'—the author of a more munificent act of enlightened charity than was ever performed by any other human being." —*Biddle's Address*, p. 13.

Munificent indeed it was! According to the estimates presented in Mr. Biddle's Address, the sum appropriated for the foundation and endowment of the college will yield, after the completion of the building, an annual income of one hundred thousand dollars; and if these funds should prove insufficient, provision is made for an application of other portions of the estate to the same purpose, by which the yearly income may be increased to at least two hundred and twenty thousand dollars, the interest of nearly four millions! Of course the whole community has felt an interest in the application of this immense amount, especially as the purposes for which it was gathered and appropriated bear upon the real or possible wants of the entire mass of society, for no man knows how soon his children may be orphans. The views of Mr. Girard him-

self, in regard to the principles on which the institution should be established, the ends that should be aimed at, and the means to be employed for their attainment, are set forth, in general terms at least, in his will. The education and maintenance of poor white male orphans is the great purpose of the college; the instruction given is to embrace every thing necessary to form a soundly educated man—physical, intellectual, and moral development; all the necessary books, furniture, and apparatus; all the means and appliances of instruction, that ingenuity can devise and wealth purchase, are here to be provided, without stint, and almost without measure; and, finally, competent instructors, teachers, assistants, and other necessary agents are to be employed, and adequately compensated for their services. Such, in brief, are the objects laid down by Mr. Girard in his will, and they all evince the extent of his foresight, and the practical sagacity for which his conduct was so remarkable. But there is another clause of the will which we are bound to notice more pointedly, and in a different strain; and which, if carried out in spirit, is almost sufficient to nullify all the good that the college could accomplish, and make it, instead of being a nursery of virtuous and well-educated citizens, the curse of the republic, as a seminary of vice and infidelity. In the twenty-first article of the will are some restrictions which Mr. Girard considered it his duty to prescribe; one of which runs as follows:—

"Secondly, I enjoin and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said college; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college. In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but, as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion among them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce."—*Will*, p. 23.

At this feature of Mr. Girard's scheme the religious public were generally and justly alarmed; for none could mistake the spirit which dictated so unworthy and invidious a restriction, going even to the extent of prohibiting a large class of men from occasional visits to the institution. In view of the peculiar character of Girard, we could have passed over the exclusion of clergymen from the active management of the college, however we might re-

gret the unhappy state of mind which could lead to so unwise and injudicious a course; but here was so plain and clear an exhibition of the spirit of the man, and of his unmitigated hostility to the religion of Christ, that a thrill of alarm ran through the minds of all good men, from one end of the Union to the other. The sentiment of the Christian world has been, in the poetic language of the book which it is the special duty of Christian ministers alone to expound and enforce: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace;" but to the morbid apprehension of Girard, the very tread of a Christian preacher is pollution; his tidings are only the messengers of contention; and the atmosphere which surrounds him is tainted by the breath of discord, instead of being fragrant with the sweet perfume of peace! No wonder, then, that good men were shocked, and virtuous men alarmed, by so open an attack, in so solemn and important an instrument, upon the living ministry of Christ's church, which, if there be any truth in Christianity at all, is the means ordained by its divine Author for the propagation and diffusion of its pure principles; upon the perpetual watchmen on the walls of Zion, who are bound to mark her bulwarks and her palaces, and to be to the citadel "a defensed brazen wall;" and, through them, upon the ark of the Lord, which it is their high office to carry forward in the world. We confess, for ourselves, that at one time we indulged the most fearful apprehensions of evil from this will and its consequences; for we were well assured, that the spirit of this restriction, if fully adhered to, would effectually exclude all moral and religious instruction on Christian principles from the halls of the college, and we were not without fear that the experiment might be attempted. But our fears were allayed to some extent, when the trustees of the Girard College were elected, and we found among the number men of the highest moral and religious character; and it was very soon made manifest, that while the will would be strictly adhered to, it would be interpreted on Christian principles; and as direction is given that the youth shall be taught the "purest principles of morality," it is very clear that religious men will send the orphans of Girard College to the only source of a spotless morality—the Christian Scriptures. We were further reassured by the following remarks of Mr. Biddle in his Address at the laying of the corner stone:—

"To intellectual cultivation will be added that, without which all instruction is valueless, and all learning the mere ability for evil, that moral discipline which makes men virtuous and happy at their own firesides. When this harmony between the heart and the understanding ceases, mere knowledge is a curse, and men become intellectual statues, with the perfect forms of manly exterior, but cold and selfish, and worthless to the community which endures them."—*Address*, p. 19.

But if any thing could have dispelled our fears in regard to this matter entirely, it was the election, in the summer of 1836, of Alexander Dallas Bache, Esq., at that time professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania, to the presidency of the college. Knowing, as we did, from personal acquaintance, the high attainments of Dr. Bache, his intimate and practical knowledge of the business of education, and the enlarged and comprehensive intellect which he would bring to bear upon the interests committed to his charge, we were sure that no man could have been found more thoroughly capable of organizing, upon just and substantial principles, so peculiar and extensive an institution. But although these qualifications of Dr. Bache were a ground of assurance that the college would be well organized, so far as the mere object of physical and intellectual education was concerned, it was in our knowledge of the high *moral* character of the president elect that we found the greatest gratification, and, upon this firm basis, we built our hopes that the cause of religion would yet find an ally instead of a foe in the Girard College. Thus far we have seen no reason to forsake these hopes; and, indeed, the volume before us affords abundant confirmation of them, as we shall presently show. We rejoice, then, and we are sure that our readers will rejoice with us, in the knowledge that all the authorities of the college have declared, that morality, "without which," to quote Mr. Biddle again, "knowledge were worse than unavailing," is to be infused into its organization, and make a part of its regular course of instruction, while it is also fully understood by them that this pure and elevated morality is only to be found in the Holy Bible.

The *Report on Education in Europe*, by Dr. Bache, is the result of two years spent by him, under the authority of the trustees of the college, in visiting the principal schools, colleges, and orphan houses of England and the continent, for the purpose of examining and comparing their various methods of instruction and government. We cannot better explain the origin and nature of the Re-

port than by quoting, from the preface, the following letter of instructions to Dr. Bache, drawn up by the committee on scholastic education :*—

"*Board of Trustees of the Girard College for Orphans,*

"*September* 19, 1836.

"The board of trustees are charged by the city of Philadelphia to prepare a system of instruction for the Girard College for Orphans. For this purpose they are anxious to have the most accurate information of the best means used for the same purpose elsewhere, and you have been selected to obtain it.

"Your object, then, is to visit all establishments in Europe similar to the Girard College; and as these are found principally, if not exclusively, in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Prussia, and the rest of the states of Germany, these countries will form the natural limits of your tour. Accordingly, all institutions in each of those countries resembling the Girard College, or any others which promise to afford useful information in organizing it, you will see and examine. Your own reflection will readily suggest the points of information desired, and I will, therefore, merely enumerate a few, which may serve as a basis for your own extensive investigation. Of every establishment visited by you, we should wish to know—

"1. Its history, general administration, and the nature and extent of its funds.

"2. Its interior organization and government; the names, titles, and duties of all the persons employed in it.

"3. Who are admitted to it, and the forms and terms of admission, and where it is professedly for the education of orphans who are considered as orphans.

"4. The number and classification of the scholars, and their term of residence.

"5. Their course of studies, in the minutest details, from the commencement to the end of their residence in the institution, with the text books and other works used.

"6. As a part of that course, specially important to the Girard College, we should desire to know the regulations or the practice by which, among a large body of scholars, a portion, after continuing for some time in the institution, are permitted to begin their active career in life, while others, with greater aptitude or greater willingness to learn, are carried up to the higher branches of education. The nature and the mode of that discrimination would be highly interesting, as would also be—

"7. The precise extent to which moral and religious instruction is proposed to be given, and is actually given, and also by whom, and in what form that instruction is conveyed.

* Consisting of Nicholas Biddle, chairman, Dr. J. M. Keagy, J. C. Biddle, S. V. Merrick, and W. W. Haly, Esqrs. Two of these are since deceased, Dr. Keagy, and J. C. Biddle, Esq.

"8. The mechanical arts taught, the mode of teaching them, the models, tools, and implements of all kinds employed, and the manner in which the practice of these arts is mingled with the routine of studies.

"9. The system of rewards and punishments in regard to studies or personal conduct.

"10. The general police and discipline of the school.

"11. The amusements, gymnastic exercises, games of all kinds, uniting instruction with agreeable relaxation; together with the number and extent of the vacations, pecuniary allowance, or personal indulgences to the scholars.

"12. The diet and clothing of the scholars.

"13. The regulations in regard to health, hours of study and of rest, arrangement as to sleeping and eating, and the whole routine of each day's employment.

"14. The expenses of the school, including salaries and all incidents, with the average annual expense of each scholar.

"15. The structure of the buildings, the arrangement of dormitories, refectories, play grounds, and workshops, illustrated by drawings, where they can be procured.

"16. As a proper foundation for similar statistical inquiries in this country, you will collect all the information you can in respect to the proportion of orphans to the rest of the community.

These general heads of inquiry, which you can easily multiply, will indicate the wish of the board that your examination should be thorough and practical. They already possess, or may easily obtain, all that books can teach on the subject. It is your especial duty to study the actual working of the machinery of education; to domesticate yourself, if practicable, in these institutions, and by your own personal observation to distinguish what is really useful from what is merely plausible in theory.

"It is this anxiety that your investigation should be complete, which induces them not to fix at present any period for your return. How much time it may require cannot now be safely determined. They rely confidently on your diligence, and are sure that you will not prolong your absence without ample reason. While, therefore, they are very anxious to open the college with the least possible delay, they deem it so much more important to begin well than to begin soon, that they postpone naming any limit to your stay in Europe, until you are able to apprise them of your progress.

"In respect to the purchase of books and apparatus, mentioned in the resolution of the board, it is not their wish that you should, at this time, purchase a library, or an extensive philosophical apparatus. You will only inquire where they can be best procured hereafter, and, in the mean time, limit your actual purchases to text books and other works used in schools, or which may assist your inquiries, to models, drawings, and such philosophical instruments as may be necessary or useful in opening the college, or which you may deem it expedient to procure in anticipation of the larger collection.

"The materials and information thus acquired you will, on your

return, present to the board of trustees, and at the same time, or as soon thereafter as practicable, you will prepare a final report, with a plan for the government and instruction of the college, the result of all your examination and reflection.

"In the mean time, you will keep the board constantly advised of your movements.

"With my best wishes that your mission may be as pleasant as I am sure it will be useful, I remain, yours truly,

"N. BIDDLE, *Chairman.*

"A. D. BACHE, Esq.,
"President of the Girard College for Orphans."

Under these instructions, Dr. Bache departed from this country in the latter end of September, 1836, and, after having visited the chief countries of Europe which were the most interesting for his undertaking, completed his tour in October, 1838. In the course of the next year, the Report was prepared and presented to the board. The following extract from the introduction will show the comprehensive views which guided Dr. Bache in the course of his laborious tour, and which are developed in the work before us:—

"Whoever has even glanced at the part of the will of Mr. Girard which relates to the endowment of a college for orphans, must have perceived that he intended no ordinary orphan asylum to be created with the immense fund which his liberality intrusted to the authorities of the city of his adoption. Mr. Girard has put himself in the place of a father to the orphan, and has determined that talent shall have all the opportunities for development, by education, within the reach of children the most favored by the circumstances of their parents. A due execution, therefore, of the instructions of the scholastic committee, required not merely an examination of orphan houses and elementary schools, but of the various modes of education and grades of instruction. This task I undertook with real distrust of my power to do it justice, notwithstanding the encouragement extended by the choice made of me by gentlemen for whom I entertain a high respect. I must be allowed to say that, in the course of attempting its execution, I have spared no personal exertion, and that, though I regret it was not in abler hands, my conscience acquits me of having wasted any part of the time or means so liberally placed at my disposal by my fellow citizens."

The modest self-distrust which the above extract evinces, while it is perfectly in keeping with the amiable character of the author, is only an additional proof of his fitness for the task to which he was called by the wise choice of the trustees. We may remark here, that the general tone of the work is beyond praise; and

no feature of its spirit is more worthy of notice than the extreme fairness and candor with which all opinions are examined. It is clear, that the love of truth, rather than the desire of confirming any preconceived notions, animated and stimulated all the researches of the author; his design was to study and to learn, and admirably has he accomplished his object, and presented its fruits, in the most luminous and valuable report on education which has yet been given to the world. The general arrangement of the work is clear and philosophical; the style is plain, unpretending, and perspicuous; and although the author expressly disclaims the attempt to sum up conclusions, and to present inferences separately from the facts, there can be found upon almost every page the evidences of his profound thinking upon the subject of education, imbodied in acute and practical remarks upon the various points that were touched upon in the course of his observations. From these scattered hints and valuable remarks we might easily gather up, and present to our readers, Dr. Bache's views, and the result of his practical investigations, upon the chain of topics which naturally suggest themselves in any general discussion of the principles of education; but we prefer to follow him in the course which he has adopted, and shall, therefore, take up, in order, such parts of the work as may be most interesting, and examine them as our limits will allow.

The Report is divided into two parts; the *first* treats of institutions for the education of orphans and other destitute children; the *second*, of institutions for education in general. In the first part, the establishments selected for remark are the orphan houses and charity schools of Great Britain, the German states, and Holland.

The first chapter treats of the eleemosynary institutions of *Great Britain*. It is worthy of notice, that in the number of its educational charities, orphan asylums, and hospitals, Great Britain exceeds every other country in Europe; and of those in Great Britain, the greater number of well-conducted and well-endowed schools is found in Edinburgh, while the oldest is the celebrated Blue-Coat School of London. We shall quote from the Report some interesting particulars in regard to this last school and Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh, omitting all notice of the rest from want of room, though, indeed, there is less necessity for noticing them, as they are mostly organized after these two celebrated models.

"HERIOT'S HOSPITAL.

"This noble institution, originally designed for the maintenance and education of poor fatherless sons of burgesses or freemen of the city of Edinburgh, was founded in pursuance of the will of George Heriot, jeweler, dated 1623. By this will Dr. Robert Balcanquall, dean of Rochester, and master of the Savoy, London, was selected to draw up the statutes for the organization and government of the institution, and to decide upon the plan of a building. By the statutes of Dr. Balcanquall, dated July, 1627, the government of Heriot's Hospital is vested in the provost, bailiffs, council, and ministers of the city of Edinburgh, and the present building was erected between 1627 and 1650. The charity has been extended to destitute children whose parents are living, and by a late act of parliament the governors have been authorized to erect day schools in the city with the surplus of their income, after supporting the present number of one hundred and eighty pupils in the hospital itself. The building is in the Gothic style, with the irregularities and excess of ornament which it permits, and is beautifully situated, overlooking part of the old town of Edinburgh, and having a fine view of its picturesque castle and of the new town. The court about which the building is erected, serves as a place of play for the boys at certain times; and to give them full liberty in their games of hand-ball, which seem to find more favor among them than regular gymnastic exercises, gratings of wire are placed on the outside of the lower windows, which protect them from fracture. At first the effect of these gratings of wire struck me unpleasantly, but when I saw the great freedom which it gave to the younger pupils in their games, my first impressions were entirely removed." "The new comers are separated for twelve months from the rest of the boys at all times, occupying separate places in church and in chapel, and separate dormitories; taking their meals and exercise, and visiting their relations, at different times from the others. By this regulation it seems to me that the force of good example is made ineffective, and that each new set of boys requires a new training. I am not aware when it was first enacted." "The pupils in general leave the institution at fourteen years of age; if a boy is not fourteen on or before the day for regular dismission, he remains another year in the institution, and certain pupils are retained until sixteen. The statutes provide that 'hopeful scholars' may receive, for four years, a sum of money to enable them to attend the classes of the high school as a means of preparation for, and to continue their education at, the University of Edinburgh. The institution pays the apprentice fee of such as are bound out, and gives gratuities to those who produce satisfactory certificates of conduct and progress." "On leaving the institution, each pupil receives an outfit of clothing. The boys intended for the university are maintained and clothed, and receive a certain sum per annum." "The corps of masters is divided into resident masters, and non-residents, a good arrangement when the teachers are numerous. There are resident in the house, besides the house-governor, who has charge of the geographical and religious instruction, and of part of the historical course, two mas-

ters of the English branches, a mathematical, and a classical teacher. The non-resident teachers are those of music, writing, drawing, and French. The music taught is church music; and the drawing, that denominated mechanical drawing. The principal labor of teaching the various courses is divided among five masters. Of these, the house-governor teaches three hours every day; the other masters from six to seven hours, besides superintending the studies for an hour, and, in rotation, taking charge of the boys at rising and going to bed, at meals, and by the regulations being even responsible for them during play time. They are thus decidedly overburdened with labor, and the compensation which they receive for this devotion is not such as to attach them permanently to the institution." "The study of Latin begins in the fourth class, or after the boys have been three years in the school. The regulations provide that 'each boy shall have a fair trial of the study of Latin. If upon the average of the first year, he be found in the lowest two-thirds of the class to which he belongs, he shall remain in that class for a second year; and if, at the end of the second year, he occupy no higher place in it, he shall be withdrawn from the study, and shall be engaged in other employments.' The execution of this rule inevitably detains a boy who has not a talent for language two years in a class for which he is utterly unfit, injuring his habits of attention, wasting time which he might otherwise employ to some purpose, and reacting injuriously upon the class. In fact, a considerable number of the boys never, while they remain in the school, get beyond the fourth class, in which the elements of Latin are taught; and of those who pursue the Latin studies, very few succeed in securing the university places. Thus for the sake of the few who can really benefit by the classical courses, the many are employed upon subjects which, to say the least, might better be replaced by others. I am far from being one of those who undervalue classical culture, but I am convinced that to be at all effective it must be thorough, that it cannot be thorough when the instruction is terminated at an early age, and that there are certain minds very little or not at all improvable by language, as there are others similarly related to mathematical studies. If the object of a school were to make professional men, I would have the classical course the rule, and then, consider as exceptional cases those who, from character of mind, want of industry, inability from circumstances to remain sufficiently long in the school, or other causes, were unable to benefit largely by such a course; but if the school has a majority of its pupils intended for trades, I would make the culture of mind depending upon classics the exception. It is easy to see how such a system could be contrived, and there are many institutions on the continent of Europe which furnish examples of the plan."

"*Religious and moral instruction.*—The positive religious instruction is given by the study of the Bible, the evidences of Christianity, and the Catechism of the Church of Scotland. Family worship also is held morning and evening. On Sunday, in addition, the pupils are occupied one hour in the morning in the study of the Church Catechism, or of a Bible lesson or hymn, which they recite in the evening, and they attend church twice during the day. Besides this, the discipline of the school,

repressing what is amiss, and encouraging virtue, acts, of course, powerfully; the example of the elder boys, and the good order which prevails, tend to produce regular habits. The results of this combined moral education are to be found in the records of the character of the pupils, when they are no longer under the fostering care of the institution; and the answers to the queries before referred to, in regard to the conduct of the young men, given by the masters to whom they are apprenticed, and by those with whom they lodge, exhibit these results in a highly satisfactory point of view." "There can be no doubt that it is more dangerous to blunt the sensibilities of a youth to moral reproof, than to harden him by corporeal chastisement. Hence such chastisements may be preferable in certain cases, where reproof has failed, to a continuance of the attempt to correct by admonition. This supposes it to be administered in private, without temper, and as a last resort. Some dispositions are better acted upon by the deprivation of indulgences by confinement, and similar penalties of this class, where remonstrances have failed; while others require something more immediate in its action. In many schools in England, where the rod was once freely used, it has been almost, and in others entirely, laid aside. In schools like these, where the youth is entirely dependent upon the institution, I am fully persuaded that, with proper treatment, it need be resorted to very seldom, if at all. Few dispositions are not open to kindness, especially under these circumstances, and no master has the qualities appropriate to such an institution who prefers the repulsive system to the encouraging. I refer to the example of the English schools because they have held out longest against the modern improvements in discipline, and their relinquishment of such means is a stronger argument than could be derived from the more gentle discipline of the continent. The spirit of kindness between master and pupil which exists in many of the continental schools, the confidence that renders him, as it were, the head of a family circle, are delightful to witness, and insure, better than stripes, the obedience of his pupils. I believe that this species of discipline, which leads the pupil instead of driving him, may be considered as particularly congenial to the American character." "The dormitories are cleaned, the beds made, the arrangements for meals provided and removed, the clothes are brushed, shoes cleaned, &c., by the servants of the institution. These boys, brought up thus to be waited upon, instead of waiting on themselves, must, when they leave school, find their position of attending to the wants of others particularly irksome. Indeed, many of those persons who receive them as apprentices, judging by the awkwardness with which these and other common affairs of life are attended to by them, underrate exceedingly the results of their education. This effect is increased by their ignorance of ordinary life. The masters having no families, those boys who never leave the school have no opportunity of witnessing any other than the peculiar modification of society which the hospital affords, and even those who do visit their friends, form only such an acquaintance with life as a few weeks in each year can give. In the only government school of our country, the military academy at West Point, where youths are re-

ceived whose parents are in all the various circumstances of life, an opposite plan is pursued in regard to the duties of the house and personal police; and I have reason to know, from personal experience and an extensive acquaintance with its graduates, that the independent habits thus produced are retained by many as among the most convenient results of their early training."—Pp. 15–30.

"CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, OR BLUE-COAT SCHOOL, LONDON.

"*History and building.*—Christ's Hospital was founded in 1552, by King Edward the Sixth, and was opened in the old monastery of Grey Friars, which had been given by Henry the Eighth to the city of London, for the use of the poor.

"The capital is invested chiefly in landed or funded property, the latter being the most productive. The income for the year 1836, deducting moneys paid for stocks, and passed to the building fund, amounted to the enormous sum of three hundred and thirty-three thousand dollars, by no means all of which, however, was absorbed by the current expenses, and these are so various in kind, that they cannot all properly be charged against the education and maintenance of the pupils. There are between thirteen and fourteen hundred children on the charity, the average maintenance of each of whom costs a little over one hundred and ten dollars, and including all expenses, except the management of estates, &c., about one hundred and ninety dollars. The buildings of the institution at London have, in later years, undergone thorough repairs, new ones in a Gothic style, resembling the older ones, have been erected, and the assemblage is now one of the most imposing to be found connected with any similar establishment in the world." "The grammar school is divided into two departments, called the upper and lower schools, each containing three classes, those of the lower school designated as the junior, middle, and upper classes, and of the upper school as great Erasmus, deputy Grecians, and Grecians." "The courses of instruction at this school are more concentrated than in those of Edinburgh, and include more useful branches. Both are liable to the objection that much time is spent upon matters which are not pursued far enough to secure the mental culture which would otherwise result from them, and yet which have no bearing upon the future occupations of the pupils. In reply to this objection, it may be said, that it is impossible to discriminate between boys at this early age, and to discern who have the aptitude for a thorough training by languages, or who will make the future Grecians of the school. That it is difficult may be freely admitted, but that it is impossible I do not believe." "My first position, that it is practicable so to arrange an institution that superior talent shall receive full opportunities for its cultivation, without sacrificing inferior talent by inappropriate instruction, is fully borne out by the experience of some of the orphan schools of Germany and Holland, which I shall hereafter describe. My excuse for so often recurring to this subject, must be found in the fact that this question must be decided for the Girard College by its trustees, and I am therefore most anxious in regard to it." "The deputy Grecians are, during nearly half the time spent in the

grammar school, under the charge of the head master, and study the following authors and books:—In Latin, Virgil's Æneid, Ovid's Epistles, Horace, Select Orations of Cicero, Terence, Valpy's Exercises, Elegantia Lat., part second, Kenrick's Abridgment of Zumpt's Latin Grammar, Edwards' Latin Lyrics and Elegiacs, Latin and English versification. Portions of Horace and Ovid are learned by heart and themes are written. In Greek, Scriptores Græci, Homer, Demosthenes, Edwards' Abridgment of Matthioe's Greek Grammar, Huntingford's Exercises. Portions of Homer are committed to memory. In Hebrew, the Grammar. In English, Butler's Geography, Historical Catechism, English Poetry; an English theme, and practice in versification, alternate with the corresponding exercises in Latin." "The Grecians pursue the studies necessary for admission to the universities, and as one of the scholarships belonging to the hospital, or to which the Christ's Hospital boys have the preference at either university, becomes vacant, the eldest member of the class is promoted, his place being filled from the most promising of the deputy Grecians."

"*Moral and religious instruction and discipline.*—We have seen that the instruction in Church Catechism by the masters is one part of the school duties; the reading of the Bible, singing of psalms, graces, &c., and attendance at Sunday worship, are other means of religious instruction, and are very regularly attended to. On Sunday a Bible lesson is learned, and the boys are questioned upon it by the monitors, and the head master reads a lecture after supper. Every night prayers are read in the hall by one of the Grecians and a psalm is sung, after which a monitor reads a short prayer in the wards before the boys retire to bed."—Pp. 65–82.

The notice of the London Blue-Coat School terminates the first chapter. We have given rather copious extracts from the accounts of the two principal orphan houses of Great Britain, so that it is hardly necessary for us to add any thing of our own in regard to them. One or two of the incidental remarks of Dr. Bache call for a moment's notice. His observations in regard to the moral relation of teacher and pupil, confirm us in an opinion we have long entertained, that, at least in elementary schools, the teacher, in order to acquire and preserve a proper moral control over his pupils, should attend to their education *during play hours*, as well as during hours of study and recitation. In order to exercise a just and kindly moral influence over the boy, the master must become familiar with his habits, feelings, and dispositions; must acquire his regard as well as his reverence; and must comprehend, to a certain extent, all the elements and peculiarities of his character. How is this knowledge to be acquired, and this necessary degree

of intimacy secured? Not merely in the school room, for here, even in the freest and best-conducted schools, there must necessarily be a good deal of restraint; the student is always on his guard; a part of his character only can be developed, as his feelings and passions are not allowed to play; he is, as it were, in full *uniform* while engaged in the daily exercises of the school. But he must be seen in *undress* to be known; and there is no opportunity for this so good as when he is freely engaged in those sports and pastimes which call out all his feelings, and in which he exhibits himself according to his true character. And if he find that his teacher enters with spirit into his amusements, and is interested in them, he will very soon acquire a confidence and freedom in approaching him, and an affectionate regard for his person, which can be acquired in no other way. We do not think, then, that Dr. Bache reiterates the opinion too often, that the presence of a teacher in the play ground is essential to the complete organization of a good school, and that in all institutions of the sort it is a bad policy to employ so few teachers that their time must be constantly taken up with the duties of instruction.

In the account of John Watson's Hospital in Edinburgh, the following passage occurs:—

"The uniting of the two sexes in one establishment for education, however favorable it may be at an early age, is afterward attended with so many difficulties, some of which are insurmountable, that the governors of this hospital have gradually diminished the number of female pupils, and the head master would gladly see the establishment divided into two, neither the instruction nor discipline which is suitable to one sex answering for the other."—P. 41.

The experiment of combining, in the same institution, and, especially, under the same roof, schools for males and females, has been tried also in this country, and, so far as our observation has extended, the general results have not been favorable. In the very nature of things there must be many difficulties in conducting such an institution, and the advantages of the union, plausibly as they have been stated, are not sufficient to counterbalance its dangerous tendencies, unless with a more perfect discipline than can be maintained under a succession of masters. We are aware that in a few instances in this country such schools have been, and still are, successful; but this success has been owing, we think, to the superior qualifications of the individuals who have had charge of them,

and is not a result of the natural working of the system. Our views on this point have been strengthened by recent correspondence with a gentleman who was long at the head of one of the most flourishing seminaries of this sort anywhere to be found, and with others who have had practical experience in such schools, both as teachers and scholars; and we cannot do less than express our clear opinion that the system ought to be discouraged.* Were this the place, or the time, we might set forth more at large the reasons for this opinion, but we are admonished by the space we have already occupied to proceed with a more rapid step.

The *second* chapter of part first is taken up with descriptions of the principal orphan houses of Germany, and the *third*, with an account of those in Holland. These portions of the work are full of valuable and interesting matter, and we should be glad to give our readers a large exposition of their contents, but as we wish to devote more space to the remaining chapters, which treat of education in general, we shall only subjoin a remark or two in this connection, suggested by Dr. Bache's incidental observations. The hints of the author on page 31, in the account of Heriot's Hospital, in regard to the necessity and propriety of boys "waiting upon themselves, instead of being waited upon by others," have been quoted in a former part of this article, and have our entire approbation. No school can be considered as well organized, in which it is not made a leading principle, that every boy shall be his own servant; and in this country, of all others, the advantages which such an early training brings with it, in habits of personal independence, are so great and obvious, that an institution adopting an opposite system hardly deserves to succeed. But while there can be no doubt of the propriety of every student in school and college being his own servant, we cannot speak favorably of a plan which was formerly much in vogue in the great universities of England, Oxford and Cambridge, and which has there almost entirely vanished, but is yet kept up, we believe, in some institutions in this country. According to this plan, the poorer students perform all menial offices

* We are not yet prepared to go the whole length on this point with our able and much-esteemed correspondent. After several years' experience, first as trustee and subsequently as principal of an institution of this class, and a particular acquaintance with several others, though we cannot deny that there are difficulties in their practical operation of a peculiar and delicate character, we cannot acquiesce in the conclusion "that the system ought to be discouraged."—Ed.

for the richer and for the institution, such as cleaning boots, carrying wood and water, ringing bells, waiting at table, &c. Now we acknowledge the difficulty of supporting poor students in our schools and colleges, but really we cannot bring our minds to believe that this degrading mode of relief (for such, as society is organized, it cannot but be considered) is not calculated to do great harm to its subjects. A man can do all menial offices for himself, and be independent; but when he does them for another, he becomes servile. The poor student should not be required thus constantly to feel his poverty. Let us not be misunderstood. We have no fellowship with that sickly delicacy that would shrink from honorable poverty; there is true dignity in the character of the young man who is not too proud to avail himself of every means of improvement and assistance in order to obtain knowledge and to fit himself for the duties of life; and it is the duty of those to whom Providence has given the stewardship of wealth to open their hearts and give of their abundance to help these worthy aspirants. And to receive the aid of an education society, either on loan or by gift, is no disgrace. But we mean to say that as society is constituted in this country it is not possible for the student in college who is the servant of his fellows to be their equal, as he ought to be; his self-respect will daily diminish, under the unceasing wear of his unfortunate position; and not even the consciousness of his own merits, or the prospect of advancement before him, will protect him from its unhappy influences.

The *second* part of Dr. Bache's work, which is the largest, and, to the general reader at least, the most interesting portion of the volume, treats of the principal institutions in Europe for *general education*. In regard to the introduction of these into his Report, the author remarks:—

"My investigations would have been incomplete, had they not included public schools in general, and my Report deficient, did it not present to the trustees some account of the institutions for general education in those countries of Europe where it is upon the best footing. From these descriptions various hints may be gathered, and measures suggested, which cannot fail to be serviceable in the general organization or minute arrangement of the Girard College. If this account should further contribute to awaken attention in our schools to improvements which have been introduced abroad, I am sure that the trustees of the Girard College will feel gratified at this useful result of their measures."—Pp. 153, 154.

These remarks show the propriety of the course which Dr. Bache has pursued, even in regard to the Girard College, and we are glad that it has fallen entirely within the range of his proper duties, to give so enlarged and complete a view of the principal schools in Europe. The periods of instruction, for which schools have been provided, give rise to four distinct classes, embracing all the time from childhood up to the period when education must end, and active life commence. Under these four heads, therefore, of infant, primary, secondary, and superior instruction, the author arranges the various accounts of the diversified institutions which he visited; and we shall now follow him rapidly through his excellent digest of the facts and observations that he has collected.

The *infant school system* has been a fruitful source of discussion and dispute. On the one hand, its invention has been declared to constitute a new era in the history of humanity, and Mr. Wilderspin, who certainly is entitled to the honor, if honor it be, of having first set forth clearly the present system, has been lauded as one of the benefactors of the human race; while, on the other hand, the entire scheme has been denounced as visionary in theory and pernicious in practice. Dr. Bache seems to favor the general principle of the system, as will be seen from the following extracts:—

"I am so fully impressed with the importance of infant education, that I would not feel justified in passing over this period without a brief notice. The infant school system embraces so much of the philosophy of education, has been made so entirely an inductive branch, has been pondered over by so many minds of a superior order, that we cannot fail to derive advantage from a consideration of some of its principles and practical results." "The necessity for the existence of such schools must vary much in different countries, and hence their not being adopted in all, is no argument against the general principle of infant education. The want of such schools is most felt in a dense and manufacturing population, least in a scattered and agricultural one."—Pp. 157, 158.

Now while we shall not pretend to say but in dense and manufacturing populations the infant school system may be both necessary and useful, we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that it has ever been introduced into this country, where such necessity can hardly be said to exist. In the crowded cities and towns of Europe, the question may be, Shall the children be neglected, in dirt and poverty, or sent to the infant school? No one would

hesitate to declare in favor of what must be considered the least of the two evils; and therefore to support the system as a charitable provision for destitute children, who have no opportunities of improvement, and no enjoyment of comfort at their homes. But because all this may be readily admitted, it does not follow that such a plan is necessary here; and least of all, that it is deserving of encouragement as a general system, designed to bring under its influence, as some of its enthusiastic admirers would tell us, all the infants in the land. We object to the *principle* of the system. Nature and reason both cry out against it. Our hearts have been pained within us, at one of these infant schools, where the poor little babes, scarce able to toddle over the floor, were undergoing training, manœuvring, and discipline, like a military corps; screaming by note and learning to walk in files and platoons; and while their little bodies were thus kept in constraint, (for system and rule, disguise them as you will, *must* be constraint to the tender limbs of infancy,) their feeble minds were kept on the stretch continually, by pictures, fables, diagrams, and models. It may be said that this school presented only the bad forms of the system, for the results of which it should not be held accountable. But no modifications can make a bad thing good. A scheme which proposes to take children from their homes "as soon as they can walk," and to commence then, in a school, under the charge of paid teachers, their moral, physical, and intellectual culture, is in its very essence a violation of the laws of nature. The infant should stay at home until he is no longer an infant. Talk of training, by system, a collection of children of three years of age! They should grow up in freedom of body and mind, and the attempt to cram knowledge into their little heads is like every other forcing machine in education, dangerous in the extreme. The child need not learn the alphabet until four or five years of age, and if he be intended for a studious life, the brain should not be severely tasked before ten or eleven. The great *moral* defect of the system is that it cuts off domestic education entirely; homebred virtues are not to be learned at school. In our remarks upon this subject, be it observed, we freely admit that where the children have no homes, and cannot enjoy parental care, the infant school is preferable to the street, as the least of two evils; but, further than this, we believe the entire system to be founded in error and fraught with mischief.

The five following chapters contain a luminous view of the state of *primary* or *elementary* education in Great Britain, France, Prussia, and Holland; and these chapters, together with the ninth, on seminaries for the preparation of teachers of primary schools, form one of the most interesting and valuable portions of the Report, especially with regard to the growing wants of our own country. Considered either as the sole education of the mass of the people, or as preparatory to higher instruction, primary education is of vital importance to this republic, as all rational hopes for her prosperity and permanence must be founded on the broad basis of the general diffusion of knowledge and religion among the people. The least democratic politician among us could hardly object to the doctrine of the infallibility of the sovereign people if the conservative influences of a just education were widely operative among them. As yet, the work is hardly begun among us, and much that we have done has been done wrong. Dr. Bache remarks, that

"In our country at large we have been necessarily more occupied with creating common schools, than with elevating the standard of the instruction given in them. In the mean time, education has been advancing; and unless we would be untrue to ourselves and to our political institutions, we must gather experience wherever it is to be found, and apply those practical results which are best adapted to our circumstances."—P. 170.

We are here furnished with a rich storehouse of practical observations, in the proper use of which we may profit by the failures of others, and by adopting those measures which experience has sanctioned, and adapting them to our peculiar circumstances, we may complete our own systems without so great risk of disappointment. It has been unfortunate for us, as is observed by our author, that the elementary schools of Great Britain are in general behind those of other countries with which we are less connected. Indeed, it is only of late years that public elementary instruction has been known out of Scotland, for,

"In England the establishment of schools has been left to private enterprise or charity, or religious zeal and liberality, assisted, but not efficiently, by appropriations from parliament. The schools for the instruction of the people during week days are still miserably deficient, both in number and kind, and as yet there appears no prospect of concert of effort to bring about a better state of general education. The exertions which have produced, here and there, endowed schools, schools of industry, schools for paupers or adults, though of course

highly commendable, can lead to no general system of national education; and the same may be remarked of Sunday schools, however good and useful in their particular way. In no country in Europe, I believe, is so much benevolent effort to be met with as in Great Britain, and could it be directed in concert, it is capable of the highest results."—P. 174.

A short chapter is devoted to primary education in France, which is now conducted under the law of 1833, and, though fast advancing, is not yet equal to that of Holland and Prussia. Much improvement is expected from the operation of the seminaries for teachers, which will introduce well-prepared instructors into the schools, and, without doubt, will elevate the character and results of the system with great rapidity.

In Holland, we are informed by our author that the whole range of popular instruction is "worthy of a nation which has ever been distinguished for its virtue and intelligence." Here several important experiments have been tried, among which are, one in regard to the possibility of communicating religious without sectarian instruction; another, which has resulted in demonstrating the necessity of special schools for teachers; and a third, the results of which are adverse to the system of mutual instruction. In regard to the monitorial system, the general issue of Dr. Bache's observations is, that where a sufficient number of good teachers can be obtained, the employment of monitors should be avoided; and, on the whole, this much-vaunted scheme has turned out a splendid failure. It is next to impossible to accomplish a good education in a school where it is adopted; as even where the monitorial instruction is confined to the lowest classes, the bad habits which are formed, and the mischiefs which result from the indolence, unfaithfulness, and ignorance of monitors, can hardly be remedied by any subsequent exertions of the master.

"The only approach to the monitorial system in the schools of Holland is, that pupils who have an inclination to teach, and who will probably become teachers, are put in charge of the lower classes of the school. There is, however, a very wide difference between the use of a few apprentices to the profession, and that of a large number of monitors to give instruction. I had occasion to observe, however, that in many cases there was a want of life in the younger classes intrusted to these inexperienced teachers. If they are to be used, it would be better to employ them in classes which have some training, even though nearer the teacher's age and attainments."—P. 207.

The state of public instruction in Prussia has been a matter of great interest, especially since the publication of M. Cousin's valuable Report, a translation of which, by Miss Austin, was published in New-York, in 1835. This celebrated Report seems to have given rise to an erroneous impression, which has become extensively prevalent, that the primary school system of Prussia is of comparatively recent date; while the fact is, as Dr. Bache states, that instead of having been molded into its present form within twenty years, its origin has to be dated as far back as the reign of the elector Joachin the Second, (1540;) and from that time to the present, various modifications have been introduced, though the entire system has received a new impulse within the present century. It would be interesting to follow the author through this valuable chapter of his work, but our limits forbid. We can only mention the cardinal provisions of the school system in Prussia, which are stated to be, first, that all children between the ages of seven and fourteen years shall go regularly to school; second, that each parish shall, in general, have an elementary school; third, that the teachers shall be educated in seminaries adapted to the grade of instruction to which they intend devoting themselves, and are subject to certain provisions for the removal of the incompetent and the support of the superannuated, with exemption from military duty, &c.; and, fourth, that the schools are a branch of the general government, and the teachers its officers, which provision, while it secures to the teachers the respect due to their station, gives the government entire control over the education of the people. In regard to this last point Dr. Bache remarks:—

"It is true that the government has provided that the incidentals of instruction, which exert so strong an influence on the mind, shall all tend to educate the people in sentiments of attachment to the existing order of things, but they would have been untrue to their political system had they not done so, and this fact, instead of leading to a rejection of the experience of their schools by nations more advanced in the true principles of government, should stimulate them to a like care in their systems of education."—P. 230.

Here is indeed a pregnant hint. Shall a despotic government in the heart of Europe understand and appreciate the power of education, and apply that agency for the fixing of its own principles deep in the hearts and minds of the people, and our own republic be blind to its truest interests? We rejoice that the public mind,

in many of the states, is enlightened upon this point; and we trust yet to see the day when every state in the Union shall have a well-digested system of public instruction in full and useful operation. Two questions occur, in connection with primary instruction, upon which we wish to offer a few remarks, before we pass to a brief notice of the remaining chapters of the work.

The subject of religious instruction in schools is one in regard to which there can be but one opinion among religious men. The time has come for the clear and distinct assertion of the proposition that the culture of the heart shall accompany that of the intellect, in seminaries of every grade, from the common school up to the university. We are not among the number of those who are willing to compromise this great question; the cry of sectarianism has been a bugbear long enough; and infidelity has triumphed long enough in our Christian land in securing the separation of religion and learning. With shame and sorrow have we read, within a few short months, in an official document, emanating from the authorities of one of our large cities, the doctrine that it is no part of the common school system to furnish religious instruction! If such is really the case, and the system cannot be mended, we should pray most heartily for its destruction. No scheme of public instruction can be permanent, in this Christian country, that does not take Christianity for its basis, and adopt the Bible as its text book of moral and religious teaching; nor would such a scheme *deserve* to live. Our Christian legislators, who shrink from acknowledging the great truth that it is the duty of the government to make provision for the moral and intellectual education of all the people, should blush to find that they stand upon a platform which every public functionary in Germany or Holland would disdain to touch. In France, indeed, the normal school at Paris, and the polytechnic school, make little or no provision for the religious instruction of their pupils; and if the moral condition of France is to be the standard, such instruction can be dispensed with; but men have not yet forgotten the French revolution, and we shall look elsewhere for our models. But even from France there comes a voice of rebuke for the strange error of those among us who deny that religion is a part of education. Listen to M. Cousin, the far-sighted minister of public instruction, and perhaps the greatest philosopher of the age:—

"There is no class in the Prussian gymnasium which has not a course of religious instruction, as it has of classical or of mathematical instruction. I have before said, and now repeat, that worship, with its ceremonies, can never be sufficient for young men who reflect, and who are imbued with the spirit of the times. A true religious instruction is indispensable, and no subject is better adapted to a regular, full, and varied instruction than Christianity, with a history which goes back to the beginning of the world, and is connected with all the great events in that of the human race; with its dogmas, which breathe a sublime metaphysics; with its morality, which combines severity with indulgence; and with its general literary monuments, from Genesis to the universal history."

With these opinions of Cousin, Dr. Bache expresses his entire concurrence, and repeats, in various places in his work, the great truth, that the separation of religious from literary and scientific instruction must have a destructive tendency; and, on the contrary, his observations clearly show the uniformly happy influence of this connection, in those schools where it is adopted. We shall offer no arguments, then, to prove that religion is, and of right ought to be, an essential part of education; nothing but an unaccountable moral blindness could have caused us to forget that it is not only a part, but by far the most important part of all education, to which the training of the mind, and the strengthening of the body, should be subordinate and subservient. In the language of Richard Watson, "to open the mind to human science, to awaken the pleasures of taste, and to decorate the external man with the adornings of civil and refined life, might be sufficient to occupy the office of education, were there no God, no Saviour, and no future being. Were this life not a state of probation, had man no peace to make with his God, no law of his to obey, no pardon to solicit from his mercy, then this would be education; but most affectingly deficient will the knowledge of that youth be found, and negligent in the highest degree must they be considered who have the charge of his early years, if his mind be left unoccupied by other objects, and unfamiliarized to higher considerations."

Let us glance now, for a moment, at the practical problem involved in this question—a problem of no slight difficulty and delicacy. How can religious instruction be given in the schools of the United States, where no form of religion is established by law, and where there are so many sects, with endless varieties of religious opinion? In answer to this great question, three schemes have been proposed;

one, that each denomination of Christians shall have a portion of the school fund, and be required to appropriate it to the purposes of instruction agreeably to provisions of law, having the privilege, at the same time, of instructing the children in its own peculiar views of religion; another, that the ministers of the different sects communicate religious instruction in the schools, at different specified times, the children attending such of these as their parents may direct; and a third, that religious instruction shall be conveyed in all the schools, without sectarianism. The first plan proposes to divide the school fund among the different sects. The Roman Catholic Church in the city of New-York has already applied for a portion of the funds appropriated by the state, to be disbursed for the support of schools, under the exclusive direction and control of that church. We most heartily approve of the principle avowed as the basis of this application—the principle, namely, that religious instruction *ought* to be conveyed in primary schools; but its inexpediency is abundantly obvious. Such a request could not be granted unless the general scheme of distribution that we are now discussing were adopted by the state; and that scheme would, in practice, be fraught with innumerable evils, if, indeed, it would not effectually paralyze the whole system, by frittering away the entire school fund, without at all accomplishing its great objects. The complexity and unwieldiness that would necessarily characterize such a system may easily be imagined. The second of these plans proposes that the doctrines of religion shall be taught in the schools, by ministers of the different sects, at stated times. This method is adopted in some of the schools of Holland and Prussia, and seems there to work satisfactorily. But in this country it would be attended with many difficulties, perhaps the foremost of which would be the endless multiplicity of sects, each one of which, even the smallest, would of course desire to have its share in the business of instruction. This obstacle, alone, would be almost insurmountable. The plan of giving religious, but not sectarian, instruction in the schools, remains to be considered. It is in our opinion the least exceptionable of the three that have been alluded to, and, in fact, it is the only plan that is feasible in this country. The following remarks of Dr. Bache are in point:—

"There is unbounded toleration of religious creed in Holland, and while the necessity of religious instruction in the schools has been

strongly felt, it has been made to stop short at the point at which, becoming doctrinal, the subjects taught could interfere with the views of any sect. Bible stories are made the means of moral and religious teaching in the school, and doctrinal instruction is conveyed by the pastors of the different churches on days appointed for the purpose, and usually not in the school room." "The results of the moral and religious instruction communicated in and out of school, are fully shown in the character of the people of Holland, and these must be deemed satisfactory. Sectarian instruction is carefully kept out of the schools, while the historical parts of the Bible and its moral lessons are fully dwelt upon. There are various collections of Bible stories for this purpose, which are commented on by the teacher, and all the incidental instruction, so important to a school, has the same tendency." —Pp. 206, 214.

The range of subjects that could legitimately fall within the scope of "religious, but not sectarian" instruction, is wider than might be supposed at first sight. That there is a God—that he is omnipresent, all wise, good, merciful, and just—that he requires of man the performance of certain duties, and affords him the means of performing them—that God has revealed himself by his Son—that this life is a state of probation and discipline—these truths are acknowledged by all Christian men, and form no small portion of the belief of every sect. Surely there is nothing in these universally received and fundamental doctrines that could fix the imputation of sectarianism, with any show of propriety, upon the system that might authorize and require them to be taught. From infidels alone could opposition be expected. But such opposition is hardly worth a moment's consideration, as it would be absurd in the extreme to allow the wishes of a single sect—the sect of unbelievers —to outweigh the views and desires of all other sects united. May we not indulge the hope that Christian America will yet meet this great question fairly and fully; that the youthful minds of our country shall not be left, in total ignorance of divine things, a prey to all false opinions and evil lusts; and that the day shall yet come, when the schoolmasters of our country, who are steadily and surely molding the future character of the nation, shall be deeply imbued with the spirit of religion themselves, and be not only allowed, but required to use every means for infusing that spirit into the hearts of their pupils! We are almost ashamed to have touched this subject so briefly and imperfectly, but the occasion demanded a passing notice, and we can afford no more. Hereafter, if

opportunity serve, we hope to make it the subject of a separate article.

Dr. Bache devotes an entire chapter to accounts of seminaries for the education of teachers for the primary schools. He tells us that institutions of this class originated in Germany, but have been established also in France and Holland, and recently in England, with such modifications as were required by the different circumstances of the several countries. The advantages of regular seminaries for teachers are thus set forth:—

"When education is to be rapidly advanced, seminaries for teachers afford the means of securing this result. An eminent teacher is selected as director of the seminary, and by the aid of competent assistants, and while benefiting the community by the instruction given in the schools attached to the seminary, trains, yearly, from thirty to forty youths in the enlightened practice of his methods; these in their turn become teachers of schools, which they are fit at once to conduct without the failures and mistakes usual with novices; for, though beginners in name, they have acquired, in the course of the two or three years spent at the seminary, an experience equivalent to many years of unguided effort. These seminaries produce a strong *esprit de corps* among teachers, which tends powerfully to interest them in their profession, to attach them to it, to elevate it in their eyes, and to stimulate them to improve constantly upon the attainments with which they may have commenced its exercise. By their aid a standard of examination in the theory and practice of instruction is afforded, which may be fairly exacted of candidates who have chosen a different way to obtain access to the profession."—P. 326.

This subject is one to which the attention of the American people cannot be too strongly drawn. It is time that our apathy in regard to it were dissipated. Strange, that it should ever have existed; that men who are so clearsighted in all the ordinary pursuits of life, should be so blind in regard to the most important of human avocations, next to the preaching of the gospel! The tailor that mends our clothes must serve a regular apprenticeship to his trade; we do not trust our kettle to be mended by a tinker that has not been trained to his business; but any man can teach our children! Such seems to have been the doctrine of the people of this country, as of almost all others, until Germany set the example of educating teachers; it remains for us to follow that example. The common school system may be adopted in every state in the Union, but until the teachers are prepared for their work by a suitable training, the system must continue to be feeble in its operations and

doubtful as to its results. The lamentable deficiency of qualified teachers, throughout the land, must have been marked by the least observant eye. Even in New-England, the pride and boast of our country in regard to common school education, too many of the teachers of primary schools are entirely unfit for their business; and in some of the other states of the Union, the schoolmaster is often a poor unworthy object—a broken down inebriate or a wandering adventurer. In order, then, to furnish an adequate supply of good teachers, we *must* have normal schools. But there is another, and perhaps a stronger reason why our teachers should receive a professional education. The character of the profession must be elevated. The teacher should rank with the lawyer and the physician, in the estimation of the public; and this object, desirable as all acknowledge it to be, cannot be attained, we think, without requiring a certain degree of preparation for his work. If the rank of the schoolmaster were what it ought to be, one of the strongest objections to normal schools—that after the young men are educated they will not teach—will be done away. In all the discussions of this subject that have come under our notice, this objection has been presented as an insuperable barrier to the establishment of schools for the education of teachers among us; but we cannot allow it the weight and importance that are claimed for it. Grant that *now*, young men, who can be otherwise profitably employed, will not teach, we may ask why this is the case? And the answer must be, simply, Because the rank, pay, and character of the schoolmaster are not what they ought to be. But we hope in due time to *make* them what they ought to be: and this very step of establishing normal schools is to be one great agent in the accomplishment of the work. And, besides, what does the objection imply, but that those who teach now, are fit for nothing else, and, for that reason alone, occupy one of the most important posts in the republic! But we cannot discuss this subject here. We hope that a general awakening of public opinion, before long, may require us to give it a minute and extended examination. Meanwhile, those who wish for information in regard to the utility of these schools, and the best modes of establishing and conducting them, will find in Dr. Bache's chapter upon the subject full and detailed accounts of the best seminaries for primary teachers in Prussia, Holland, France, and Switzerland.

The next head of Dr. Bache's Report is that of secondary instruction, which occupies the place between elementary and superior instruction. Its distinctive objects are well explained by the author:—

"It *follows* the attainments which are essential to the pursuit of knowledge, and precedes the special studies which bear more or less upon the occupation of the individual in future life. It occupies the period from eight or ten years of age to seventeen or nineteen, as the ordinary average limits. Viewed in its most enlarged sense, this instruction prepares for any kind of special studies for which matured intelligence is necessary, for the higher occupations of the useful arts, as well as for the learned professions. It is no objection to this view that in some countries there are no public schools for the arts, since there are also some of the learned professions in certain countries which have no public schools set apart for them, but which are, nevertheless, avowedly in the front rank, and which require, as an introduction to their study, a thorough secondary training. This view gives rise to a two-fold division of the subject: first, secondary instruction as preparatory to the professions usually designated as learned; second, as preparing for the higher practical occupations, which are rising rapidly into, or have taken their place in, the same rank with the professions. The first kind of secondary instruction is to be met with, as a national system, in most countries of Europe, while in others it is supplied by individual enterprise, and by independent foundations or corporations. The institutions which supply this instruction, in a more or less perfect form, are designated by various names. The class is composed of the academies and grammar schools, some of the colleges, the proprietary and certain other schools of England; the colleges, royal and communal institutions, and boarding schools of France; the Latin schools and others of Holland; the colleges, auditories, and gymnasia of Switzerland; the colleges of Italy, and the gymnasia of the German states."—P. 362.

Under this head, then, is embraced what we commonly call in this country academical education. We believe that we are tolerably well furnished with institutions of this grade, private and public; and some of them are of very respectable character; but, on the whole, they are very far behind those of the same class in Europe. Indeed, the gymnasia of the German states come nearly, if not quite, up to the general standard of our colleges, in the amount and excellence of the instruction which they afford; and in some respects they go far beyond it. Dr. Bache treats the subject in three chapters; the first comprising accounts of various academies and high schools in Great Britain; the second relating to secondary instruction in France; and the third (perhaps the

most valuable of the three) giving an account of the gymnasia of Prussia and Germany, with general remarks, and comparisons of the secondary instruction of different countries. These chapters are pregnant with practical wisdom. We cannot too strongly recommend their careful perusal to every teacher in this country who can have access to them. But we must leave them with the general remark, that Dr. Bache's observations show the same superiority, in point of scientific teaching, of Germany over England, in this department of instruction as in that of primary education. Perhaps the schools of Edinburgh are an exception to this remark. In the great schools of England, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and others of the same class, there is, beyond all question, an undue attention paid to classical studies, to the neglect of other means of mental cultivation. "If no literature existed beyond that of Greece and Rome; if no discoveries in mathematics or physics, in art or nature; if no nations had, by the advance of civilization, come into greater relative importance than in the days of Rome's prosperity, the course of Harrow might be well adapted to train up British youths of the provinces in the learning of the capital. As it is, the exclusion of all, or nearly all, that characterizes modern civilization, brings discredit upon the system, and the worst foes of the legitimate use of classical culture are those who profess to be its best friends." At Rugby the case is rather better, as some modern improvements have been introduced into its course of studies; and it is found that the pupils lose nothing, even on the score of classical instruction, by learning a little of something else besides Greek and Latin.

In regard to the study of the Greek and Latin languages, the will of the founder of the Girard College speaks with a becoming modesty. Knowing that he could not judge properly of the value of studies which he had never pursued, and of learning which was sealed to him, Mr. Girard evinced his usual sagacity in alluding to them. "I do not recommend, but I do not forbid, instruction in Greek and Latin," were his words upon this point, and they leave the whole matter in the charge of the trustees. We looked into Dr. Bache's Report with some anxiety for an exposition of his views upon this subject; and we are happy to say, that in general, they meet with our full concurrence. His opinions in regard to the utility of classical instruction are founded upon the following

principles: first, that superior talent should receive full opportunities for its cultivation, without sacrificing inferior talent by inappropriate instruction; and, secondly, that pupils who are intended for a mechanical trade or employment should receive instruction bearing upon their future occupation. The result of the application of these principles would be that the study of the ancient languages would be pursued much further than they now are, by those who have the aptitude and time which are necessary for their successful prosecution; while those who are deficient in talent, or cannot possibly devote time to acquire any thing like proficiency in the languages, should not be required to waste their youth in an idle attempt to do what *cannot* be done. There is much sound truth in these sentiments. Certain it is that in most of our schools the languages are pursued too far for general purposes, and not far enough to secure the great ends of mental cultivation and sound scholarship. We do not know of a school or college in these United States where the ancient languages are thoroughly and successfully taught. Believing, as we most conscientiously do, that a complete discipline in these studies is the most valuable training to which the youthful mind can be subjected, and that the intrinsic importance of classical attainments can never be overvalued, we are earnestly desirous that this branch of education should have fair play in this country, so that an American scholar may not hereafter be so rare a curiosity as he is at present. The general adoption of Dr. Bache's philosophical views would go far, we think, toward the accomplishment of this desirable result. It is not by forcing every student, willing or unwilling, to go through a certain prescribed amount of study, reading so many pages of Herodotus, and so many verses of Homer, that we are to elevate the standard of classical attainment among us; but by a judicious allotment of studies, according to the talents and destination of the pupils, and by a more extended course of instruction in the classics for those who wish it and are capable of mastering it. Of course the classical basis should be retained in all schools and colleges, as the very best foundation for general education.

The thirteenth, and closing chapter of Dr. Bache's Report, is devoted to the subject of superior education. With this the career of the student is terminated, as under this head are embraced the schools which qualify for the learned professions and for occupa-

tions requiring a considerable amount of special knowledge for their successful prosecution, as well as those which, like the English universities, are intended to perpetuate a learned class, by giving the highest grade of intellectual culture necessary to form the man of science or of letters. It did not fall properly within the scope of President Bache's design to give a description of the foreign universities, as the following extract explains:—

"Schools of arts, or polytechnic schools, have originated in the requirements of modern times, in which occupations have risen in standing and importance, or have been actually created by the progress of science and the arts. Considered as special schools, the universities have very different objects from those which the founder of the Girard College intended as the aim of his institution, while the purposes of the polytechnic schools are strictly in accordance with those which his will points out for the highest department of his college. This being the case, a description of foreign universities would, I conceive, be out of place in this Report. From the character of my associations before leaving home, which naturally led to similar associations while abroad, I felt highly interested in this class of institutions, and it is with reluctance I have come to the conclusion not to give some description of them in my Report."—P. 537.

While we cannot but approve the close adherence of Dr. Bache, on all occasions, to his proper course as agent for the Girard College, we must regret its results in this particular case, and the more, because the few remarks which he has dropped in regard to English university education show how well he was qualified to make a full investigation of the whole subject. One of these remarks has reference to the system of written examinations which is pursued at the University of Cambridge, and which is there held in high estimation. By this method, each member of the class to be examined, instead of being questioned *viva voce*, is furnished, at the hour appointed for examination, with a set of written or printed questions, of the nature of which all were alike ignorant before. To these questions each student is required to produce written answers, upon the spot, in a given time, say four or five hours, without access to books or assistance of any kind. This method certainly has the merit of entire impartiality, as precisely the same questions are presented to all the students: so that even the "suspicion of partiality in the distribution of important places" is entirely avoided. It obviates, also, to a great extent, the embarrassment into which sensitive students are often thrown by the excitement

of a public examination. We speak with the more confidence of the utility and superiority of this method, because we have had the opportunity of observing its results in Dickinson College, where the examinations, in some of the departments, for the Bachelor's degree, have been conducted entirely in writing for some years past. Six hours will suffice for an extended examination upon a single subject by this method, which is the more thorough, as each student is under the process during all the time, and not merely for ten or fifteen minutes, as under the viva voce system.

Omitting any extended notice of the foreign universities, for the reasons above stated, our author gives accounts, more or less copious, of the Polytechnic school of France, the schools of Roads, Bridges, and Mines in France, the schools of arts in Prussia, the Polytechnic Institute of Vienna, the school of Mines at Freyberg, the Institute of Agriculture at Hohenheim, and the naval school of Austria, at Venice. It is not in our power to do more than to refer to this part of the Report, with the remark that it is written with the same methodical clearness that characterizes the other divisions of the work.

We have thus given a meagre and imperfect sketch of one of the most important works that has ever issued from the American press, a work that must ever be a monument of the ability and industry of its author. It is much to be regretted that the manner of its publication will prevent its general circulation. We could wish our legislators to read this book, and inform themselves upon the subject of popular education, of which too many of them have entirely unworthy and inadequate notions. Our teachers should have access to this repository of principles and facts belonging to their science; its records of experience and lessons of practical wisdom should be freely laid before them. We unite, therefore, in the suggestion made by a contemporary, that the author should prepare an abridgment of his Report, for general circulation. Such a work would have a very extensive sale, and prove of great benefit to the cause of public instruction among us.

We shall now, in conclusion, offer a brief account of the progress that has been made by the authorities of our sister city in fulfilling the will of Mr. Girard, and of the embarrassments that now attend their action. On the 4th day of July, 1833, the corner stone of the main college building was laid. The plan adopted by the

building committee was one of great magnificence—in accordance with the objects for which the edifice was intended. The building is to be of the Corinthian order, covering a space of one hundred and eighty-four by two hundred and forty-three feet; the whole height from the ground to the roof being one hundred feet. The columns, thirty-four in number, will surround the entire cell of the building, and are to be six feet in diameter at the top of the base, and at the top of the capital, five feet; the whole height of the capital being fifty-five feet. The entire structure is to be composed of marble, even the stairways and roof being of that material. Mr. Girard gave careful and minute directions in his will, with regard to the construction of every part of the building. It may easily be imagined that a work of such magnitude, requiring so great an amount of materials and labor, could only be accomplished in a great length of time. On this point Mr. Smith's Report, the last of the documents placed at the head of this article, speaks as follows:—

"Every effort has been made, every species of management has been resorted to; all the force that could be used has been applied; the necessary funds have been furnished, and the work has advanced with as much rapidity as was possible. But it is a great work, and experience has taught us that great works require a great length of time to complete them. Compared with other works of a similar extent, it has advanced more rapidly than they have, and will, probably, be completed as soon as any other of equal magnitude in this or any other country."—P. 18.

The principal building will probably not be completed for some five or six years. Nine years have already elapsed since the death of Mr. Girard, and yet, "notwithstanding the millions which he has devoted to this object, not one orphan has derived the slightest advantage from the bequest." So long a delay, from whatever causes it may have arisen, cannot but be regretted. Has it been unavoidable? Was it Mr. Girard's intention? Shall it continue? These questions, and others like them, have been agitated with no little excitement, in Philadelphia. The Councils have been blamed, by their political opponents and others, for authorizing the construction of an edifice so costly, and requiring so long time for its completion; the trustees of the college have been blamed, for not organizing the institution sooner, without waiting for the completion of the buildings; and the trustees, in turn, allege that they have

been anxious to commence the business of instruction for some years, but have not found their views seconded by the city authorities. From the Report of the board of trustees presented to Councils, July 16, 1840, we learn that they apprised that body in April, 1838, that their arrangements would enable them to organize the institution and commence the instruction of orphans in October of that year; and that Councils authorized such organization, provided it could be entered into consistently with the provisions of Mr. Girard's will. The commissioners of the Girard estates, desirous to have a legal opinion before the step was finally taken, proposed to John Sergeant, Esq., the question, "Whether the will authorizes the commencement of the duties of the college until the whole is complete." To this question Mr. Sergeant replied in the negative, much to the surprise, it seems, of the trustees, who found it hard to reconcile this opinion of the learned gentleman with the sanction which he had given, two years before, to the appointment of the president of the college. Unwilling to relinquish the hope of opening the institution, they applied again to Mr. Sergeant, and, with his concurrence, to Horace Binney, Esq., as associate counsel, but "the opinion of Mr. Binney was altogether confirmatory of that of Mr. Sergeant, and was even more explicit in denying all right to open the college under the will, until the buildings should be entirely completed and furnished. Against a legal authority so high as that of the gentlemen mentioned, the board gave up all expectation of being able to effect immediately the regular organization of the college." This opinion has been subjected to severe scrutiny; and, in our judgment, the arguments of the board in reply to it—founded mainly upon the principle, that a building can be said to be "constructed," when it is sufficiently advanced toward completion to be used for the purposes for which it was designed, just as a bridge is "constructed" when it can be safely passed by carriages—are abundantly conclusive. A masterly examination of the case was presented in a late number of a contemporary journal,* to which we refer our readers, only remarking, that it is there most clearly shown, that the principle of Messrs. Binney and Sergeant's opinion, if carried out, would certainly convict the Councils of Philadelphia of a breach of trust, in applying the residuary fund of Mr. Girard's estate to diminish the burden of taxation in the

* New-York Review, No. xii.

city, before it was ascertained that the whole of the trust funds would not be needed for the primary purpose designated in the will—the establishment and maintenance of the college. But as it is a settled point that the college cannot be opened in the face of these legal opinions, it is almost useless to argue that question now.

The trustees, still desirous to organize the institution, in some way, so as to commence the business of instruction, then proposed to the city Councils the plan of a *preliminary school*, which seemed to possess all the requisites for giving effect to their views, and even to offer advantages, in point of economy and facility of commencement, superior to those of opening the college at once. Having obtained the written opinions of Messrs. Binney and Sergeant in favor of the scheme, the trustees presented it to the Councils on the 12th of March, 1839. It was approved by the select council, but did not meet with equal approbation in the other branch. In their communication of July 16, 1840, the trustees renewed the proposal to the Councils, with such arguments and recommendations as appeared to them necessary and proper. That communication was referred by the Common Council to a select committee, upon whose Report we now propose to offer a few remarks. Whatever we may think of the tone in which it is written, or the doctrines it supports, we must say that it displays the abilities of its author in a very favorable light. Its arguments are framed with ingenuity and address; when they are sound, the expression gives them their full effect, and when they are sophistical, it almost makes "the worse appear the better reason." We must commend, also, the boldness with which the Report states all the difficulties of the subject, and the fearless independence with which an unpopular course is suggested and advocated. But here our commendation must stop. While we freely acquit the committee of any intention to do wrong, and give them credit for entire honesty in forming their opinions, and great candor in stating them, we cannot but regret that they have allowed themselves to speak in a tone of disrespectful censure of the board of trustees, which would be unwarrantable, even if that body, instead of having labored faithfully for years in discharging the duties of their office, had criminally mismanaged its affairs and abused its powers. The spirit evinced in the Report is utterly unworthy of the men or the occasion.

Those who are so unfortunate as to form their opinions of the board of trustees from this Report alone must believe them to be any thing but honorable men—any thing but men in the highest walks of life, and of the best reputation for integrity and virtue, as they really are. Whether the committee intended it or not, such is the real drift and bearing of the Report. One quotation will suffice to show this clearly. Speaking of the plan proposed by the board, and sanctioned by its legal advisers, to draw the funds necessary for the support of the preliminary school from the income of the residuary estate of Mr. Girard, the Report proceeds:—

"To draw the expenses from the final residue in an indirect manner, though it might evade the legal consequences of a breach of trust, would be to violate the intentions of the testator. His designs should not be thwarted by evasions and indirection, any more than by plain subversions. Honesty in the execution of a trust seeks for no subterfuges, and will adopt none. It explores the written will to ascertain its meaning, and does not pervert it by presuming to become wiser than what is written."—P. 6.

Although these remarks are not expressly made with reference to the board, it is clear that if they are not intended to apply to the measure proposed by that body, they have no application at all. Such insinuations are as injudicious as they are unjust. The trustees are gentlemen as little likely to "seek for subterfuges" and to thwart the designs of Mr. Girard by "evasions and indirections" as the select committee of the Common Council. Their proposal in the premises was professedly and obviously dictated by a desire to *meet* the wishes of the testator by "organizing the college as soon as practicable," according to the will, and to avoid thwarting them by continued and unnecessary delays; and as such, even if erroneous, it ought to have been respectfully and courteously examined. Were it necessary, we could bring other passages from the Report, evincing a similar unworthy spirit.

We have spoken of the ingenuity of this Report. It is characterized, generally, by partial and detached views, rather than by comprehensive principles. It is sufficiently acute; but it rather exhibits the sagacity of the mere lawyer, picking flaws in an indictment, than the wisdom of the profound jurist, deducing just views from broad and fundamental doctrines. The committee could not build a house for their lives, but they are excellent at telling how bricks should be laid. This want of comprehensive-

ness pervades most of their arguments and opinions, but is especially manifest in their examination of three prominent points, the application of the residuary estate of Mr. Girard, the appointment of the president of the college, and the administration of the board of trustees. As to the first of these, the committee argue themselves into the belief that the residuary fund "cannot be diverted from the objects to which it is at present applied, until additional buildings are required to accommodate such orphans as may apply for admission after three hundred have been introduced." There is no principle applying to the interpretation of wills more firmly established than that the primary design of the testator, when it is obvious from the will, is to be fulfilled before other provisions contained in the document—that every thing else must give place to the *primary* design. Had the committee kept this principle in mind, they could never have arrived at the singular conclusion "that the period when the final residuary fund can be taken for the purposes of the college may never arrive." The will appropriates two millions of dollars for erecting certain buildings, and providing them with furniture and apparatus; and provides, also, that after these objects are accomplished, if the income arising from that part of the said sum which may remain should not be sufficient, "owing to the increase of the number of orphans applying for admission, or other cause," then "such further sum as may be necessary for the construction of new buildings and the maintenance and education of such further number of orphans," &c., shall be taken from the final residuary fund of the estate. The great design of the testator is to endow a college for orphans whose benefits shall extend to as great a number as the space which he allots for the purpose can accommodate: and for the accomplishment of this design he appropriates, first, two millions of dollars; the buildings are to be erected and provided with suitable furniture and apparatus; then if any portion of the two millions remains, it is to be funded for the maintenance of the college; if it does not suffice for that object, owing to the increase of the number of applicants for admission, *or any other cause*, such further sum as is *necessary* shall be taken from the residuary estate. Such is the plain, common sense meaning of the will. Not so, however, according to the logic of the committee. No cause whatever, in their judgment, is sufficient to authorize the application of the residuary fund to college

purposes, if there should be no residue of the two millions after the completion of the college and appurtenances! So that, if by mismanagement or mistake, the buildings should absorb the whole sum, or if the two million fund itself should be dissipated or embezzled, the primary design of Mr. Girard is to be frustrated, while there are millions remaining in the residuary fund which he evidently appropriated to the use of the college whenever it should be necessary! With all deference to the learned committee, this interpretation of theirs is as marvelous a case of perversion as has ever passed under our notice.

The committee pronounce the appointment of the president of the college a measure plainly opposed to the directions of the will. Without alluding to their explanation of that part of the will which they suppose to have been contravened by the appointment, we shall only say, that apart from all other arguments, the principle, that the authority given in the will for the organization of the college implied the power to take all steps necessary for that organization, is sufficient to justify the appointment. One of these necessary steps was the deputation of an agent to collect information in Europe. None could do this to so good advantage as the highest officer of the institution; and as the will only provides for the mode of appointing such teachers and agents as could enter upon their duties *after* the complete organization of the establishment, there was no breach of trust in the appointment. The advantage of having such a presiding officer thoroughly prepared for his work, seems lost upon the committee. Their *ad captandum* remark that "more than one individual" can be found in this country capable of presiding over the college, with other discourteous allusions of the same sort, are unworthy of notice.

The Report dwells at much length upon the powers and duties of the board of trustees. It is admitted, freely, that these fall under the class generally denominated executive duties. But granting that they are such, does it necessarily follow that the trustees are neither to form nor express any opinions of their own? Yet the committee seem to imply as much, by reiterating, in great variety of phrase, the sentiment that the board have no right to act as advisers. They censure them for advising the appointment of the president, and for urging upon the attention of Councils, with such arguments as their good sense and experience suggested, the mea-

sure of a preliminary school, and all this because such advice and recommendations form no part of their duties as an executive body! So then, it is the duty of an executive to act the automaton; the board of trustees of Girard College is only to open its mouth, puppet-like, when the Councils shall pull the strings! By the ordinance creating the board, it is expressly declared, that "it shall be their duty to superintend the organization and management of Girard College, in conformity with the will of the late Stephen Girard;" and this duty implies that of devising measures of organization and management, and, of course, of recommending such measures to the legislative body, with such of the reasons and arguments that induced their adoption, as might be deemed necessary and expedient. So far, then, from traveling out of the line of their duty in "advising" and "urging" what they deemed to be necessary measures, they would have been criminally culpable if they had not done so. It would naturally be expected, that their opinions, the fruit of much time and labor devoted to the study of the subject, would be valuable to the Councils; and their very appointment as *trustees* was intended to insure this study on their part, and to obtain such advice as their wisdom and experience might suggest.

It is hardly to be wondered at, that the committee, holding such views, should oppose the establishment of a preliminary school, and recommend the dissolution of the board of trustees and the discharge of the president of the college from employment. The Common Council has not yet, we believe, acted on their Report, and we sincerely hope that its doctrines and measures may not find favor with that body. On the whole, it is very much to be regretted that Mr. Girard committed the execution of his will, so far, at least, as the college is concerned, to the city authorities. His usual sagacity seems here to have deserted him. The college has already become an element of great power in the political warfare of Philadelphia; and, in this respect, matters will probably become worse, instead of better, with the progress of time. Still, we indulge the hope, that under the guidance of divine Providence, the Girard College may before many years be fully organized, and the anticipations of Mr. Biddle's Address more than fulfilled; when "there shall be collected within its walls all that the knowledge and research of men have accumulated to enlighten and improve the

minds of youth. It will be the civil West Point of this country, where all the sciences which minister to men's happiness, and all the arts of peace, may be thoroughly and practically taught. Its success will naturally render it the model for other institutions—the centre of all improvement in things taught, no less than in the art of teaching them—the nursery of instructors as well as of pupils—thus not merely accomplishing the direct benefit of those to whom its instruction extends, but irradiating by its example the whole circumference of human knowledge."

Dickinson College, Nov. 12, 1840.

Art. II.—*An Essay on the Necessity of Christ's Sufferings.*

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Of the Troy Conference.

"Ὅτι οὕτω γέγραπται, καὶ οὕτως ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν," Luke xxiv, 46.

The mystery of our redemption completed—the resurrection of Jesus Christ demonstrated—the lacerated hearts of the disconsolate disciples healed and exulting in the assured return of their divine Master from the dominions of the tomb—and Christ graciously condescending to open the Scriptures to their understanding, and thus prepare them to carry the tidings of salvation to a lost world, are some of the deeply interesting and infinitely important truths recorded in this chapter.

The Bible is an inspired volume, and all its truths are important; but some are more so than others, and some fill a more prominent place in the inspired record than others; but none more so than the divine character of Jesus Christ, and the infinite value of his sufferings. He has a name which is above every name; he is over all, God blessed for ever; he bears the same titles, does the same works, and receives the same honors as the supreme God our heavenly Father; and our salvation commenced, continued, and consummated in heaven is wholly ascribed to his sufferings and death. We are bought with a price; we are redeemed, not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ; we are washed, we are justified, we are sancti-

fied; we are presented without spot, and blameless, before the throne of the excellent majesty in the heavens, through the blood and righteousness of God's dear Son.

This doctrine has been so often reiterated in the nursery, in the school room, and in the sacred desk, that it has become as familiar, in sound, as household words; and yet there is a richness in it which all the wealth of an angel's intellect could not have produced. God only could conceive the thoughts, and teach the words, which make us wise unto salvation. In the sufferings of Jesus Christ there is a height which no man can reach—a depth which no man can fathom—it lies too deeply buried in the profundity of the divine nature, for man's limited and lapsed powers fully to grasp; but what is revealed we may, we must devoutly and diligently study, and though we cannot fully comprehend, we can believe, and believing we shall adore!

This doctrine, most wonderful and gracious, commanding the attention of heavenly beings, and worthy of all acceptation, has ever been repugnant to the carnal mind. It was foolishness to the Greeks; and the Jews, though favored with the traditions of the patriarchs, the writings of the prophets, and the institutions of Moses, they stumbled at this stumbling stone, to their national fall; and even the chosen disciples, who enjoyed the public and private instructions of the Son of God, were exceedingly backward to receive this wonderful truth. He therefore complained of their unbelief, and after his resurrection he said, "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself." O what a divine discourse must that have been! Happy disciples! how richly were you compensated for all your sorrows! "Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer."

"It *behooved* Christ to suffer." It was fit, proper, necessary that Christ should suffer these things. But why was it necessary? What has he done to experience the pains of Calvary, and sink in death, beneath a load of shame and wo? Suffering is the natural and necessary consequence of sin, for sin is the transgression of the

law of our being, as well as the revealed will of God, and cannot be broken without violence done to the constitution which God has given to nature, at the same time that it offers an insult to the infinite and eternal majesty. Where there is sin, there must be suffering, for sin is an unnatural state, as well as an unholy one. But was Jesus Christ in any sense a sinner because he suffered these things? If this were true, would it not follow that he is not the Saviour, for one sinner can surely as well save himself, as another sinner can save the world? But he was not, in any sense, a sinner, for he had dwelt from eternity in the bosom of the Father; prostrate seraphim had adored before his throne; angels sung his advent; and a voice from the excellent glory proclaimed, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

Prophecy indeed has foretold, not only his birth, eventful life, and wondrous works, but his sufferings and death; but prophecy was not that which rendered his death necessary. The necessity had existed long before the first prophetic harp was tuned to sing the wonders of his love—before the first altar was raised, and the first slain victim bled to teach the nature and design of his death. If it had not been necessary for him to bleed and die, the sacrificial institution would have been unknown; the harps of prophecy would have waked to other themes, or been for ever dumb; the seasons would have returned to find men improved in virtue, and the sun would have run his race until men, full of knowledge, and perfected in celestial graces, would probably have passed by an easy transition from this to a more exalted sphere—ignorance and all its folly—disease and all its pain—death, the grave-yard, and all its horrors would have been unknown. If the necessity had not existed the Son of God would not have suffered; the world's Redeemer would not have died. Indeed, if he had not suffered, the prophetic writings would have remained unfulfilled; but if the necessity had not previously existed, these writings would never have been given.

The sufferings of Christ, which astonished angels, confounded devils, and restored an apostate world to the embraces of God, were not the result of fate, or an eternal series of successive causes, which, according to the faith of some, impiously binds all things, even God himself, and renders all things inevitable, and therefore destroys all free agency, and of course all distinction be-

tween merit and demerit—between vice and virtue—and makes even the terms unnecessary and unmeaning. Nor are his sufferings to be traced merely to a divine decree, which, according to the faith of others, foreordains whatsoever comes to pass, for a divine decree ordaining all things, makes all things necessary, and is, therefore, nearly as fatal to free agency as fate itself, as it leaves but one free agent in the universe. But man was free in his rebellion, and Christ was eminently so in his sufferings; for though it was necessary that Christ should suffer these things, it was only so, "that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." And that men could not repent and be forgiven without this, is evident from the fact, that he died and rose again for this purpose and for this reason. Sin is a perfect paralysis to the soul; it clouds the intellect, hardens the heart, and vitiates all its powers. Man, left to himself, is destitute of every gracious emotion, and would wander for ever, plunging deeper at every step in misery and sin. No man unaided by divine influence ever did, or ever will, repent and turn to God. But if he could repent, and would do so, with the most deep and reforming sorrow, would this be an adequate atonement for the violation of the Creator's law? Repentance will not satisfy the claims of justice at a righteous tribunal on earth, and why should it at the righteous tribunal in heaven? Is God less just than man, and are the claims of man to be met, but the claims of the Almighty to be surrendered? No; God is to be regarded as the infinitely just, moral Governor of the universe, who is never merciful at the expense of his justice, or just at the expense of his mercy, but is the same wise, and holy, and just God, in all the dispensations of his providence, and in all the acts of his righteous administration in heaven, earth, and hell; and his law is unalterable in its nature and eternal in its demands of obedience.

The necessity of Christ's sufferings arose from the position which man assumed, from the relation which he sustained to God in consequence of the original transgression. He was made a little lower than the angels; received his outward form from the dust of the earth, but his mind, his heart, his immortal nature from the breath of God. He was made in the image of his Maker, bore the impress of majesty, and, as a sovereign, all things were placed in subjection under him; but as the creature of God, and as a test

of his obedience, he was commanded, not to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which grew in the midst of the garden in which he lived. Crowned with the Creator's smiles, and surrounded by the rich profusion which teeming nature yielded ready to his hand, he knew no want, and was a stranger to care, disease, or any of the woes which have been the portion of his sons. In this happy state the tempter found him, tempted him, and betrayed him into sin. But from outward force or fraud alone he could not fall, for heaven had armed him with power sufficient to meet, resist, and vanquish a host of foes. Strong in virtue, rich with divine communications, and guarded by the explicit command of God, he could have spurned the traitor, and driven him back dismayed, confounded to the hell from whence he came. But in an evil hour, forgetful of his Maker's claims, and of the obedience which was due to God, he drank in the delicious poison, yielded to the impulse of sinful desire, and with impious hand received the forbidden fruit, and ate and died. The law of God was broken, the world was ruined, and man was justly exposed to the full penalty of the broken law—eternal death! Was it then there was a pause in heaven? Was it then that angels' harps were silent? Was it then that fallen spirits held jubilee in hell? Ah! that was a solemn hour, not only to earth, but to heaven; for the enemy of God had triumphed; and man, the younger brother of angels, had broken faith with heaven and was fallen—fearfully, foully fallen, in the pit, dark, cheerless, and profound.

God might in justice have destroyed man from the earth, cut off the embryo race in the bud of being, and blotted out the earth, cursed by the monster birth of sin, from its place in the heavens; but if he had done so, this would not have healed the mighty breach which sin had made; the history of man's fall would not have been forgotten; the earth's vacant orbit, no longer vocal with man's grateful praise, would have remained to remind the intelligences of heaven of sin and its direful consequences; but would not Satan and his legions have reveled in the imaginary might of having defeated the Almighty in his wise and benevolent designs? Would it not have been published, by the malignant spirits of hell, as an abortive attempt, on the part of the infinite and eternal Father, to people a world with beings but a little lower than the angels of God?

It is not for man at present to explore the untrodden paths which lie remote from this our birthplace and tomb, or to lift the curtain which separates the seen from the unseen; but from the intimations which are given in Scripture of angelic natures, both in a glorified and ruined condition, it is certain we are a part of a wondrous whole. Devils are our tempters and angels are our ministers; and the fall and recovery of our race, however it may fail to interest the besotted and brutish of earth, may be of absorbing interest to the inhabitants of other and far distant worlds. The mind was made free by the Creator, and while it continues, either in angelic or human forms, freedom is essential to its being as an accountable agent; and in its glorious liberty it will expatiate on the wondrous works and ways of God; and none can tell what effect it might have had on the modes of thought and feeling of other beings, if man had not been redeemed.

To have respited the sinner and suffered him to people earth with his sons, the inheritors of his misery and shame, without any provision for their restoration to the forfeited favor and image of God, would have been inconsistent alike with the benevolence of the divine nature and the justice of the divine administration; and to have restored him to favor without an adequate atonement being made for sin was impossible, as every perfection of the divine nature was pledged to the execution of the penalty of the law in a manner to secure all the ends of a righteous administration.

As far as we can discover, man had assumed that position in which he must die for ever, under the execution of that penalty which had been incurred; or the word of God must fail of being fulfilled—"In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die;" or one had to be found who could satisfy the utmost demands of justice, and rescue man from the curse of the broken law, and thus render it possible that God might be just in all his administration, and justified by all his creatures, at the same time that he justifies and saves the sinner. But who was possessed of wisdom and strength sufficient to undertake, and successfully carry through, a work of such wondrous magnitude?

> "'Twas great to speak the world from naught:
> 'Twas *greater* to redeem!"

Man's life was justly forfeited to divine justice, and he could not help himself; and every other finite being was equally incapable

of affording the assistance which was necessary; for angels, as well as men, are bound by the law of the Creator to serve him, at all times, to the full extent of their power, and can only satisfy the claims of the law for themselves, and can have no spare merit, to place to the account of an erring brother, of low or high degree. This was a work of such extreme difficulty, and requiring such vast resources, that the noblest of all the created sons of God might justly fear to undertake, and could not have undertaken without certain failure.

But in the dark hour of man's apostasy, when devils were exulting in the complete success of their daring leader, and angels were astonished at the madness and misery of man, in that hour devils were destined to a final overthrow; angels were to find new cause for adoring admiration, and man was to be saved in a manner which should harmonize and secure all the interests of earth and heaven. When in the whole range of universal being, among all the resplendent orders which encircle the throne of God, none could be found who could redeem his brother man, or give to God a ransom for him, Jesus, Jehovah's fellow, the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person, undertook the wondrous work. When there was no eye to pity, no outstretched arm to save, he offered alone to tread the wine press of the wrath of God, and, by his own almighty arm, to bring salvation to a ruined world. He offered himself to be a sacrifice for sin, that he might magnify the law and make it honorable, and rescue repentant man from under its everlasting curse!

God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends; but God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were sinners Christ died for us. He was given to the world in promise, in prophecy, in types and shadows; but in the fulness of time he came in person to teach mankind the sublimest doctrines, the purest morality, and by the sacrifice of himself to put away sin, and obtain eternal redemption for us. In shrouded majesty, he assumed our nature; though rich in the perfection and bliss of heaven, for our sakes he became poor, that we through his poverty might be rich; though in the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be equal with God, and made himself of no reputa-

tion, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. He took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, and was made like unto his brethren, subject to all the innocent infirmities of the flesh, to hunger and thirst, to pain and weariness, to distress of body, and anguish of mind; for it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory to make the Captain of our salvation perfect through suffering. He was emphatically a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief: he undertook a work, which contravened all the vile passions of the human heart; all the dark doings of a sinful world, and roused up against him envy, malice, wrath, revenge, pride, and power, and spiritual wickedness in high places. But it was not the hatred of his brethren, the uncurbed madness of wicked men, the sleepless vengeance of his foes, nor all the terrors of the judgment hall, nor a lingering death, of most excruciating suffering and overwhelming shame, which caused his fainting, trembling, agony, bloody sweat, and heart-rending cry, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!" No! these things were light, compared with the burden which he bore; it was agony which we have not souls to feel, or language to express, that he endured, when prostrate on the earth "his sweat was as it were great drops of blood, falling down to the ground;" it was the superincumbent load of a guilty world; it was the wrath of God revealed from heaven against all unrighteousness and ungodliness of men: he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his stripes we are healed.

It was a work the misery and results of which he fully knew; a work from which the flesh might shrink, but for which the spirit was willing; and when the prophetic lights of four thousand years, converging on the cross of Calvary, marked the destined hour of the world's atonement, did the Redeemer stand aloof, and refuse to perfect the work he had begun? No: he assumed our interests, took our place, bore our burden, and canceled our debt.

The great day of expiation had come; no more the morning and evening sacrifice was to burn on Judah's altars; no more was Aaron's son, in his priestly dress of holiness and beauty, to stand

in the divine presence with the appointed offering for himself and people, for another priest had risen, the great High Priest of our profession, and on this day the true sacrifice was to be offered, the efficacy of which reaches back through all past time to the first transgression, and forward till time shall be no more, making provision for pardon and salvation to all who repent and obey. The altar was erected, and justice demanded blood, for without the shedding of blood there is no remission; and as it was not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sin, he gave his own blood; and knowing that all things were now accomplished; that "every rite assumed its significancy; every prediction met its event; and every symbol displayed its correspondence," he said, "*It is finished;*" and bowed his sacred head, and died!

> "Heaven that hour let fall a tear;
> Heaven wept, that man might smile!
> Heaven bled, that man might never die!"

Here mercy and truth met together; righteousness and peace kissed each other; God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself; the utmost claims of justice were met, and all the ends of a righteous administration secured. The evil of sin was as fully seen, as though the transgressor had suffered the penalty of the law in his own person for ever; and God's infinite hatred to sin, and his boundless love to the sinner, were manifested, in a manner which alike exalts his justice and his mercy, and must redound to the glory of his holy name for ever.

But how great was the sacrifice; how vast was the expenditure of means! The darkened sun, the trembling earth, the opening graves, proclaimed the costliness of that sacrifice, and its wondrous effects. The throne of justice, from which the sinner had every thing to fear, was made the mercy seat, from which he proclaims to the world, The Lord God, merciful and gracious, slow to anger and of great kindness, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin; the cherubim, with the flaming sword which turned every way, retired, and left a free access to the tree of life, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations; death was met in his own dark dominions, by the Prince of life, and left, to those who sleep in Jesus, a stingless, vanquished foe; the day was dark, but the morrow's sun arose on a redeemed creation, and the messengers of the Prince of peace went forth to proclaim the acceptable year of

the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn; to appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that they might be called the trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified.

The redemption of our race, by the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ, is a most wonderful, mysterious, and divine work. It has probably no parallel in all the wondrous works of God. Could we enter the archives of heaven, and consult the records of eternity which is past, or with more than an angel's ken penetrate deep into the future, we probably should find nothing to equal it in all that the Almighty has ever done, in all that the Almighty will ever do! It stands alone, invested with a glory peculiar to itself, and it will stand alone for ever, the most wonderful monument of the divine justice and love.

It is a work which cannot be fully known in this life. Time is too short, and earth is too contracted for its full development. It requires a wider field and a limitless duration, and in brighter worlds its wonders will be displayed to the glory of matchless grace and to the happiness of angels and men for ever. Angels now desire to look into it; it engages the hearts and the harps of the spirits of just men made perfect; it exalts our entire nature, and is destined to renovate our race, and change this vast Golgotha into a redeemed Eden, to bloom in perennial loveliness as the garden of God.

Sin never appears so sinful, and the love of God never appears so wonderful, as when seen through the medium of Christ and him crucified, and whether we contemplate the infinite dignity of the sufferer, or the wonderful effects of his sufferings on the ceaseless destinies of our race, we are lost in wonder, love, and praise, and the rising emotions of our bosoms constrain us to cry out with the beloved John, "Unto him that hath loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen."

ART. III.—*General History of Civilization in Europe, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution, translated from the French of* M. GUIZOT. First American, from the second English Edition. D. Appleton & Co: New-York.

PARIS, doubtless, is the most interesting city in the world, and hence France is the most interesting country. Her system of public instruction, which, taken as a whole, constitutes the university of France, is better calculated to produce magnificent and important results than any other in Europe. The various faculties of the university are supported at the public expense, and their lectures are accessible to all without charge. The professors are frequently peers of the realm, sometimes ministers of state, held in the greatest estimation, and are considered to be in the sure road to the highest preferment. The distinguished statesman and philosopher, whose splendid work is placed at the head of this article, is now the representative of the French nation at the court of St. James. He delivered these lectures while professor of history to the faculty of letters of Paris, and minister of public instruction. His subject is the most interesting and important of all which present themselves for the study of the philosopher. He inquires into the origin, progress, and character of European civilization. There is a very striking uniformity in the civilization of the different states of Europe, because it has flowed to them all from common sources. Hence our author is led to review the principal events which mark the character of the principal states of Europe since the fall of the western empire. He comes to his task with great advantages. The position of France, his own position in France, his profound and varied learning, pointed him out as the most eligible person in Europe to write the history of modern civilization. He says,—

"The situation in which we are placed, as Frenchmen, affords us a great advantage for entering upon the study of European civilization; for, without intending to flatter the country to which I am bound by so many ties, I cannot but regard France as the centre, as the focus, of the civilization of Europe.

"Not only is this the case, but those ideas, those institutions which promote civilization, but whose birth must be referred to other countries, have, before they could become general, or produce fruit—before they could be transplanted to other lands, or benefit the common stock of European civilization, been obliged to undergo in France a new

preparation: it is from France, as from a second country more rich and fertile, that they have started forth to make the conquest of Europe. There is not a single great idea, not a single great principle of civilization, which, in order to become universally spread, has not first passed through France.

"There is, indeed, in the genius of the French, something of a sociableness, of a sympathy—something which spreads itself with more facility and energy, than in the genius of any other people: it may be in the language, or the particular turn of mind of the French nation; it may be in their manners, or that their ideas, being more popular, present themselves more clearly to the masses, penetrate among them with greater ease; but, in a word, clearness, sociability, sympathy, are the particular characteristics of France, of its civilization; and these qualities render it eminently qualified to march at the head of European civilization."—Pp. 14, 15.

The source whence he obtains his definition of civilization discloses a truth to which too little attention is paid by the learned world. Men of education, when they wish to define an expression or word of general interest, too frequently give it a scientific definition, instead of admitting its popular signification.

"So, in the investigation of the meaning of the word *civilization* as a fact—by seeking out all the ideas it comprises, according to the common sense of mankind, we shall arrive much nearer to the knowledge of the fact itself, than by attempting to give our own scientific definition of it, though this might at first appear more clear and precise."—Pp. 19, 20.

After using a series of hypotheses in order to ascertain what is the meaning of civilization "according to the common sense of mankind," our author gives the following as the result of his inquiries:—

"Two elements, then, seem to be comprised in the great fact which we call civilization; two circumstances are necessary to its existence—it lives upon two conditions—it reveals itself by two symptoms: the progress of society, the progress of individuals; the amelioration of the social system, and the expansion of the mind and faculties of man. Wherever the exterior condition of man becomes enlarged, quickened, and improved; wherever the intellectual nature of man distinguishes itself by its energy, brilliancy, and its grandeur; wherever these two signs concur, and they often do so, notwithstanding the gravest imperfections in the social system, there man proclaims and applauds civilization."—P. 25.

Neither of these two elements can exist and be active without sooner or later producing the other. Our author appeals to history for the proof of this proposition:—

"If we now examine the history of the world we shall have the same result. We shall find that every expansion of human intelligence has proved of advantage to society; and that all the great advances in the social condition have turned to the profit of humanity. One or other of these facts may predominate, may shine forth with greater splendor for a season, and impress upon the movement its own particular character. At times, it may not be till after the lapse of a long interval, after a thousand transformations, a thousand obstacles, that the second shows itself, and comes, as it were, to complete the civilization which the first had begun; but when we look closely we easily recognize the link by which they are connected. The movements of providence are not restricted to narrow bounds: it is not anxious to deduce to-day the consequence of the premises it laid down yesterday. It may defer this for ages, till the fulness of time shall come. Its logic will not be less conclusive for reasoning slowly. Providence moves through time, as the gods of Homer through space—it makes a step, and ages have rolled away! How long a time, how many circumstances intervened, before the regeneration of the moral powers of man, by Christianity, exercised its great, its legitimate influence upon his social condition? Yet who can doubt or mistake its power?

"If we pass from history to the nature itself of the two facts which constitute civilization, we are infallibly led to the same result. We have all experienced this. If a man makes a mental advance, some mental discovery, if he acquires some new idea, or some new faculty, what is the desire that takes possession of him at the very moment he makes it? It is the desire to promulgate his sentiment to the exterior world—to publish and realize his thought. When a man acquires a new truth—when his being in his own eyes has made an advance, has acquired a new gift, immediately there becomes joined to this acquirement the notion of a mission. He feels obliged, impelled, as it were, by a secret interest, to extend, to carry out of himself the change, the amelioration which has been accomplished within him. To what, but this, do we owe the exertions of great reformers? The exertions of those great benefactors of the human race, who have changed the face of the world, after having first been changed themselves, have been stimulated and governed by no other impulse than this."—Pp. 28, 29.

In the second lecture we have an able illustration of the distinguishing characteristics of ancient and modern civilizations; the elements which have entered into the formation of the latter, and its vast superiority over the former. The distinguishing feature in all the civilizations of ancient nations was, their strict simplicity, thus showing clearly that they sprang from the predominance of one single principle. There is no doubt but that other principles were active in their early stages, but some one became predominant by the destruction of all others, and thus impressed a single character upon society. The impression was rapidly made, and exhibited great power and splendor, but was of short duration. It

either was extinguished by the vehemence and brilliancy of its own development, as in Greece, or became stationary, and sunk into quiet and inactivity, as in India and China. Some of the predominant principles, which controlled the developments of the ancient civilizations, were, the theocratic principle, in Egypt, India, and Asia generally; the democratic, in the commercial republics, situated at different points on the Mediterranean, and in Syria; the social, as in Greece. The aristocratic principle, considered separately from the theocratic, as it now appears in Europe, did not operate in the development of the ancient civilizations. It was introduced by northern barbarians in the form of military chieftainships, to which were added landed estates upon the conquest of the Roman empire; and in process of time both the estates and the titles became hereditary; and, hence, a hereditary nobility. Referring to the predominance of some one principle, our author says,—

"From this cause a remarkable unity characterizes most of the civilizations of antiquity, the results of which, however, were very different. In one nation, as in Greece, the unity of the social principle led to a development of wonderful rapidity; no other people ever ran so brilliant a career in so short a time. But Greece had hardly become glorious, before she appeared worn out: her decline, if not quite so rapid as her rise, was strangely sudden. It seems as if the principle which called Greek civilization (into life) was exhausted. No other came to invigorate it, or supply its place.

"In other states, say, for example, in India and Egypt, where again only one principle of civilization prevailed, the result was different. Society here became stationary, simplicity produced monotony: the country was not destroyed; society continued to exist; but there was no progression; it remained torpid and inactive.

"To this same cause must be attributed that character of tyranny which prevailed, under various names, and the most opposite forms, in all the civilizations of antiquity. Society belonged to one *exclusive* power, which could bear with no other. Every principle of a different tendency was proscribed. The governing principle would nowhere suffer by its side the manifestation and influence of a rival principle." —P. 38.

European civilization, while it bears a general resemblance in all Christian nations, is distinguished from ancient civilization by its great diversity of character, owing to the diversity of elements which enter into its formation. These elements are permanently active, conflicting with, and correcting each other. Hence, while the ancient civilizations were rapidly developed, of short duration,

and ended always in despotism, that of Europe has already been in progress more than fifteen hundred years with increasing activity, and a wider and brighter prospect still open before it. The conflicts of its various principles tend to liberty, by preventing the prevalence of one to the destruction of all others. Hence government in Europe and America has been successively improved through all its natural stages from absolute despotism, which existed not long since in Russia, to a well-balanced republic which we enjoy in this country. This interesting view is very graphically sketched by our author where he contrasts ancient and modern civilization:—

"How different to all this is the case as respects the civilization of modern Europe! Take ever so rapid a glance at this, and it strikes you at once as diversified, confused, and stormy. All the principles of social organization are found existing together within it; powers temporal, powers spiritual, the theocratic, monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic elements, all classes of society, all the social situations, are jumbled together, and visible within it; as well as infinite gradations of liberty, of wealth, and of influence. These various powers, too, are found here in a state of continual struggle among themselves, without any one having sufficient force to master the others, and take sole possession of society. Among the ancients, at every great epoch, all communities seem cast in the same mold: it was now pure monarchy, now theocracy or democracy, that became the reigning principle, each in its turn reigning absolutely. But modern Europe contains examples of all these systems, of all the attempts at social organization; pure and mixed monarchies, theocracies, republics more or less aristocratic, all live in common, side by side, at one and the same time; yet, notwithstanding their diversity, they all bear a certain resemblance to each other, a kind of family likeness which it is impossible to mistake, and which shows them to be essentially European."

"The inability of the various principles to exterminate one another compelled each to endure the others, made it necessary for them to live in common, for them to enter into a sort of mutual understanding. Each consented to have only that part of civilization which fell to its share. Thus, while everywhere else the predominance of one principle has produced tyranny, the variety of elements of European civilization, and the constant warfare in which they have been engaged, have given birth in Europe to that liberty which we prize so dearly."—Pp. 39, 41, 42.

It will assist our view of the various elements of modern civilization to look into the interior constitution of the Roman empire. We shall find this vast fabric of government founded entirely upon the *municipal* principle.

"Rome in its origin was a mere municipality, a corporation. The Roman government was nothing more than an assemblage of institutions suitable to a population inclosed within the walls of a city; that is to say, they were *municipal* institutions; this was their distinctive character.

"This was not peculiar to Rome. If we look, in this period, at the part of Italy which surrounded Rome, we find nothing but cities. What were then called nations were nothing more than confederations of cities. The Latin nation was a confederation of Latin cities. The Etrurians, the Samnites, the Sabines, the nations of Magna Græcia, were all composed in the same way.

"At this time there were no country places, no villages; at least the country was nothing like what it is in the present day. It was cultivated, no doubt, but it was not peopled. The proprietors of lands and of country estates dwelt in cities; they left these occasionally to visit their rural property, where they usually kept a certain number of slaves; but that which we now call the country, that scattered population, sometimes in lone houses, sometimes in hamlets and villages, and which everywhere dots our land with agricultural dwellings, was altogether unknown in ancient Italy.

"And what was the case when Rome extended her boundaries? If we follow her history, we shall find that she conquered or founded a host of cities. It was with cities she fought, it was with cities she treated, it was into cities she sent colonies. In short, the history of the conquest of the world by Rome is the history of the conquest and foundation of a vast number of cities. It is true that in the East the extension of the Roman dominion bore somewhat of a different character; the population was not distributed there in the same way as in the western world; it was under a social system, partaking more of the patriarchal form, and was consequently much less concentrated in cities. But, as we have only to do with the population of Europe, I shall not dwell upon what relates to that of the East.

"Confining ourselves, then, to the West, we shall find the fact to be such as I have described it. In the Gauls, in Spain, we meet with nothing but cities. At any distance from these, the country consisted of marshes and forests. Examine the character of the monuments left us of ancient Rome—the old Roman roads. We find great roads extending from city to city; but the thousands of little by-paths, which now intersect every part of the country, were then unknown. Neither do we find any traces of that immense number of lesser objects—of churches, castles, country seats, and villages, which were spread all over the country during the middle ages. Rome has left no traces of this kind; her only bequest consists of vast monuments impressed with a municipal character, destined for a numerous population, crowded into a single spot. In whatever point of view you consider the Roman world, you meet with this almost exclusive preponderance of cities, and an absence of country populations and dwellings."—Pp. 43–45.

The life of this municipal organization was the military administration, emanating from the capital and extending to the extremities

of the empire, which gradually sunk under the combined operation of two causes; the one internal, the other external. The former was the extension of the empire, and the concentration of the provincial interests in their respective towns and cities; the latter was the repeated inroads, and, ultimately, the numerous settlements of the barbarians from the north. The Roman world was formed of cities, and upon its dissolution, to cities it returned again. The dissolution of the empire imparted additional activity and force to the municipal authorities, and as soon as the cities perceived the imperial pressure removed, they felt and asserted their liberty. This train of events laid the foundation of the states and liberties of Europe.

During four centuries, in which, as we have seen, the empire was first consolidated, then convulsed, and finally resolved into its original parts, a new and powerful element of civilization was infused into the whole population. Christianity had been gradually influencing the dispositions and opinions of men, and the statue and altar of victory had been removed from the capital. A majority of the Roman senate voted an application to Theodosius the Great to restore them. Whereupon the question was fully debated in open senate by Symmachus in favor of victory, and Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, in favor of Christianity; and when the question was solemnly put, whether the worship of Jesus Christ or of Jupiter should be the religion of the Romans, Jove was degraded and condemned by a large majority. The decision of the senate was ratified by the people everywhere, and the Roman world became Christian, and idolatry ceased in Europe. The influence of Christianity in producing modern civilization will be considered in extenso in a subsequent part of this paper.

Scarcely had Christianity become fairly established when the empire fell with a tremendous crash under the shock of the Goth, the Vandal, the Hun, the Frank, and the Heruli. These barbarians introduced a third element, which extensively influenced the developments of European society, "the sentiments of personal independence and loyalty." The first was felt and acted upon by the chiefs and leaders of the invading hords from the north; and they became the dukes, counts, marquises, and great barons: the second was felt by the populace which followed their standards, and became their devoted vassals. In these events we find the foundations of

the feudal system, which was characterized, as a legitimate consequence, by violence and private war.

In the third lecture our author discusses the question of political legitimacy, and shows that all the various systems of civilization laid claim to it.

The expressed and alleged idea of this political legitimacy is, evidently, nothing more than a right founded upon antiquity, upon duration. Yet if we examine the origin of the power which claims to be legitimate we shall find that it owes its existence to force. This is so generally true that it may be laid down as a political maxim, that the origin of all power is to be referred to force. This origin however no one will acknowledge. There is in man and in states a permanent consciousness, that force is not the ultimate source of true legitimacy. There is a higher fountain from which every government claims to derive its powers: a fountain which links with the divine Being directly or remotely. Hence kings claim to rule, *jure divino;* and the papal power is founded in a grant assumed to have been made by Christ to St. Peter; and the immortal Declaration of American Independence refers to this source no less than four times. Thus the proper idea of political legitimacy is essentially moral, including the elements of justice, intelligence, and truth. Its development is not necessarily uniform: it may appear under the forms and appointments of monarchy, of a republic, of a democracy; thus giving much countenance to that beautifully expressed idea of an excellent poet:—

"The best administer'd government is best."

In saying this much we do not mean to admit that one *form* of government is not better than another; but simply to announce a well-attested fact.

These different forms of development, existing in Europe at the same time, and side by side, distinguish the modern from the ancient civilization. The latter, as we have seen, was always founded upon the development and ascendency of a single principle; the former, upon them all at once; each principle and form endeavoring to reconstruct and appropriate society to itself, without being able to do it. Thus the barbarians in the south of Gaul, and in Italy, made the effort on the monarchical principle; the free cities in Germany, and on the shores of the Mediterranean, on the muni-

cipal principle; the church in Spain, on the theocratic principle; Charlemagne, in France, on the imperial principle; and the great nobles and barons, on the feudal principle. Our author gives full and interesting illustrations of all these various attempts to reorganize and possess society; but we cannot follow him further, except to dilate on the influence of Christianity as an element of civilization. In doing this we shall deviate from the path of our author. He considers the church solely as "an ecclesiastical society—the Christian hierarchy." We wish to consider the question, not in reference to the church as "an ecclesiastical society," but in reference to Christianity as a religious system, that is, the doctrines, precepts, and divine institutions of Christianity. Our object is to call attention to the value of religion to society; and to convince the reader that Christianity has been and must continue to be the most efficient element in producing modern civilization.

In order to support this important conclusion, it would be sufficient to show, from the actual state of the world, that those portions of it where Christianity prevails, are far more advanced in civilization than those portions where it does not. But we will also produce some of the principal facts in the history of civilization to show that Christianity has been the cause of this difference; and in conclusion, show from the principles and institutions of Christianity that they must have had, and must continue to have this effect.

In examining the condition of different portions of the earth in reference to this question, we are not *now* to look for the *causes* of their civilization, but for the evidences of the degrees in which it exists. And we cannot doubt but it will be found to exist in higher degrees nearly in proportion to the presence and prevalence of Christianity. The chief evidences of civilization in a community, are,

The abundance of the comforts of life.

The security of property, person, and character.

The diffusion of knowledge, morals, and public spirit.

The security and sanctity of the domestic relations.

A high state of the arts. And,

Good government, securing equal rights and privileges to all.

Victor Cousin, a celebrated French writer, in his History of Philosophy, gives nearly the same statement of the evidences of

civilization. It differs from the statement given above in this—it designates the *elementary principles* from which the fruits of civilization have sprung, which fruits we have produced as its evidence. His statement is more strictly philosophical, and is here presented, as it will afford to some a clearer view.

The idea of the *useful*, producing industry and the practical sciences, mathematics, physics, and political economy.

The idea of the *just*, producing civil society, the state, and jurisprudence.

The idea of the beautiful, producing the *fine arts*.

The idea of *God*, producing religion and worship; and,

The idea of the *true*, producing philosophy.

This beautiful statement of the progress of civilization shows that its origin is not in the forms and institutions of society and government, but in the *mind*, which gives birth to great ideas, that contain the relations by which individuals are incorporated into society. These ideas are imbodied in the *relations* of community, developing themselves in its laws and institutions. How important then is the education of the private and public mind! How essential that it be perfectly free, that it may discover and give form and activity to those natural elements which God has ordained for the endless improvement of man! Let us now take a rapid survey of some of the nations of the earth in order to ascertain *where* these essential evidences of civilization exist, and where they exist in the greatest degree.

The first thing that strikes us in this survey is, that no one possesses them *all* where Christianity does not exist. And upon a careful survey of *Christian* nations these evidences of civilization will be found to exist in proportion to the prevalence of the purer forms of Christianity. If these two facts can be established, the value of Christianity as an essential element of civilization will appear exceedingly probable.

In prosecuting this comparison, we shall pass by those nations in which we might see humanity in its most revolting and degraded conditions. We shall not take advantage in this argument of a comparison of these nations with the nations of Christendom. But we will select the most favored and highly cultivated pagan countries, and try the comparison between these and Christian Europe. We may name China, India, Japan, and the Ottoman empire.

We must suppose the reader to be so well acquainted with the civilization of *Christian* countries as to render unnecessary any illustrative remarks on this side of the comparison. Our inquiries will therefore relate to the social and civil condition of the countries on the other side.

The first evidence of civilization is the abundance of the comforts of life. The commercial intercourse of Christians with China and India is calculated to make a very erroneous impression with respect to the general possession of these by the mass of the people. Our ships and our commercial representatives and agents have access to but a single city in the vast empire of China. And from the wealth and splendor which are seen at this great commercial point, but more particularly from the general association in the European mind, of wealth and comfort, we are hurried to the conclusion, that the three hundred millions of Chinese are well fed, and well clothed, and well housed. We forget that the concentrated wealth and splendor at Canton and Peking, and other large cities, may be, nay, must be the fruits of much toil, misery, and oppression, among the laboring population. And if we look into the interior even by the little light which a few intrepid travelers and devoted missionaries have shed upon the condition of the people, we shall see humiliating evidences of this fact.

All accounts agree that every foot of land which is accessible and can be rendered arable, by any means, is put under cultivation, without reference to the expense of time or labor; every substance which can by any process be decomposed and converted into manure to sustain the soil, is carefully treasured up; and yet if there is any marked diminution in the harvests, a famine to a considerable extent ensues, since from the close policy of the government with respect to foreign commerce, sufficient supplies cannot be introduced from abroad. That there is a scanty supply when the harvests are most abundant may be inferred from the fact, that there is no exportation of the articles which constitute the common comforts of life. To all this we may add the well-attested fact, mentioned by Malte Brun, and the English embassy, under Lord M'Cartney, that the poor eat every thing they can find; all sorts of animals, and even such as have died by disease. In so populous a country, he adds, this practice may find the excuse of necessity.

If we turn our attention to India, we shall find the general population in a still more deplorable condition, in reference to the common comforts of life. There is not only in China and India a prevailing scarcity of these blessings among the people, but the various conveniences, such as plates, knives, forks, chairs, tables, and table linen, with the accidents and ornaments which give warmth and pleasure, and even a *simple elegance* to the enjoyments of society in Christian countries, are entirely unknown to them. If it could be affirmed that they had bread and plenty of it, which is the foundation of all civilization, yet no one will pretend that they have the variety and delicacy of food which we are accustomed to consider a very decisive evidence of it.

In connection with the supply of the comforts of life, it is proper to notice the *means of producing them.* With climate and soil which produce almost of themselves, and in many cases two crops per annum, yet the expenditure of human labor in proportion to the amount produced is vastly more in pagan than in Christian countries. This is owing to the small number and rudeness of the implements of husbandry and manufacture in the former, and their great variety and perfection in the latter. Such a thing as a good English or American plough, or harrow, or wagon, or flouring mill is unknown in countries not Christian. The dry and capacious barn and secure granary are unknown. The same remark holds still more strongly in manufacturing operations and mechanical pursuits. Can the pagan or Mohammedan world produce a single instance of a well-regulated and well-appointed cotton or cloth mill, or metal foundries, or any of those wonderful and complex mechanical establishments which distinguish Christian countries, and administer to the wants, the comforts, and the pleasures of the inhabitants? Nothing of the kind is to be found out of Christendom, and independent of Christian influence. In the course of three thousand years the pagan world has produced *four articles*, which have excited the admiration of Europe, and have not been successfully imitated: the carpets of Persia; the muslins of India; the porcelain of China; and the lackered work of Japan. But it is to be remembered, these are the products of three thousand years' experience, during which time patience has sat toiling to accomplish the same object. It has been only a few years comparatively since Christian Europe began to imitate these rare productions of Asia,

and she is but barely inferior at the present time, and the next improvement, or the next patent, may place her in the advance. But what strikes us most forcibly in this comparison is, the *means* by which she produces her results, and the *amount* produced in proportion to the number of persons employed, resulting in a vast economy of human labor. While in countries not Christian, the principal and almost only agents are the natural powers of the operators, aided by a few simple instruments; in Christian countries the principal agent is machinery, almost instinct with life, and needing only the occasional control of reason and skill. In India the seed is separated from the cotton by hand. In America the cotton gin is set in motion by the power of steam, and the attendant looks on at his ease, while *his* day's work produces a thousand fold more than the Indian's. In India, the fine and delicate thread is drawn and woven by innumerable hands, applied with a patience which excites our admiration. In England and America the spinning jenny and the power loom, under the direction of a child and a man, produce manifold more than the same amount of time and labor in India.

This first evidence of civilization includes also *good lodging*. We shall look in vain among the vast operative population of Asia, in the most favored spots, for the neat appearance, convenient apartments, and warm and comfortable appliances of an English cottage, or an American farm house. Such an evidence of civilization, with all its delicate and tender attributes and accidents, is well entitled to the appellation of *home*. But it is not to be found where the light of the glory of the gospel of God has not shone.

The second evidence of civilization is, security of property, person, and character. The existence of separate property, the absolute right of which is in the person, answering to our idea of a fee-simple title to land, is not known to the people in China or India. Proof of this very material fact need not be sought for in the usages of the nations, or in their laws. It is a necessary condition of the establishment of *castes* among them. These castes could not exist with our idea of property received, and carried into practice. It is not to be denied, but that *use*, and possession for a long time, by the same person or family, give a pretty well-secured right to *continue* to use. But this is not the idea of right, in a high state of civilization. We claim the right of selling our property,

of giving it away, or of disposing of it by will, independent of the will of any person whatsoever. It is this right which gives individuality and importance. No such right as this exists in Japan, or China, or India. The ultimate right to the soil is understood to rest in the government, subordinately from the emperor down to the lowest officer; and the cultivators of the soil are allowed their scanty subsistence from the sweat of their brows.

As it respects security of *person* and *character*, we have still less ground for the comparison. As far as we are able to learn, *character* is not a subject of litigation at all. The law gives no redress for injury of individual character. And the person is secure, only as a piece of property, belonging to the government, and useful to it, and no further. The distinct idea of the population is, that they are the property of the government. The noble idea, without which there is neither freedom nor personal security, that government is instituted and administered for the good of the people, has scarcely yet occurred to an individual mind out of Christendom, much less formed the basis of public opinion. This complex idea contains within it that of *representation*, which is essential to all free governments, and without which, there is no certain redress for personal injury, or private wrong, done either by the stronger, or by the hand of authority. In none but Christian countries are the ideas of right and power distinctly separated. For all practical purposes, in pagan countries they are identical.

If we inquire for the next evidence of civilization—the prevalence of knowledge, morals, and public spirit—in pagan countries we shall find scarcely a vestige of either among the great mass of the people; very little of either even among the higher circles of society. In China there is supposed to be much knowledge, from the beautiful china ware and silks which they produce. It has also been reported that their astronomical knowledge is accurate and extensive. Their canals and public works are sometimes mentioned as evidence of knowledge; and by some their internal government is considered perfect. These favorable views of China were published in Europe, and pressed upon public attention during the period of the French revolution, chiefly by Voltaire and the Abbe Raynal. There is no difficulty in detecting the motive. It was to discredit Christianity, by contrasting the convulsed condition of Europe, where it prevailed, with the supposed tranquility and

happiness of China, where it did not exist. The controversy led to more accurate investigations, and the result has been to reject the idea of a high state of civilization and happiness in China, and also its high claims to antiquity, which were supposed, and indeed intended, to conflict with the commonly received Christian chronology.

All that can be fairly affirmed of the Chinese, with respect to science, is, that they make high pretensions, and that they are in possession of a few facts, and some astronomical calculations, which they have obtained from others, but do not understand themselves. The following condensed view of Chinese science is supported by the best authorities; and is a principal argument for M. Bailly's theory of the origin of the sciences:—

"For above two hundred years, what is termed the tribunal of mathematics in China has been filled, not by native Chinese, but by Jesuits. These are the men who have made all their astronomical calculations, and had the charge of the Chinese observatory. There are, indeed, some nominal professors of astronomy among the Chinese themselves, but these are so grossly ignorant as to adhere with great obstinacy to an ancient opinion, that the earth is of a square figure.

"Before the arrival of the Jesuits, it is acknowledged that the Chinese were possessed of astronomical instruments, and *pretended* to make observations on the heavens. The possession of these instruments is urged as an argument of very considerable proficiency in astronomy and mechanics, and the argument is apparently a good one. But let us remark one fact: the latitude of Pekin is thirty-nine degrees, fifty-five minutes, and fifteen seconds; the latitude of Nankin thirty-two degrees, four minutes, and three seconds; yet all the sun-dials and astronomical instruments, both at Pekin and Nankin, are constructed for the latitude of thirty-six degrees: so that it is absolutely impossible that the Chinese could have made a single just observation at either of these capitals of the empire. A very probable conjecture has been formed with regard to the cause of this singularity. The city of Balk, in Bactriana, (now Bucharia,) is situated in the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude. The sciences began to be cultivated in this city by the Greeks; who, having obtained the government of this province, under the successors of Alexander the Great, shook off their dependence, and founded a pretty extensive empire. In the time that China was governed by the first dynasty of the Tartar princes, these instruments, made for the latitude of Balk, were transported to China, and the Chinese at that time acquired some smattering of their use. Hence the origin of one of the most absurd and disgraceful errors, which the Jesuits acknowledged was maintained by all the Chinese astronomers, that the cities of China were all situated in the thirty-sixth degree of latitude. As for longitude, they had not the most distant idea of it; yet these are the people who are said to have cultivated the science

of astronomy for four thousand years, and whose history is authenticated, beyond a doubt, by a course of celestial observations begun before the deluge!"—*Tytler.*

But knowledge, in its highest sense, does not simply mean the possession of facts and principles; it implies also their application to the improvement of society, and the discovery of additional facts and principles. This high and distinguishing attribute of knowledge, which is the characteristic glory of the civilization of Christian countries, is entirely unknown in China. It never existed there, nor is it to be found in pagan countries. There is no accumulation of facts, or discovery of new principles. Nor is there any new applications of those which they have possessed for centuries. Even their implements of husbandry are of the same simple and rude forms that existed hundreds of years ago. Neither theory nor speculation exists among them. There is no activity of mind. There is nothing more than a feeble observation of what addresses the senses, or passions. The great mental activity, the restless inquiry, the high enterprise, and the rapid and energetic execution which distinguish Christendom, are not known in China in the smallest degree. Her political and social institutions are all intended to calm and soothe the mind, and to reduce it to a state of ease and inactivity. The object is to insure uniform and unresisting obedience. In Christendom, nothing is considered valuable that does not give an additional impulse to some one of the great interests of humanity. The conflicts of opinions and principles, which produce such tremendous concussions in Europe, are regarded as the birth-throes of higher states of knowledge, liberty, and civilization. But, in China, they would be considered the signal for the dissolution and destruction of society, if not of the world.

To support this interesting point in the comparison, we shall refer to two or three principal facts. It is well known that the Chinese, perhaps by accident, had knowledge of gunpowder, the compass, and printing, many ages before they were discovered in Europe. But, until the Christians visited China, these facts, in their possession, had been productive of no advantage whatever. Gunpowder they used simply as an amusement, in the preparation of fireworks, which they exhibited in the day time, in order that they might be the better seen. The compass was a mere matter

of curious observation; and they declared to the Portuguese, when they first visited China, that they knew of the existence of polar attraction, but had no use for it. As for printing, it has always been executed with blocks of wood, on which the characters are cut, as in sculpture. They have no knowledge of moveable types, that wonderful method by which the inhabitants of Christian countries combine and express their thoughts on paper.

Now let us glance at the discovery and application of gunpowder, the compass, and printing in Christendom. They were all the result of accident. But when the accidents disclosed the facts, how quickly were these facts applied to the interests and improvement of society. The discovery of powder was followed by an entire change in the military art, and has lessened very much the destruction of human life in battle, and the general asperity and horrors of war. No sooner was the polarity of the load stone discovered, than the bold and adventurous Christian mariner quit his tedious and dangerous coasting, and stretched away across the wide and pathless Atlantic to the discovery of a new continent. But who can conceive of the results of the rapid and universal application in Christendom of the art of printing? It was seized upon and applied to the propagation of knowledge throughout the whole Christian world, so that every valuable fact, great truth, or sound principle, wherever first discovered or applied, instantly became the property of every nation, city, town, village, and farm house; thus establishing a commonwealth of knowledge, which will ultimately work out a commonwealth of interest and liberty among all the people of the earth. At the discovery of this art, the printing presses in Christendom became in the midst of the population what powerful electrical batteries are in circles of living beings which connect their opposite poles. They gave out rapid and brilliant coruscations of mind, communicating them by powerful and successive impulses throughout the associated masses, until Christian Europe was fully charged with great and sound thoughts and principles, which have elevated her to her present commanding position in the world. And now, a self-generating battery, like the torpedo, she stands in the midst of the earth, full charged with wisdom and experience, communicating her illuminating and regenerating influences to all who come within striking distances.

It is scarcely necessary to institute a comparison between the

morals and *public spirit* of the most *enlightened* and *civilized pagan* countries and Christendom. All authorities declare, that public spirit in any of the more pleasing or commanding forms of benevolence does not exist out of Christendom. Perhaps many will learn with surprise that there does not exist on the earth, independent of Christianity, an asylum, or a hospital, or a retreat for the distressed and unfortunate, or a public school for the instruction of the poor and destitute, such as those which adorn the civilization of Christendom. Scarcely a city in Europe or America which has not some monument of this kind; and some have many. These are the homes of the worn-out and mutilated sailor, the lonely and penury stricken widow, of the deaf, the dumb, the blind, and the lunatic, where they are made as happy and as comfortable as they can possibly be in this world.

But instead of these charities, which bless humanity in Christendom, we occasionally find hospitals in pagan countries for *brutes*, while man is left to perish as he may. A century ago, the city of *Ahmedabad*, in India, contained three hospitals for animals. And in the city of Surat, the most remarkable institution at the present time is the Banyan hospital for sick, wounded, and maimed animals. It is inclosed by high walls, and subdivided into numerous courts for the accommodation of the different species. In sickness, they are attended with the utmost assiduity, and provided with an asylum in old age. In 1772, it contained horses, mules, oxen, sheep, goats, monkies, poultry, pigeons, and various other birds, also an aged tortoise, which was known to have been there seventy-five years.

It will be observed that we have avoided any comparison of the religious opinions and customs of pagans and Christians. And although such a comparison would show a vast superiority of the latter over the former, yet this would be begging the question, as our object is to prove that Christianity is the essential element in causing the difference. But before we proceed to state some facts which demonstrate this proposition, we will note the comparative *activity* of Christian and pagan nations.

In Christendom the most distinguishing feature of the nineteenth century is, unexampled activity, displayed in inquiries after sound political and social principles, and moral and religious truths; and in their application to individual and general improvement. Hence the rapid and sublime developments of mind; the daily and almost

hourly discoveries in the sciences, and improvements in the fine and useful arts; the advancement of trade, and the growth of commerce. The degree of activity in a community is the measure of its civilization; where this activity is not found, society remains stationary, or rather gradually retrogrades. There are no inventions in the arts, no discoveries in science, no boldness and freedom of thought, no development of vast plans for public improvement, no great individual or corporate enterprises. External order, and a general security of property and person, may indeed be found under an extensive and despotic police. Evidences of great wealth and power may appear in the erection of pyramids and palaces by despotic rulers, who command the persons of the people without their consent, as they do their substance; and too frequently these monuments of despotic power are taken for evidence of general civilization and prosperity. The true philosophic view of all such great works is, that they are the evidence of unutterable oppression and distress among the people—the price of incalculable blood and treasure. A knowledge of the amount of human misery and waste of human life, caused by their construction, would make the blood run cold in the veins. In accomplishing the plans of their ambitious masters, men are used as mere beasts of burden, and they perish without notice or regret, as the beasts perish, from fatigue and bad usage.

But in Christendom an irrepressible activity pervades the thrones, the palaces, and the people; producing an astonishing commotion everywhere, in the open fields, in the gloomy forests, in the populous cities, and on the wide and pathless ocean, making discoveries in the sciences, and improvements in the arts so rapidly, that we scarcely know when we are read up in the one, or have the latest and best specimens of the other. While all this is going on in Christian countries, subjecting the physical world to the dominion of man, and compelling it to administer to his necessities and his pleasures, what do we see in pagan or Mohammedan countries? Not one new development in the empire of intellect; not a single discovery in moral, political, or physical science; not the slightest improvement in either the useful or the fine arts. All is stationary or declining. Christianity, that living and all-informing power, which God has given to awake the world to activity and improvement, is not among them. Hence they are sunk into ignorance

and apathy. They use the same material, and form of dress, and furniture now that they did a thousand years ago; the same manners and customs prevail, and if they attempt to introduce Christian improvements, they are obliged to employ Christian men as agents, owing to their imbecility and ignorance. What better proof is desired of the superior activity and energy of Christian countries, than the events which are now transpiring in the east? Who doubts the humiliation of the Chinese authority to the small English fleets with a few thousand soldiers, notwithstanding the celestial emperor has under his command three hundred millions of subjects, and perhaps the right of the quarrel on his side. How feeble will be the resistance of Chinese power and skill to the thunder of the British cannon? Nay, if England were not restrained by moral and political considerations, is there an intelligent person that doubts but that the British flag would be waving over the imperial palace in Pekin in a few short weeks? But could this movement be reversed? Where is the pagan power that could dispatch its fleets and armies three thousand miles from home, and bring into submission the smallest state in Christendom?

In a prior remark we suggested the application of the comparison to the different Christian countries, for the purpose of showing that their advance in civilization is in proportion to the prevalence of the purer forms of Christianity. For this purpose it will be sufficient to fix the attention on Spain, Portugal, and Italy in the south, and Russia, in the north of Europe, as one side of the comparison; and on the south and west of Germany, on England, and on France, as the other. The superiority of civilization in these latter portions of Europe cannot be questioned. If we look into their religious history and condition, we shall find in the former more pomp connected with their worship, but much less liberty of thought. And these two facts spring from one great difference between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant. And lest we should misstate this difference, we will state it from M. Villers prize essay, in answer to the following question proposed by the National Institute of France, viz.: "What has been the influence of the Reformation on the political situation of the states of Europe, and on the progress of knowledge?" The essay was approved by this august tribunal of French philosophers, and received the prize in the capital of a Catholic country. Speaking of the difference between the Catholic

and Protestant theologies, M. Villers says,—"The Catholic theology rests on the inflexible authority of the decision of the church, and consequently prohibits to the student every free use of his reason. The Protestant theology, on the contrary, rests on a system of examination, on the unlimited use of reason. The most liberal exegesis opens to it the knowledge of sacred antiquity; and criticism, that of the history of the church: a simplified and pure doctrine is, to it, only the body, the positive form necessary to religion: it is supported by philosophy in its examination of the laws of nature, of morality, and of the relation of man to the Divinity. Whoever is anxious to be well informed in history, in classical literature, in philosophy, can use no better method than a course of Protestant theology."—P. 129.

In the explanation of the interesting fact involved in this comparison, it cannot have escaped notice that the Protestant theology prevails, or is cultivated extensively in all the countries on the side of the comparison to which we have assigned the superiority; and yet France, a Catholic country, is in this scale, and Russia, not Catholic, in the other. The cause of this variation is obvious, if we look into the history of these countries. Russia has but lately become Christian, and the fundamental principle of her theology is the same as that of the Catholic, and her forms of worship also conform closely. France, though never thoroughly Protestant, yet has always had a large Protestant population, and many of her stars of the first magnitude have been Protestants. Under the present constitution of France, the Protestant worship is tolerated, and under certain conditions supported; and there are *two* Protestant theological seminaries in the kingdom, at Strasburg and Montauban. She has been constantly influenced by England and Protestant Germany. London, Halle, and Geneva became the schools from whence the French derived their erudition. But above all, what is not generally known, yet well attested, she never did, and never can bow without reserve to papal supremacy, *jure divino*. In proof of the remark, reference may be had to Guizot on civilization. These three material facts explain how France comes to be abreast of England, if not in the lead, in the progress of civilization.

The difference in the prevalence of knowledge and liberty in these countries is not greater than the difference in the internal condition of the people. In the one class of countries, agriculture,

economy, and its various branches, are in a deplorable state of degradation. Poverty, indolence, beggary, and vice prevail, as in the fine provinces of Rome and Naples, in Spain and Portugal, while activity and improvements in agriculture, in rural economy, in government, strike the attention of the observer in the midst of the cold and infertile fields of Scotland, England, and Holland.

From what has been produced in these comparisons, we may see clearly, that the finest portions of Asia and Europe, where Christianity does not prevail, are in a much more miserable condition, notwithstanding their great natural advantages, than the sterile and inhospitable portions of Europe, where the vivifying and illuminating power of Christianity has been felt in its purer forms. The prevalence of this fact everywhere is a conclusive argument in favor of Christianity, being the essential element in civilization. And where it is most pure it is most efficient.

Having shown, by comparison, the vast superiority of Christian over pagan countries, and the decided superiority of those where Christianity prevails in its purer forms over others where it does not, we shall proceed to exhibit some of the principal facts in the history of civilization which attest that Christianity is the cause of this difference.

When the Portuguese first visited India they found in the Malabar district a native Christian population, which claimed to have existed there from the days of St. Thomas the apostle. After the country passed under the dominion of Great Britain, the Rev. Claudius Buchanan visited it and explored the interior. He found hundreds of thousands of these native Christians who claimed their succession from the bishops of Antioch, and possessed and used the Syriac Scriptures, copies of which he brought to England. Upon his return he published his discoveries and observations in a volume entitled, THE STAR IN THE EAST, in which he strongly urges the British government to make an ecclesiastical establishment for India. The object in reciting these extraordinary facts is not to show the effect of British influence on the population, but the condition of that portion of India where these native Christians were found, and had existed from the earliest ages, as compared with that of the Brahmin and Mohammedan populations in their immediate vicinity. Malte Brun says, "The inhabitants are uncommonly industrious and expert in husbandry; their villages are the neatest

in India; the houses are contiguous in a strait line, built of clay of an excellent quality, well smoothed and painted." Here, under the most unpromising circumstances, we see the legitimate influence of Christianity upon the well-being of society.

But Christianity has contributed most materially to the production of the necessaries and comforts of life by the impulse which it gave, at the Reformation, to the study of philosophy and the arts. Hence, the institution of agricultural societies in most of the states and cities of Europe and America. These societies collect information and publish it; and offer premiums for improvements and inventions. Lectureships and professorships are endowed in many colleges and universities; and even *national* institutes and boards of agriculture exist in various Christian countries. Nor has the vast impulse given to the study of philosophy at the Reformation operated less beneficially on the *manufacturing* interests. Many philosophical societies have been established, whose transactions, published to the world, have rendered the empire of philosophy the common inheritance of Christendom. From these vast and various movements in society, under Christian impulses, commerce has sprung up and extended to every accessible port and place on the face of the whole earth. And it is remarkable that there is not a *commercial* nation in the world that is not Christian. Hence one material fact: while a *failure* in the crop, or even a very great *diminution* in pagan countries, produces famine and pestilence, and not unfrequently rebellion and civil war, in Christian countries the deficiency is made up by commerce importing a supply from foreign sources. Hence neither famine nor pestilence has been known in Europe since the Reformation, except the latter, by importation from some pagan or Mohammedan country.

As a decisive proof that our reasoning on this interesting question is well founded, compare the increase and decrease of populations in pagan and Christian countries. In none of the former is population increasing; in most of them it is decreasing. In China and India it is supposed to be stationary; in Turkey and all her dependencies, it has long since been on the decline; while in most Christian countries it has been rapidly on the increase. It has doubled in England within one hundred years, notwithstanding the vast drains of her armies and navies, and of emigration. The same may be said of France, of many parts of Germany, and of

Russia. The explanation of this remarkable fact is found in the law of the increase and decrease of population, which is, *in proportion to the means of comfortable subsistence.*

We also mentioned the security and sanctity of the domestic relations as a prime evidence of high civilization. Let us now notice two or three particulars in its history which bear on this question. We shall not presume too much when we say, one cannot conceive of society being in a tolerable state of civilization where security and sanctity of the domestic relations do not prevail. And it is equally impossible to suppose these relations to be secure or sacred where *polygamy* prevails. It is a well-attested fact that this custom is tolerated in every pagan country: it has been so tolerated in all ages.

It ceased to exist only under the influence of revealed religion. Europe is indebted to Christianity for deliverance from it, and for the elevation of woman to her proper position in society. Christianity, which positively forbids polygamy on pain of the eternal damnation of the soul, had been for three hundred and sixty years gradually altering the opinions and controlling the feelings of the Roman world, until the impression it had made was a sufficient foundation for legislative action, when Theodosius the Great and his sons Arcadius and Honorius, by edict, A. D. 393, had the honor of abolishing it throughout the empire. This single fact in the history of civilization is sufficient to establish the claim of Christianity as the principal element in perfecting society.

One other fact, connected with the history of woman, imparts much light and power to this argument. The genius of pagan society and government requires the degradation of woman; while that of Christian society and government her elevation and protection. The first are founded essentially on the idea of power: the latter on the idea of morality and justice. Hence, as history everywhere attests, the first have always made less account of the lives of females than of males; and their whole social policy is to require the female in the lower ranks of life to perform the drudgery of the household, and in the higher, to be removed from society, excluded from mental and moral improvement, and shut up within her own premises, simply for the pleasure of her master. In what pagan or Mohammedan country does woman mingle in society with ease and equality, receiving the respect and attentions of man,

and in return bestowing upon him comfort, pleasure, and refinement? Whoever else may be an enemy to Christianity, surely infidelity or irreligion in woman would be treason against her own virtue and felicity.

The civilizing and conservative power of Christianity is strikingly exhibited by a comparison of the west of Europe, where the church sustained the shock of the northern barbarians, and converted them; with Asia, Egypt, and those portions of Europe where she fell under the Mohammedan power. The countries which the Mohammedans overran, and where they nearly extinguished Christianity, were the garden spots of the world, in a good state of culture, and filled with a civilized population. The conquerors themselves possessed its first elements, derived from Arabia and the East. They held the fundamental principle of religion also, the doctrine of only one living and true God. Yet with all these advantages, every country where they extinguished religion has suffered a diminution of population, of the comforts of life, of domestic and social happiness; and liberty is an entire stranger to them. On the other hand, the invaders which poured down from the north upon Europe, and took possession of her cities, towns, mountains, and plains, were barbarians indeed. Every element of general society, except religion, perished in their presence. The church alone withstood the shock, and became the great conservative agent in recovering Europe from the desolation and darkness which followed. Yet in the midst of these barbarians, on the very soil which they won by their valor, has grown up the great European family of nations, with their vast circle of sciences and arts, their manufactures and commerce, and their varied, exuberant, and splendid civilization. We may conceive faintly of the power and superiority of these nations, when we remember, that one of them, whose court and capital are on a small island in the Atlantic, rules over nearly one fourth of the population of the world, and directs more than one third of its elements of power.

Now, the interesting problem to be solved is this: Why have the populous and civilized countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe, which were conquered by the Mohammedans, gradually sunk back into darkness, misery, and slavery; while the portions of Europe, overrun by barbarians indeed, have made such wonderful advancement in all the arts of peace and war, and in every thing that can

adorn humanity? The only answer which can be given to this question, the answer which history, philosophy, and reason attest, is, the preservation and influence of Christianity. Whatever remained in the general wreck of Roman society and civilization, found an asylum in the bosom of the church: here it was nursed into life, and gradually imbued with the spirit and forms of Christianity. These overcame the fierce and savage Goth, and Hun, and Vandal, and Frank, and tamed their wild and violent spirits, and brought them under the influence of religion. They became Christians, and society began to be reconstructed, and the result, though slow, is grand and permanent.

We might add many striking instances of the influences of Christianity on the progress of civilization, but time will not permit. We hasten to show from its principles and institutions that it must have had, and must continue to have this effect.

The first thing to be noted is, that it addresses mankind with divine authority. It comes in the name of God. If the doctrines which it teaches, and the threats and promises it contains, are just and good in themselves, what must be their power and effect under the sanction of Heaven? Religion is a system of restraints, operating on the very fountains and springs of action. It lays its command and authority upon the heart—upon the passions—and holds these to a strict accountability. This no *human* law has ever attempted to do. Thus Christianity established a moral power in society, which is founded upon this great truth—the only hope of humanity—that there is a law above all human law, in all times and in all places the same. This power, established at the fountains of thought, of impulse, and of action, greatly influenced the developments of society. Hence the manners, opinions, and laws of Christendom are molded and improved by its invisible and intangible agency. In order to perpetuate this moral power in society it was necessary to give it a visible embodyment, with rules and regulations. Hence the visible church arose. Her general rules are by divine authority, and contained in the New Testament. Her explanatory and prudential rules, to guide in the application of Scripture in questions of morals, were gradually produced and multiplied, forming the *canon law;* and every intelligent citizen knows how great was the influence of this body of ecclesiastical law, in recovering Europe from the dark ages, and in reconstruct-

ing and perfecting modern society. Little does the ungrateful infidel think, while he enjoys wealth, safety, and consideration in society, that he is indebted for them all to the religion he affects to despise.

But in matters of liberty and government, politicians and statesmen have not always done justice to religion. The genius and institutions of Christianity are directly opposed to the two great errors in the world affecting human liberty and government, viz., *slavery* and *hereditary power*. We do not now refer to the *particular question* of slavery which agitates our own country: but to the general question of depriving a human being of his rights, privileges, and personal freedom, when he has neither forfeited nor embarrassed them, or either of them, by his own misconduct or crimes. Thus Christianity struck at the root of that great wrong, which has existed in all countries and in all ages—the practice of reducing prisoners of war, and debtors unable to pay, to a state of slavery. As for hereditary political power or monarchy, there is not a single element of Christianity in favor of either. The Scriptures are directly opposed to both, as will appear from a brief sketch of the Jewish constitution; in which, perhaps to his surprise, the reader will see all the elements of our own glorious republic.

The Jewish government is generally considered to have been a *theocracy*. We usually attach an erroneous idea to this term. From the fact, that God gave the *ten commandments* to Moses, we conclude, without examination, that he gave *all* the laws which Moses published; and because he *occasionally* interfered in *difficult* questions, and gave his decision by the high priest, we infer that he always interfered, and directed the administration. But both these conclusions are very erroneous and injurious. God gave the decalogue without any agency of Moses; but Moses produced the body of the Jewish law by the legitimate exercise of his own reason, aided and guided by inspiration. Very rarely did the divine Being interfere in the administration of the laws without the agency of the *magistrate;* perhaps *never*, after the people had settled in Palestine, and their constitution was fully developed and fixed. The proper idea, therefore, of the Jewish theocracy is, *that the sentiment of religion, requiring a constant reference to the will of God, as king, prevailed in the production and administration of*

the Jewish constitution. Religion was the foundation of the civil machinery, and the informing spirit that directed its movements; and the much more deep and correct impression, prevailing among the Jews at that time, of the constant and efficient agency of the divine Being in the affairs of men, led them to seek wisdom of him in all their plans and operations, and when they were successful and prosperous, to refer to him as the author of their blessings. This gave rise to the idea of *theocracy;* and the promise of God frequently repeated, and more frequently fulfilled, that he would guide them when they were perplexed, and aid them when they were enfeebled, completed and established the idea. But the general error lies in supposing his governance and aid were *independent* of their reason and judgment. Now let us look into the Jewish constitution and see what was produced by the predominance of the religious sentiment in the minds of the Jewish magistrates and people.

The history of the Jewish government divides itself naturally into three periods. The first extends from the times of the twelve patriarchs to the introduction of the monarchy: the second, from the introduction of the monarchy to the Babylonian captivity: the third, from their return to Judea, under the decree and protection of Cyrus, to the subversion of their state by the Romans. In the first period, the foundation of their constitution was laid in the separate existence of the twelve tribes with their own magistrates severally, yet united as one nation for the general welfare and common defense. The chief magistrate of each tribe was called the *head of the tribe*, and sometimes *senior* or *senator*. Every tribe obeyed its own prince, who appears to have been elected. As the people increased in numbers, various heads of families united together, and selected some individual from their own body for their leader; to whom they were willing to submit while convinced of his virtues. This was their form of government while in Egypt. Under the administration of Moses, it was further expanded by the appointment of an additional number of judges, and the adoption of the principle of *appeal* from a lower to a higher magistrate. These judges were elected by the suffrages of the people from those who by their authority and rank might be reckoned among their rulers. The inferior judges, that is, those who superintended the judicial concerns of the smaller numbers of the people,

were subordinate to the superior judges, or those who judged a larger number; and difficult cases went up from the inferior to the superior judges: *very* difficult cases were appealed to Moses himself, and in some cases from Moses to the high priest. Here, when the efforts of human reason and judgment failed, they asked and obtained the interference of Heaven.*

The various civil officers were dispersed, as a matter of course, into different parts of the country. Those of them, accordingly, who dwelt in the same city, or the same neighborhood, formed the *comitia*, senate or legislative assembly of their immediate vicinity. Deut. xix, 12; xxv, 8, 9; Judges viii, 14; ix, 3–46; xi, 5; 1 Sam. viii, 4; xvi, 4. When all that dwelt in any particular tribe were convened, they formed the legislative assembly of the tribe; and when they were convened in one body from all the tribes, they formed the legislative assembly of the nation, and were the representatives of all the people. Josh. xxiii, 1, 2; xxiv, 1.

These were the leading features of the Jewish constitution prior to the introduction of monarchy. We see each tribe existing as a separate civil community, independent of the other tribes: here is the idea of our separate independent states. But although in many things each tribe existed by itself, and acted separately, yet in others the tribes were united, and formed one national community. If any affair concerned the whole, or many of the tribes, it was considered, and determined in the legislative assembly of the nation. Here is the idea of our national congress, in which each state is represented. And in the assembly of the magistrates of any particular city forming the comitia or senate of the city, we have the idea of our municipal corporations. And in the creation of these magistrates by election, we have seen that the sovereignty resided in the people. Indeed, so many elements of popular freedom are found in the Jewish constitution, that Lowman and Michaelis are in favor of considering it a *democracy*.† Yet this constitution was developed under the divine direction, and esta-

* How natural is this application of religion to the development of society! It will explain the great fact, well attested in every nation, that divine interference in human affairs was more frequent in the early periods of the world than in later, when education and experience were sufficient to guide man in all the *ordinary*, and most of the *momentous* affairs of life.

† See Watson's Dictionary. Article, Government of the Hebrews.

lished under the divine sanction. How passing strange is it then that kings should claim to reign *jure divino!* What an outrage upon religion and comon sense, for mortal man to proclaim himself king, by the grace of God! (*Rex Dei gratia.*)

The introduction of monarchy into the Jewish constitution was expressly against the declaration of the divine will, and was demanded by the people, in the days of Samuel, when they had become unworthy of liberty.

The history of this transaction is recited with such simplicity and force, that we need do no more than read it to you, from the eighth chapter of first Samuel, in order that you may feel that God is against monarchy:—"And they said unto Samuel, Behold thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations. But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them. According to all the works which they have done, since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt, even unto this day, wherewith they have forsaken me, and served other gods; so do they also unto thee. Now, therefore, hearken unto their voice: howbeit *yet protest solemnly unto them*, and show them the *manner* of the king that shall reign over them. And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people that asked of him a king. And he said, *This* will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: he will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties, and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers and to his servants. And he will take your men-servants, and your maid-servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your sheep:

and ye shall be his servants. And ye shall cry out in that day, because of your king which ye shall have chosen you; and the Lord will not hear you in that day. Nevertheless, the people refused to obey the voice of Samuel: and they said, Nay; but we will have a king over us."

We have further said that the Scriptures were opposed to *hereditary political power.* The proof of this we see everywhere in the Jewish constitution to the time of Saul, the first king; and upon his acting wickedly, the declaration of God, by the mouth of his prophet, was, 1 Sam. xv, 28, "The Lord has rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and has given it to a neighbor of thine, that is better than thou."

From what has been said above, taken from the Scripture, we see that the declaration of God is in favor of a confederated republican government, and directly opposed to monarchy, and to all hereditary political power. And this declaration is further confirmed by the prosperity of the Jewish people during sixteen ages prior to their kings, and their general distressed situation ever after, until their final overthrow by the Romans, in the reigns of Vespasian and Titus.

It would extend this article to too great a length to mention the many divine precepts and exhortations which prescribe and enforce the social and domestic duties. We shall pass them over and mention but one other general injunction of Christianity, that is, universal love to mankind, which tends to a community of feeling and of nations. This is the only religion which has ever overleaped the limits of country, with respect to fraternal feeling, and has claimed as members of its family every people, and kindred, and tongue. This injunction of universal love, worthy of a heavenly religion, is enforced by the three following high considerations:— "God hath made of one blood all nations, to dwell upon the face of the earth." All these nations sprung from one blood, are redeemed to one common worship by one Lord Jesus Christ. Hence we are required, not to live unto ourselves, but unto others, in order to promote the supreme happiness of man. Under the influence of these injunctions the Christian church becomes missionary, and her warrant runs in these words: "Go ye into all nations, and preach my gospel to every creature." We challenge the world to show in her history that any other religion was missionary, employ-

ing only moral and peaceful means. Did the philosophers of Greece go abroad at the expense of fortune and life, preaching their doctrines, collecting their disciples into societies, and reducing them to order, and subjecting them to regular rules. Never: nor any other philosophers. Here is the specific difference between all other religions and systems of morals, and the Christian system. In its missionary warrant and spirit consists mainly its conservative and assimilating power, which has gradually wrought out the law of nations, established upon reason and morality, a law unknown to ancient or modern paganism or Mohammedanism. These are not and cannot be parties to this law, only so far as they are influenced by Christian policy. This modern law of nations, acknowledged now in Christendom, applies the principles of morals to the conduct of states, and holds them responsible for their policy, and that delicate and almost indefinable thing we call *balance of power* in Europe, is the instrument of enforcing obedience. Hence the dogs of war have been chained up since the peace of 1815, and though they may occasionally growl, as now between France and the four great powers, or even bark, now and then, as recently at Beyroot, in the Mediterranean, yet they will not be let slip again in Europe, to cause her cities to be wrapped in flames, or her plains to be desolated. Christianity has muzzled them, and she will continue to soften the obdurate, soothe the excited, illuminate the ignorant, and refine the barbarous, until, in the language of Scripture, "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb; the leopard lie down with the kid; the calf with the young lion, and a little child shall lead them."

Dickinson College, Dec., 1840.

Art. IV.—*Obligations to sustain our Literary Institutions.*

"Suos cultores scientia coronat."

It is the work of time to repair the ruins of the fall. If man had never sinned, a degree of intelligence, indefinitely exceeding that of the noblest mind in the present state, might have been the privilege of all. But an intellectual as well as moral paralysis has seized the mind, enfeebled its powers, and shrouded it in darkness.

And *now* Heaven has decreed that man shall *know* by his own exertions, or remain for ever in ignorance. In defiance of all disabilities, mind has asserted its original right, and aspired to its first designed perfection. It has devised its own means of accomplishing its noble designs, and entered extensively upon their application. Among the most influential of these are *seminaries of learning*. With the view of presenting their claims to the fostering care of an enlightened community, we shall attempt an amplification of the following proposition :—

IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY PHILANTHROPIST, PATRIOT, AND CHRISTIAN, TO EXTEND LIBERAL PATRONAGE TO LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.

In support of this sentiment, we urge in the first place, *the bearing of education upon human happiness*. We would not fail carefully to honor the Christian doctrine, that there is no true happiness apart from the supreme devotion of the soul to its Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier. But education, in a popular sense, includes all that *moral*, as well as intellectual and physical training, necessary to the development of the man. It infringes no claims; it supercedes no work of evangelical religion. But it is *mind* that enjoys, consequently the limit of the mental capacity must be the limit of enjoyment.

The arcana of nature may be stored with the purest luxuries of intellect, but mental power must reach their depths, and develop their treasures. Mind may be the appropriate scene of mental revel, but it reveals its mysteries, and opens its riches to none but cultivated minds. Truth is the food of intellect. Without it, the mind of loftiest original famishes and dwindles to nothing. But in this world truth and error commingle with chaotic confusion. How then, without mature abstraction and corrected reason, is this wild irregularity to yield to order's law, and present a scene of chastened loveliness to the mind? Of all there is of human life, none but the stinted present lives for our enjoyment till governed memory brings back the past, and educated association assembles kindred facts from ocean, earth, and air. The sensations and perceptions of other days, though crowded with unrevealed elements of happiness, die away in the distance, until a true conception makes them live again. The materials of thinking float uncontrolled in dreaming wildness till a purified imagination summons them to the gathering,

and then, by magic combination, romance becomes reality. Man has an original susceptibility of beauty, grandeur, and sublimity; and the elements of these emotions live in endless variety where the eye of ignorance never gazed—where the foot of cowardice never trod.

But educated moral feelings, and strengthened moral powers, are sources of the purest and highest enjoyment. The principles of morality are as immutable as truth, but between these and man's depravity there is no affinity. It must be granted, even by the philosopher, that a supernatural change in the moral sentiments and feelings is indispensable to success in virtue, and hence, of course, to pure felicity; and thus the soul, renovated by religion, though uneducated, may feel *in kind* the thrills of purest, holiest bliss; but *in degree* this happiness must be limited by the mental capacity. It must, however, be remembered that the correctness of our moral judgments, and the strength of the feeling of moral obligation, depend upon the development and education of this department of mind. The soul learns what to love and what to hate, to approve and disapprove. The practiced moral eye gathers light from obscurer points in moral darkness. The chastened mind feels all the heaven of virtue and the hell of vice.

Thus it is seen, that while nature's best resources of human bliss are denied the illiterate, and even mind itself conceals its treasures from the unenlightened, genuine science scales the massive walls which have long and sullenly inclosed mind's richest treasures. It bears away its trophies from the arena of contest with ignorance, poverty, fanaticism, and pride. It penetrates the arcana of nature, and revels in the mysteries of mind. It sunders truth from error, and gathers luxuries from the most unfruitful soil of nature. How important then its influence upon the happiness of man; and who can fail to see in this the high obligation to sustain institutions of learning?

But consider, in the next place, *how indispensable is education to human usefulness.* Man's social nature sufficiently indicates that he was designed to impart happiness to others. That he exists for himself alone, and, hence, is at liberty to surrender to the dominion of unmingled selfishness, is a sentiment worthy of the dark ages, but altogether too gross and vulgar for the days of science and refinement. Without attempting to prove it, we shall assume,

as universally conceded, that all human beings are under the strongest obligations to do every thing reasonably possible to promote the happiness of others, and proceed to remark, that *liberality is essential to usefulness.* In the unequal distribution of means, and the imperious wants of suffering multitudes, is clearly seen the design to invite the spirit of benevolence. How numerous and interesting the opportunities, in the present social order, to bless the poor in his humble cottage, and relieve the distressed by the offerings of charity! How many and worthy are the institutions of learning and religion which urge their importunate claims upon our kindness and liberality! And he who would be useful must not seek to know how limited may be his appropriations, and screen him from the rebukes of society; but with intelligent discrimination he must know all the claims upon his funds, and bound his benevolence only by his means. And can it be questioned whether education promotes liberality? Where have you seen such humiliating exhibitions of parsimony as among the ignorant rich? minds which have never been enlightened by the genial rays of science, or expanded by the power of education? And where have you witnessed the pourings forth of noble benevolence as among the enlightened—the minds of purer, richer intelligence?

But he mistakes the genius of social order who supposes liberality to be the only, or even the greatest element of usefulness. Those are most useful whose lofty minds oppose the strongest barrier to the corruptions and delusions of the age; who resist with greatest moral power the encroachments of vice and the heavings of internal depravity? Wo to the world! but moral disorder is interwoven with the very frame-work of society; and where will it find its antagonist principle if not in sanctified intelligence? Who will dispute the reign of superstition and fanaticism, if not the noble, valiant soul that has been gathering its power for successive years from the study of truth? Indeed, it must be conceded that men of pure and extensive learning are the conservatives of the world.

Genuine usefulness includes also direct labors for the good of mankind. Educated minds infuse themselves into the social elements around them. They are the sources of intellectual light and genial warmth to minds enshrouded in ignorance, and chilled by the winds of superstition. They spend themselves for the general

good; either by imparting direct instruction, or moving them to intelligent, virtuous action, by the force of a noble example. Indeed, from science must flow that pure and mellowing light which shall illumine our mental darkness and soften the asperities of our nature. Education must dismantle the world of its rustic garb, and array it in robes of unsullied beauty. Devoted learning must breathe upon this chaos of mind, and restore it to order and loveliness. Sanctified intelligence must speak to this world of slumbering intellect, and rouse it to conscious life. Thus it is seen that *education contributes largely to human usefulness* as well as happiness. And *here* is our appeal to the philanthropist. He is the lover of his race. This elementary principle with him has ripened into an easy habit. He identifies himself with every thing that involves the happiness and usefulness of man. How then can he fail to be a patron of learning?

But we remark further, in support of our general proposition, that *elevated intelligence is indispensable to the perpetuity of a free government.* In an absolute monarchy the excellence of civil institutions depends upon the purity and intelligence of the royal line. No demand is made upon the wisdom or ignorance of the common people in controlling the heads of civil departments, or in framing the code by which they are to be governed. Theirs is a blind unequivocal obedience, whether the government be easy or oppressive. Thus the ignorance of *the people* is the security of despotism. Tyranny trembles at the approach of light, and science is the dread of aristocratic power! But in a republican government it is widely different. Here the rights of every man are sacred. Every man is a candidate for the highest offices of state, and every officer depends for his elevation directly or indirectly upon the elective franchise.

The people then should be sufficiently intelligent to appreciate their own rights. In any government, however free, some individual rights are surrendered to the general good. Society, and especially civil society, can exist upon no other principle. Every man who claims the immunities of government has sacrificed private interests, for which these immunities are supposed to be more than an equivalent. A violent resumption of these rights by the people would be to tear away the very foundation of the political compact, wrest from the government the elements of its strength and great-

ness, and secure the sway of anarchy or despotism. And it would be equally dangerous for the people to surrender their reserved equivalent rights to the power of aspiring rulers, or the control of political demagogues. Civil convulsions and premature revolutions have invariably arisen, either from the aggressions of the government upon the rights of the people, or the encroachments of the people upon the rights of the government. Where then is our security unless the great mass of the people are sufficiently educated to define their own rights; to clearly distinguish between those which are voluntarily surrendered, and those which are sacredly guarantied to them by the civil compact?

But the officers of a free government are to be chosen from among the people: *every man is, therefore, a candidate for the highest offices of government*, and every office is itself a science. The powers and duties of the executive, legislative, and judicial, are all to be accounted for and appreciated upon scientific principles: and even the subordinate offices of county and town, all bear a clear relation to the political whole, which none but an educated mind can accurately trace and properly define. And how can a man hope to be qualified for any of these high and sacred functions without a thorough education? It will not be assuming too much to say that the theory of every office in the government ought to be thoroughly understood by every freeman, as well to enable him to detect the failures of incumbents, as to be himself qualified for any office to which he may be elevated by the voice of the people.

But it may be esteemed even more important for those who are eligible to such high responsibilities, to have reached a mental maturity adequate to the most thorough investigation and critical judgment. Education is not so much a collection of scientific facts as it is a development of mind. It inures to patient investigation and profound research. It teaches how to overcome difficulties, and make recreation of the onerous duties of practical life. This is the mental culture to which every youth should aspire. Mind unbalanced is the sport of caprice and the prey of fanaticism. It magnifies indefinitely the evils of life, while it fails to perceive their remedies in the provisions of nature. If such a mind were to be elevated by the power of fortune to responsible rank, it would be but to make it the prey of its own deficiencies—the focus of ridi-

cule and contempt—and hurry it to its appropriate level; or to impose upon the credulity of its miserable constituents. Here too is the source of tyranny and usurpation. The ignoramus, forced above his level, is suddenly intoxicated with the love of power, and reeling from his equilibrium, proudly glories in the hallucinations of his own insanity. Jealous, haughty, and impatient of restraint, he sees a rival in every noble intellect; tramples upon every aspiring genius, and treats as enemies all who dare to question his infallibility! Will, conscience, and reason must bow at the shrine of his ambition, and, to appease his anger, the miserable slaves of his power must affect to smile at their chains! Proper intellectual cultivation would have held him within his appropriate limits, or made him worthy of his responsible trust.

We urge further that *extensive knowledge is essential to the safe and legitimate use of the elective franchise.* Among the candidates for responsible offices there will be almost every grade of talent and character: some will ask your suffrage, whose political schemes are visionary, impracticable, or ruinous; and many will be destitute of that moral integrity which alone can qualify them to be the rulers of a free people—the dupes of a party, or the slaves of misguided passion! Every man who votes should be sufficiently intelligent and virtuous to distinguish between aspiring egotism and genuine merit; to dissect and expose the wildness of political heresy, and rebuke with merited defeat the deluded recreant who would sacrifice the purest constitution and the dearest freedom to his own depraved ambition!

But suppose the reverse of all this to be true. Suppose the people to be destitute of sufficient discrimination to determine what rights they have surrendered by the conditions of the civil compact, and what they have reserved as sacred and indispensable to true freedom; and thus almost certain to attempt by violent hands to wrest from the civil power the very basis upon which it stands; or basely yield to the imperious claims of despotism all that is glorious in liberty, or ennobling in the sway of a well-regulated democracy! Suppose your sons reared without a knowledge of the functions of office; thrown into the emergencies of official life with minds enfeebled and dwarfed by inaction; brought into collision with the stubborn, stormy elements of public action without the mental energy and power which alone can secure a triumph;

and, finally, suppose the holders of the elective franchise to be incapable of appreciating real merit; incompetent to analyze the vagaries of heated fanaticism, and detect the fair, but shallow visage of heartless hypocrisy; the ready captives of designing selfishness; the cowardly dupes of political intrigue; and how long should we boast of our free institutions? How soon would the fair fabric of American liberty reel from its base and crush the freedom of a world in its fall! *General intelligence is indispensable to the perpetuity of a free government.* Here then is the appeal to the patriot. He is a lover of his country. He values above all price the purity and freedom of her institutions. He watches with a jealous eye every cloud which lowers in the political heavens. He is the soul of freedom, of which education is the only conservator. How then can he fail to be an active, thorough supporter of literary institutions?

But *education is an important auxiliary to evangelical religion.* It aids religion by enlarging and strengthening the mental capacity for the reception of its elevated bliss. We have seen that it is mind that enjoys; hence, obviously, even the happiness of Christians must be limited by their mental capacities. Conceive of a mind in its infant state under the control of religion; its power of perceiving relations limited, reason and judgment but slightly developed; its ideas all particular, and these thrown together without rule or order; its natural and moral sensibilities distorted and uncontrolled; the will governed by the most inadequate inducements, determining upon partial developments and mistaken relations, and how does the happiness of such a mind compare with that of a Newton, a Locke, or a Wesley? Here we see the influence of education in fitting the mind for religious enjoyment. Under its genial influence the intellect expands to its intended greatness. Its perceptions are true and clear; its associations corrected, and its classifications based upon correct analysis and true relationship. Instead of a partial survey of objects of mental decision, the intellect now grasps the largest wholes. The will determines upon large intellectual surveys, and obeys the suggestions of the noblest, truest generalization. Such a mind education presents to the high, ennobling joys of Christianity. And can the congeniality of science and religion be further questioned?

Again: *it furnishes clear and decisive evidence of the divinity*

of the Christian system. If the Christian religion be what it claims to be, a system of *facts*, it has nothing to fear from the developments of science. Science is truth, and the principles of truth never war with each other; nay, they reciprocally sustain each other. Every new principle which science reveals adds strength to the fortress of truth, and gathers fresh laurels for the brow of its votary. If religion were a fable; if it were the creation of designing men to impose upon credulity and fanaticism, it might justly fear that the discoveries of science would tend to unmask its deformity, and destroy its influence. Hence, every system of false religion cautiously avoids the light of science. Heathenism seeks the covert of intellectual night, and withers from the gaze of day. The security of Romish superstition and priestcraft is in the ignorance and degradation of her people! The expansive power of intelligence would sunder her chains, and rescue her deluded victims from her withering grasp! If it is true that the Church of Rome builds schools and colleges, it is equally true that her literature is but a miserable apology for the sublime realities of science. It is a quietus upon the minds of the people to allay the restless risings of intellect for its own immortal element! It is a feint to deceive still more her deluded votaries. Nay, it is but the certain echo of her own religious dogmas and gross superstitions!

But, on the contrary, pure Christianity has ever sought the light. It stands forth in bold relief, and proudly challenges the most scientific investigation. The absence and defects of science have ever been its greatest calamities. But as the mists of ignorance have rolled away, it has shone like the orb of day in a clear and cloudless sky. The literature of the Bible is vindicated by the literature of nature. Philosophy and geology confirm its history, and the developments of every revolving year attest the inspiration of its pages. How strong, then, the support of science to the Christian faith! How important its aid to the triumphs of the cross!

But, finally: *it heightens immeasurably our views of the divine perfections;* especially His knowledge, his wisdom, and his power. In the heavens above, the uneducated mind perceives nothing but a magnificent arch, studded with twinkling stars. A vacant stare and undefined wonder answer to the beaming glories of the noc-

turnal heavens. But there the Christian philosopher beholds the rolling orbs of magnificent systems, the creation of unlimited power. In the "eye of his mind," worlds after worlds, peopled with higher orders of intelligence, rise in endless variety from the dominions of infinity, and wheel their ceaseless rounds in perfect harmony; all proclaiming the inimitable skill and overwhelming greatness of their divine Original. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork."

Here we must arrest the progress of thought. The theme is endless. Its adequate development would extend this article far beyond our design. But we have found access to the Christian. He is identified with the spiritual interests of the world. He is pledged to the faithful support of every thing essential to the success of evangelical religion. Education expands the mind for the reception of its elevated bliss. It furnishes clear and decisive evidence of the inspiration of its doctrines; and immeasurably heightens our views of the divine perfections. *The Christian must, then, be the patron of genuine science.*

Thus it has fully appeared that *sanctified learning* is inseparably identified with the happiness and usefulness of human intelligences; that it is indispensable to the perpetuity of a free government; and that it is an important auxiliary to evangelical religion. Verily, "suos cultores scientia coronat." *Science, or knowledge, crowns her votaries.* The philanthropist, the patriot, and the Christian, then, must rally to its support. And need we insist that the principal mode of doing this successfully is by the erection and patronage of literary institutions? Where are the radiant points from which the rays of intellectual light diverge to illuminate the world? What are our gushing fountains, whence the pure streams of intelligence roll through our thirsty land? Experience, wisdom, and gratitude, combine to point in reply to our institutions of learning, from the common school to the nobly endowed and powerful university. In view of the whole, our general proposition will, therefore, be universally admitted,—

IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY PHILANTHROPIST, PATRIOT, AND CHRISTIAN, TO EXTEND LIBERAL PATRONAGE TO LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.

If there be a man who has no claims to either of these ennobling appellations, *he* may be expected to demand exemption from the

burdens of education. Be not surprised if you find his children growing up in ignorance; if these gems of immortality are fading and changing from his criminal neglect; if a spirit more daring than the rest, which is struggling for release from this unnatural thraldom, should be menaced and frowned into compliance with the demands of haughty egotism and blind superstition! Be not astonished if you find the whole weight of his influence sustained by the aristocracy of wealth, leveled at the proudest monuments of industry, benevolence, and intelligence! Expect to be denied, when you ask him for funds to aid the noblest enterprises of the day! He is neither a philanthropist, a patriot, nor a Christian! What else can you expect of him than neglect of his children, contempt of learning, and hostility to benevolent institutions? But who, we ask, will envy his happiness, or wish to be identified with his career? Not the noble defenders of republican rights, whose "lives, and fortunes, and sacred honor," are fearlessly thrown between a trembling nation and menacing despotism: not the proud protectors of helplessness, innocence, and purity: not the devoted worshipers of mind's exalted sovereign. *These* are the immutable pillars of education.

Gouverneur, N. Y., 1840.

ART. V.—1. *Elements of Mental Philosophy, embracing the two departments, of the Intellect and Sensibilities.* By THOMAS C. UPHAM, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. In two volumes. New-York: Harper and Brothers.

2. *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on the Will.* In one volume, by the same Author.

3. *Abridgment of the above-mentioned Work on the Intellect and Sensibilities.* 2 vols. in one. For Academies and Schools.

4. *Outlines of Disordered Mental Action.* Contained in Harper's Family Library, No. 100. By the same Author.

I. THAT philosophy is one of the essential wants of the human soul, is a proposition which does not rest merely on the assumptions* of professed philosophical writers, or upon their varied and

* "Philosophy, as philosophy, is specifically and truly demanded by the intellect, as much as religion, art, the state, industry, and the sciences; it is a

persevering efforts to meet this demand. Men, who think at all, have a philosophy of some sort; and they do not utter their thoughts extensively on any subject without disclosing, in some degree, the features of their philosophy. Especially is this true of all oral and written discussions, which treat of the social, political, and religious relations of man, and the responsibilities which spring from these relations. History, poetry, romance, political economy, jurisprudence, theology, music, painting, statuary, architecture; each, and all of them, deal with the elements of human nature; and unfold, more or less fully, and with more or less of truth, the principles of mental philosophy.

In the highest relations which man sustains—his relations to God, as Creator and Benefactor, and in the revelations which God has made to man, in view of these relations, whether, in ancient times, he spake to the fathers by the prophets, or, in these last days, to us, by his Son, or by his Spirit—whether these communications relate to man's character by nature, his voluntary conduct, his ruin, his recovery, his hopes, prospects, or inheritance—the elements of humanity are unfolded with wonderful clearness; and with every one of these disclosures, philosophy, human philosophy, has intermeddled. There is not an opinion, or a doctrine, in the whole range of religious belief, or in the compass of the Bible, which has not been modified, in the mind of its advocates or opponents, by philosophical opinions. The modifications which philosophy has given to religious belief, and the consequent positions of the various Christian denominations, might furnish a theme of deep interest; but this is not the place for its discussion.

The religious systems of pagan nations are strongly marked by the philosophical opinions of the age and the communities in which they are developed. The same is true of forms of government, and systems of education. They all partake of the spirit of the reigning philosophy, and exhibit the necessity of just views of

necessary result which is derived from, and depends upon—not the genius of any individual—but the genius of humanity itself, and the progressive development of the faculties, with which humanity is gifted."—*Introduction to Hist. Phil., by M. Cousin, Linberg's Tr.*, p. 21.

"Gentlemen, I have endeavored, in this lecture, to show you that philosophy is one of the specific, certain, permanent, and indestructible demands of the human mind."—*Ib.*, p. 26.

philosophy, especially in a country where mind is vigorously acting or acted upon. No nation has a higher necessity for correct views, universally diffused, than our own. Nowhere else are there more active influences impelling the human mind to its highest effort. In no country are there stronger motives to the highest mental culture, or a wider scope for the exertion of mental power, or greater facilities for misdirecting and perverting such power, and in no country could such perversions be more disastrous. Mental philosophy of some kind, then, we must have. We cannot dispense with it if we would. As undoubtedly "there are bad, as well as good philosophers, as there are different modes of religious worship, as there are defective works of art and of policy, and bad systems of industry and physics,"* we come to an interesting inquiry.

II. *What shall be the type of our philosophy? and whence shall we obtain it?*

Shall we import it from Great Britain? It is certain that England and Scotland have nursed men of profound scholarship, whose metaphysical inquiries have exerted a prodigious influence on both sides of the Atlantic. But if we must rely upon them for our systems, who shall furnish our text book? We may revere the names of Locke, Reid, Stewart, Brown, and others of kindred spirit, and read their works with profit; but we can never, in this country, make the name of either a passport for all that he has written; and, if we master the writings of all, *we have not, from these alone, a system of mental philosophy which meets our necessities.* Neither of these writers has given us a full view of the whole mind, and all its phenomena; nor can the student reconcile all their disputes and divergencies. He finds his mind perplexed with the conflicting opinions of these great men, and not less perplexed with various elements of his own nature, of which he finds no satisfactory solution in any of these writers. If he has the perseverance to grapple with all the conflicting opinions he here meets with, he yet hungers and thirsts for something which neither of them has unfolded; and few persons have the skill necessary to weave into one harmonious system the elements of truth, dispersed in the writings of them all.

What then shall the student do? Shall he, with Cousin, "after

* Cousin.

reading the Scotch metaphysicians till he has read them out," dive into the labyrinths of German philosophy, and make himself familiar with the discussions of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, or shall he learn wisdom from the heated controversies of their disciples? If so, which of the conflicting forms of German philosophy shall he espouse? That which has well nigh subjected the whole nation to the withering embraces of an atheistic pantheism? Or shall he take sides with Leo and Henystenberg, and their few noble-hearted coadjutors, who, having narrowly escaped the general wreck of piety and principle, by clinging to the Bible, despite of their philosophy, are now laboring with a boldness and zeal worthy of the martyr age to supplant this "latest form of infidelity?"

Or shall the student save himself the drudgery of this pilgrimage, and its varied conflicts, by adopting the eclecticism of the peer of France, and make up his philosophical creed from the Introduction to the History of Philosophy, and the ingenious Criticisms upon Locke? Or shall he gather his system from the philosophical fragments scattered with oracular abruptness through the writings of Coleridge? However we may admire the genius of Coleridge and Cousin, and whatever advantages may be derived from their published works, it seems quite certain that they cannot unite the suffrages of American scholars; and it is equally certain that neither of them has furnished us with a complete system of mental philosophy, nor even the elements from which a consistent system can be wrought. The high expectations of the French professor seem not to have been fully realized. Dissatisfied with what he terms "the sage and timid doctrines of Edinburgh," which he considered "only a vigorous protest on behalf of common sense against the skepticism of Hume, he "sought in Germany for a philosophy of such a masculine and brilliant character" as might command the attention of Europe, and be able to struggle with success, on a great theatre, against the genius of the adverse school."* If the

* *Cours de Philosophie par M. Cousin, Lecon. xii.*—"The preference of the more boastful system," says Sir James M'Intosh, "over a philosophy thus chiefly blamed for its modest pretensions, does not seem to be entirely justified by its permanent authority in the country which gave it birth; where, however powerful its influence still continues to be, its doctrines do not appear to have now many supporters; and, indeed, the accomplished professor himself rapidly shot through Hantianism, and now appears to rest, or to stop, at the doctrines of Schelling and Hegel, at a point so high that it is hard to descry from it any

professor has failed in his attempt, it is not owing to want of genius, or of zeal in his researches. Indeed, it is daily becoming more evident that we cannot *import* a system of philosophy from the other side of the Atlantic which shall meet the necessities of American mind. The effort to do this must, from the circumstances of the case, prove a failure. Cousin assures the young men of France, that philosophy cannot be perfected in Great Britain, inasmuch as she is but an island.* Without commenting upon the *truth* or the *spirit* of this sentiment, we may express, with equal confidence, the conviction that philosophy cannot be perfected in France till more of her gifted intellects are "baptized with the Holy Ghost." Philosophy has no genial soil where Christianity has not a stronger hold than she has yet gained among the educated classes in that country. With all the deference which Cousin pays to Christianity, and all the fine eulogiums he bestows, and all his condescension in "taking her by the hand" and lifting her into notice, the writer, who would furnish us a sound and safe philosophy, must have more correct notions of the Christian system than those unfolded in his published works.

Equally confident is our conviction that we cannot transplant the German philosophy, and find profit in its culture here. It lacks the essential element of Christianity. It does not nurture that faith which binds man in harmony with God, and thus secures harmony in the conflicting elements of his own soul. It must, at least, be *naturalized* before it can flourish in this country; and then, if it is not *spiritualized*, its extensive culture would be a sore calamity.

distinction between objects—even that indispensable distinction between *reality* and *illusion*."—*Progress of Etherial Philosophy*, p. 216.

* "Now England has, strictly speaking, for some time past, and I might say for the last half century, not contributed her share to the philosophical researches of civilized Europe; no celebrated work on metaphysics has been published in England.—We may say that England and Scotland, which have always exerted a very feeble influence on European philosophy, have now ceased to exert upon it any influence whatever."—*Introd. Hist. Philos.*, p. 423.

"England, gentlemen, is a *very considerable island;* in England every thing is insular, every thing stops at certain limits, nothing is there developed on a great scale. England is not destitute of invention; but history declares that she does not possess that power of generalization and deduction which alone is able to push an idea, or a principle, to its entire development, and draw from it all the consequences which it incloses."—*Ib., note*, p. 453.

Its tendencies are debasing, and fitted to corrupt Christianity, and level it to the relish of depraved appetite, rather than to *spiritualize* humanity, and elevate it to the dignity of the Christian life. It brings down the great Jehovah, not merely to human *comprehension*, but, as it were, to the *common level* of proud humanity; and thus cheats the soul into the idea that it has soared to "the third heavens," and held intercourse with the INVISIBLE.

We can readily sympathize with those who have sought earnestly for truth in the German philosophy. We have shared somewhat in the high hopes which have been entertained of the success of these researches. We could even have patience with the wildest views of phrenological speculation and experiment, when not pushed in the face of revelation and of common sense, so deeply have we felt the need of a *philosophy of the whole mind.* We have been disposed to search for it in all directions, which seemed to promise even a solitary ray of light. But our expectations from Germany are not realized. We despair of finding the philosophy we need, fitted to our hands, on the other side of the Atlantic. Systems, in order adequately to meet our wants, must grow up and be matured among ourselves. They must be furnished by those who are familiar with the developments of mind in this country, and familiar with our political, religious, and educational institutions. We do not undervalue the treasures which have been accumulating in Europe. Let us have all the aid they can yield us. We do not approve of that national vanity which would spurn the profound researches of others, because forsooth they lived upon an island, or because they were trained under another form of government. We counsel him who would give us a system of philosophy, which shall outlive himself, to study with care the systems which have been produced in England, France, and Germany. If ignorant of the English and Scotch metaphysicians, or even of the English divines of the seventeenth century, let him not dream of satisfying the American people by any startling novelties which he can originate, or which he can import from abroad with but a smattering knowledge of European speculations. Whoever would write a philosophy for the next, as well as the present generation, has a work before him of no trifling magnitude; and he assumes no ordinary responsibility. There is a growing thirst for the study of mental science in this country, which, if rightly

directed, will result in lasting good. But it must not be tampered with. The interests at stake are too momentous to allow the increasing desires for a better philosophy to remain unsatisfied, or to be satisfied with that

"Which leads to bewilder—or dazzles to blind."

Difficulties must be encountered in the study of mental science and in the furnishing of text books; but this should be no discouragement; the same is true of every good enterprise. It is well that it is so. The human mind is fitted to grapple with difficulties, and it is by surmounting these that its strength is matured —its discipline perfected.

III. We propose, in the next place, *to state briefly some of the difficulties which have embarrassed the study of mental philosophy and occasioned its neglect.* There are difficulties which are inherent in the nature of the mind itself, and others which are merely *incidental.* Of these difficulties we notice,—

1. *The mind is invisible.* It cannot be approached and examined by the senses, as objects that are visible and tangible. It can be studied only in its operations, and, consequently, there are mysteries connected with its study not to be met with in other studies.

2. *The great diversities of mind.* There is diversity in original constitution—and diversity as the result of training. There is, perhaps, as great diversity in mental constitution and culture as there is in features and complexions; and we cannot study the mind so easily as we can the countenance.

3. *Human guilt embarrasses the study of mind.* We cannot reflect upon our mental states, our thoughts and feelings, with perfect composure, while conscious that they are wrong. Self-study is, therefore, often painful. Unregulated passions and propensities are unfavorable to mental study, as they are to mental culture. If we attempt to study the minds of others, we are liable to err from a wrong estimate of intellectual and moral character. Prejudices, or partialities, modify our conclusions, and lead us to wrong results. Guilt leads to concealment and disguise. So that we must read men through a veil.

4. *Engrossment of the mind in other subjects has been an obstacle.* The study of other things has had higher attractions. What shall I eat? What shall I drink? How shall I be rich?

How secure honor or power? Such have been the absorbing topics of inquiry, while few, comparatively, have inquired, *What am I?* What is the *condition, character, destiny* of my *spirit?* It is far easier to follow, or rather *float upon* the ceaseless current that bears the mind outward, amid the objects of sense, than to retire within and question the invisible spirit, and listen attentively to its half-suppressed responses.

5. *Neglect of the science in systems of education.* What provision is made for it in the education of the mass of mankind? Till recently it has been nearly confined to the college or professional seminary, where not one in a thousand of the people would find its text books, or attempt its study; and even there it has occupied but a low place in the estimation of the mass of students. Few have mastered its text books; and fewer still have mastered the science. Many who have studied much have, at length, arrived at a great degree of uncertainty, and there have abandoned the science. This has often been the result of another obstacle, namely,

6. *Its controversial aspect.* Nearly every text book has been controversial. One object of the great work of Locke was, to overthrow the doctrine of innate ideas, and other kindred theories, and to establish other views in opposition to them. In endeavoring to trace all ideas to sensation and reflection, he prepared the way for others to push his premises to some hazardous conclusions, and rendered it necessary to combat some of his views. Thus was developed the theory of the *pure reason* as a source of ideas, and as a ground of evidence and knowledge; and thus transcendentalism has been engendered, to become in its turn, and perhaps at no distant period, the theme of renewed controversy. Reid, Stewart, Brown, Paine, Kant, Cousin, all devote much of their strength to the business of exposing and refuting supposed errors; and by this course, doubtless, each fell into some errors which might have been avoided by a different course.

7. These controversies have been the more perplexing by *being connected with theological controversy.* Theological theories have been adopted; and men have appealed to the Bible, and to controversial philosophy, to sustain them. And, on the other hand, philosophical theories have been framed, and men have intrenched them amid the doctrines of the church, and appealed to the Bible

to sustain them, and thus philosophy and theology have alternately supported and preyed upon each other.

8. Another cause of embarrassment has arisen from *embracing in philosophical discussions such speculations as transcend the powers of the human mind.* It was a most important thought, struck out by Locke, when, in the company of his friends, on a certain occasion, he was perplexed with certain speculations, "that before we set ourselves upon inquiries of that nature, it was necessary to examine our own abilities, and see what objects our understandings were, or were not fitted to deal with." It would have been well for philosophy if all writers had been equally modest. Ancient treatises on mental philosophy are much occupied with speculations relative to the essence of mind, and with various other inquiries which cannot be solved, or the solution of which could be of no practical utility; nor have such speculations wholly ceased; nor is their pernicious influence entirely extinct. All such inquiries and discussions, aiming to solve what is beyond the reach of human knowledge, necessarily embarrass the study of that which may be known; and the evils, which have been thus occasioned, are not easily estimated.

9. Another source of embarrassment is found *in defective classification.* We may speak thus confidently, because no two authors have perhaps used the same classification, or have maintained entire uniformity in their use of language. Among such different systems and usages some must be defective. The embarrassments thus occasioned may be illustrated by reference to the two-fold view of the mind adopted by Locke and by many others since his day. Suppose we attempt to arrange all the mental states in these two departments, the *understanding* and *the will.* We cannot proceed in this way without meeting with serious difficulties; for there is a class of mental states which do not seem to belong to either the one or the other. The appetites of hunger and thirst, the love of life, the desire of happiness, and various other appetites and propensities, and particularly the affections, seem not to belong either to the will or the understanding, however closely they may stand connected with either of these departments. So of emotions, and so of those simple desires which may be awakened by any object which can be presented to us through the understanding. While they are thus distinct from the understanding, and may result from

its operations, we are also to remember, that they are not to be confounded with the will, since it is certain that they often sway and control the will's action, which necessarily implies that they are not identical with it. Desires are often opposed to the movement which the will makes. A sense of duty, for instance, or feeling of obligation sometimes influences the action of the will in opposition to specific desires. Here is manifestly the secret of some of the difficulties connected with President Edwards' Treatise on the Will. It was written on the basis of the two-fold view of the mind, which would embrace all its phenomena in the understanding and the will. The late work on the will by President Day recognizes this as Edwards' view, embracing in the will not only the *executive power*, or that which puts forth action, but also a permanent state of the mind, which might be termed *dominant preference*, and also the *affections*. Edwards somewhere speaks of the affections as "*the higher acts of the will.*" This view necessarily confounds desires and volitions, a very serious error in philosophy, which Mr. Locke takes particular pains to guard against. "Will and desire," says that writer, "must not be confounded."—Ch. xxi, sec. 30. Much of the obscurity and perplexity, growing out of the discussions respecting the freedom of the will, self-determining power, &c., are occasioned by this defective classification. Many of the discussions of the present day are not free from these embarrassments.

10. Nearly allied to this difficulty is that of *diversity in the use of terms*. If men agree in classing the mental faculties, still if they differ in the use of terms, the progress of investigation is embarrassed, and much inconvenience and misunderstanding occasioned.

But some writers, as we have seen, confound desires and volitions, and use the terms interchangeably; and others, who would distinguish them, are not always consistent. Some confound the terms *understanding* and *reason*; while others suppose the things signified to be distinct, and to require a corresponding use of terms.

The term reason is used variously, sometimes denoting the *deductive* faculty, or that by which processes of reasoning are carried on, and sometimes as synonymous with *judgment*; while others would use it to denote *that power by which the soul originates knowledge within itself*, and to which another would give (the

Scotch writers for instance) the name of *suggestion*, or the suggestive power.

Some writers use the term will to denote merely the *executive power*, and suppose it to be uniformly controlled by the desires; while others suppose it to have, in common with other parts of the mind, *power* appropriately its own; and others still suppose its power *absolute*, in the sense of being independent, in some case at least, of all control by motives.

The words freedom, liberty, necessity, ability, inability, cause and effect, self-determination, and doubtless others, are used in different senses by different writers, and the embarrassments thus occasioned have been very great.

11. Another obstacle has arisen from *the preparation of philosophical systems in the closet*, and treating the science, as it were, *independently of mind in its ceaseless activity, in its living and practical manifestations*. It has hardly seemed paradoxical to say of a man that he was a profound philosopher, but wanting in common sense; or that he was a great metaphysician, but very ignorant of human nature. The truth is, no man can be a *practical* philosopher merely by reading books; much less can he write a book which shall carry his philosophy to the intellect and heart of men in the busy world. There is a great deal of *unwritten philosophy* in the world; and there are sagacious men, who have never read a book on metaphysics—who, scarcely knowing the meaning of the term, are, nevertheless, profound philosophers. They have studied *living men*—have experimented upon men—and they well know how to touch the springs of action in the human soul, and make men do their bidding. Base men sometimes acquire this power, and use it fearfully. Philosophical writers need to study men, not as mere *thinking abstractions*, but as *living souls, acting out their ceaseless, living energies*. The true philosopher is he who studies man in all his diversified states of thought and feeling, of passion and action; man in solitude and society; man in the natural and healthful action of his mental powers, and in the wildness of disordered mental action; man in prosperity and adversity; as the child of nature, of education, and of grace. He may acquaint himself with text books, but he must also study mind within himself, and receive lessons of instruction from the hoary headed sage, and from the prattling infant. It needs hardly be

said, that books of philosophy have not always been thus prepared.

12. Another difficulty has been found in the want of text books *which view the mind as a whole*, and undertake to trace, analyze, and classify *all* the mental powers. We have had treatises on the will, and on the understanding, and on the affections, but what writer, till recently, has attempted to give us an analysis of the whole of the phenomena of mind, and arrange them philosophically? The treatment of some of the departments of mind, without having other departments distinctly in view, must obviously modify the modes of discussion, as well as the conclusions to which they tend. To appreciate the discussions of a writer on any department of mental science we need to have some general view of his philosophy of the *whole mind;* but this we cannot always obtain; and the inconsistencies which appear to us, in the views we thus examine, with other parts of *our philosophy*, lead us to the conclusion, that the author is inconsistent with himself, or at variance with truth, when a *clear apprehension of his whole system* might remove the difficulty. Few writers, however, have seemed to have a clear and systematic view of the whole mind, and hence their obscurity in the treatment of particular phenomena.

13. Another serious embarrassment has arisen from *pursuing mental science independently of revelation.* It is true that the Bible was not written to teach a system of mental philosophy, but it does unfold the elements of human character as no mere human production has ever done. We shall have made substantial progress in the knowledge of mind when the mass of the community will study the Bible for this purpose, unfolding their hearts to its searchings, and studying themselves in its light. Authors will never give us perfect systems of philosophy, till they perfect them by the Bible. The Bible and the human mind must be studied together; and in the place of abstract metaphysical speculations, which have often embarrassed investigation, and then warped the Bible to harmonize with mistaken views, we need the simple disclosures of revelation to unfold the true condition of man *as a fallen being*, and thus give a clew to the study of mind in its native fallen condition. A distinguished writer* has said that,—

* Isaac Taylor. Essay introductory to Edwards on the Will.

"Apart from any theological principles, if the actual condition of human nature be contemplated as a matter of physical science, it must be admitted to have sustained, from whatever cause, a universal damage, or shock; inasmuch as its higher faculties do not, like the faculties of the lower classes, work invariably, or work auspiciously; but are often, and in a vast proportion of instances, overborne, defeated, and destroyed; or they lie dormant, while, in *no instances*, do they take that full, free, and perfect course, which is abstractedly proper to them."

If "physical science" *teaches the fact*, the Bible *explains it;* and we may safely study this explanation, as we study the mind itself. Indeed, can we hope for satisfactory results till we do this? We think not. We despair of seeing the science of mind occupying its proper place, and exerting its appropriate influence, till it is studied in close connection with the Bible, and with something of the same humble and teachable spirit with which we should study our duty and destiny in that blessed book.

IV. *We may now proceed to inquire how far the works before us are fitted to overcome the obstacles here referred to, and to answer as text books of mental philosophy.* It is worthy of remark, that the author has had peculiar facilities for maturing his system, and of submitting its several parts to the test of repeated experiment, in the practical business of his profession. Having, for many years, been successfully engaged in teaching the science, and not having early committed himself exclusively to any previous system, but by a careful study of all the metaphysical works which have been accessible in this country, whether in the English, French, or German language, he has been at liberty to gather up the elements of truth, and combine them in a manner somewhat new, while yet the appearance of novelty and claims of originality seem to have been cautiously avoided. The excessive caution and modesty of pretensions will, doubtless, operate with some minds against the works in this age of bold professions and promises; but cannot, we believe, prevent their silent, but sure progress in securing public confidence. We have carefully read them a second and a third time, and now return to them again with increasing profit and delight. Not but that it might be possible to take exceptions to some of the statements as to matter or manner; but we believe, with a contemporary Review, that those who desire good text books of this character "must wait a long time before

they can obtain better ones than these furnished by Professor Upham."*

We propose to indicate briefly some of the leading features of these volumes, with the hope of securing for them the earnest attention of those who are interested in the training of mind, or the progress of mental science.

1. The first feature which claims our notice is, that *these volumes embrace a view of the whole mind.* The first volume is devoted to the intellectual, the second to the sentient, or sensitive, and the third to the voluntary powers. And in this three-fold view are embraced all the mental faculties and phenomena. The volumes are familiarly designated, the Intellect, the Sensibilities, and the Will. Each is, by itself, a distinct treatise, giving us a view, not only of the normal, or healthful action of the department of which it treats, but also of its disordered action. Each volume, though complete in itself, is yet clearly seen to be one of the parts of a more perfect whole; all the parts of which are fitly framed together, so that the essential unity of the mind is not sacrificed in the analysis of its several parts.

2. Another important feature is *the natural arrangement and classification of the mental powers and operations.* In no other works, within our knowledge, is this feature so fully manifest. The order in which the several departments, and the phenomena embraced in each, are discussed, the separating of things distinct, and yet their natural relation to each other, afford the highest satisfaction to the student who seeks clear ideas of himself and his subject. The list of contents is, of itself, a map, or chart of the mind, and affords important aid in reviewing the discussions which the several topics indicate.

3. *The skilful use of terms.* There are no startling novelties either in the coining of new terms, or the using of old ones in new or strange relations. This feature of the work is important in connection with the one last named. A good arrangement and classification might be embarrassed by confusion in the use of terms; and the care manifested in avoiding this, by Professor Upham, is worthy of special regard. A happy illustration of this may be seen in his remarks on the use of the term suggestion, instead of reason, in treating of the ideas of internal origin.

* North American Review, July, 1840.

"In giving an account of the ideas from this source, we have preferred the term SUGGESTION, proposed and employed by Reid and Stewart, to the word REASON, proposed by Kant, and adopted by Cousin, and other writers, as, on the whole, more conformable to the prevalent usages of the English language. In common parlance, and by the established usage of language, the word REASON is expressive of the *deductive*, rather than the *suggestive* faculty; and if we annul or perplex the present use of that term by a novel application of it, we must introduce a new word to express the process of deduction."—Vol. i, sec. 121.

We shall esteem it fortunate for the progress of philosophy in this country, if others shall coincide with the author in this use of terms. The sooner the transcendental sense of the term reason is abandoned the better.

4. We notice with pleasure *the clearness of reasoning and richness of illustration which secure a transparency of style, on which we set a high value.* It will thus enable the work to exert a wide influence, as great numbers will pursue the science with pleasure and profit, who would not master a more difficult style. We are aware that this circumstance will, by some, be thought to detract from the merits of the work, as tending to make the study too easy. There is a somewhat prevalent fashion of estimating a metaphysical writer in proportion to his obscurity. If the pool is so adroitly filled with *muddy water*, that one cannot see below the surface, or distinguish one object from another, it is considered profoundly deep; but if through its transparent waters the rich ore and the bright diamonds glitter, they are despised. They are considered to be in *shoal water*, and unworthy of notice, because they can be seen by common eyes. This love of mystery, and reverence for the profundity of that which cannot be understood, is often ludicrously displayed in this country. But it seems to us a very high compliment which Dugald Stewart* pays to the genius of Fontenelle:—"The chief and distinguishing merit of Fontenelle is the happy facility with which he adapts the most abstruse and refined speculations to the comprehension of ordinary readers. Nor is this excellence purchased by any sacrifice of scientific precision."

This is high praise, and we believe there are but few writers to whom it more justly belongs than to Professor Upham. He seems to have been governed by the principle which was the secret of

* Hist. Phil., dis. i, part ii, p. 148.

Fontenelle's success. "When employed in composition," says Fontenelle, "my first concern is to be certain that I myself understand what I am about to write."* It must be obvious that the facts and phenomena of mind will sufficiently task the powers of the student, even if the text books which introduce him to the study, and which, at most, can do little more than teach him how to use his mental faculties in the pursuit of truth, are written in a style of the utmost transparency.

5. Another charming feature is the author's *kind and courteous treatment of other authors.* Many of the evils which philosophical controversy has engendered might have been avoided if all writers had been equally cautious. It may be questioned whether a writer can be found in this country who has a more thorough acquaintance with the earlier English and Scotch metaphysicians, and with the continental writers whose works are accessible in this country; and from all sources he has gathered materials for his work, and combined and used them with singular fairness and skill. He has not, indeed, attempted a history of philosophical writers or opinions, and the design of his work did not render it necessary to encumber his pages with an array of names and a parade of learning, but wherever he has occasion to use, or to call in question, the opinions of others, he does it in a way to disarm controversy, and leave a kind and generous feeling in the heart of the reader. It is not easy to see how exceptions can be made to the treatment of opinions, either of friends or opponents, whether among the living or the dead; nor does it appear that his works can be easily made the bone of contention by conflicting parties, either in philosophy or religion.

6. It is also worthy of notice that, where he differs from other distinguished writers, or where, from the nature of the subject, there is danger of misconception, *he fortifies his opinions by a course of consecutive and accumulative evidence,* which, while it convinces the understanding, leaves the mind to repose more delightfully in his conclusions from the kindness of spirit already referred to. The frequent appeals to consciousness, and the experience and common sense of mankind, furnish an important part of this evidence; the amount and variety of which we do not remember to have seen exceeded by any other writer.

* Hist. Phil., dis. i, part ii, p. 148.

7. *The important distinction between desire and volition is clearly established;* and in a way to make the distinction immediately and practically useful. This distinction is not, indeed, new, as other writers have indicated it; but some who have done so have still used the words interchangeably. While Locke was careful to say that "will and desire must not be confounded," yet he seems to have made but two departments of mind, the understanding and the will. To one of these departments, then, *desire* must belong, if there be not a third; and it was not strange that those who adopted the two-fold division of mind should class desire with the will, rather than with the understanding. Nor, furthermore, was it strange that those who did so, should often use the word inconsistently with their own classification. The evils which have been occasioned by confounding desire and volition, both in metaphysical and theological discussions, are such, that the author has rendered a very important service by placing the distinction in so clear a light. The discussion of this subject, which occupies about twenty pages, is worthy of the attentive consideration of Christian moralists. It is a subject which enters deeply into the elements of human character and accountability.

8. *The existence of the moral sense, or conscience,* is clearly demonstrated; and the fundamental distinction between this and the reasoning power fully established. There has been a *mistiness* in many writers, and some of them distinguished writers, in relation to the moral sense, which renders this part of Professor Upham's labors a very important service to the cause of truth. The proofs of a moral nature exhibit a good specimen of the consecutive and cumulative form of reasoning, to which we have already referred. We see not how a candid thinker can examine it and ever doubt of the existence of conscience as one of the elementary principles of our nature, or lose sight of the responsibility which grows out of it.

9. Nearly connected with this topic is that of *the immutability of moral distinctions, as the foundation of virtue and of obligation.* This doctrine has been contended for by several ethical and theological writers, but in no other work, with which we are acquainted, is it presented with so much of philosophical accuracy, and sustained by such a mass of evidence. It cannot be doubted that this will become a fundamental doctrine in philosophy in opposition to the *utilitarian* theory of Paley and kindred writers.

10. *The support given to the freedom of the will, and the safe and solid foundation laid for this freedom, in the subjection of the will to law, is another interesting feature.* A recent reviewer* has intimated that *we need no metaphysics of the will;* but the truth is, we cannot avoid that inquiry if we would. The long and bitter controversies connected with the will may fill us with weariness and disgust, and may have a tendency to turn us away from such discussions; but while the will is a constituent element of the human soul, we ought not to think lightly of its philosophy. A system of mental philosophy must be defective without it. The fault of most treatises on the will is, that they have not taken a sufficiently broad and comprehensive view. Writers have very often taken some particular or exclusive view of the subject, and have pushed opinions, with the zeal of controversy, to an extremity where truth itself, by being distorted, or thrust out of its relations, becomes error. Thus the freedom of the will, on the one hand, has been pushed to that point which would emancipate it from the control of reason, or conscience, or motives of any sort; and invest it with a sort of omnipotence which annihilates itself; while, on the other hand, the doctrine of necessity, or the law of cause and effect, and the subjection of the will to motives, has been pushed to the destruction of the essential freedom of the will. By either process, the freedom of the will is, in fact, destroyed. This result is effectually prevented in the work before us. Having closed the examination of the intellect and the sensibilities, and considered the relation which the will bears to these other departments of the mind, the author proceeds to establish these three propositions:—THE WILL HAS ITS LAWS—THE WILL HAS FREEDOM—THE WILL HAS POWER. Each of these propositions, as it seems to us, is well sustained, and all of them are essential to a just view of each one separately. The freedom of the will is seen to be *secured*, rather than *destroyed*, by a just exhibition of the laws which pertain to it. The same remark applies with equal force to the power of the will. It can be happily exercised only in harmony with the laws of the mind. It is seen, moreover, that each department of the mind has an important influence over the others, and that *the highest degree of mental freedom can be secured only by the harmony and balance of all the mental faculties.*

* New-York Review, July, 1840.

11. One of the most practically useful characteristics of the work is, *the light it sheds upon the business of education.* The great truth, that *all the intellectual, sentient, and voluntary powers are susceptible of cultivation,* is clearly brought out; and the necessity of this cultivation to the perfection of the mind is strongly impressed. The practical hints upon the culture of the understanding, the memory, the affections, the moral sense, and the will, are among the most valuable "thoughts on education" to be found in any book extant.

12. We notice last, but not with the less pleasure, *the philosophical basis laid for several of the leading truths of Christianity.* No effort is made to give the work a theological cast, or to carry out its principles to theological conclusions. These subjects are left in just that form which we might expect from a clear-headed philosopher, who should study with prayerful earnestness the Bible and the human soul in connection with each other, till the adaptation of the one to the other is clearly seen, and the influence of the study of both is distinctly felt in his own heart. But the attentive reader cannot fail to see that several of the most important disclosures of the Bible are identical with the truths discovered in the human soul. Let us notice, for example, the doctrine of human depravity as connected with the fall of man.

In the second volume, which embraces the sensibilities, the writer treats, first, of emotions, and then of desires, or desirous states of mind. In this class are arranged the instincts, appetites, propensities, and affections, in the same order as here enumerated, and all these mental states, save the instincts, he supposes may have both an *instinctive* and a *voluntary* action. The affections he divides into two classes, the malevolent, and the benevolent affections. In the latter class are enumerated the parental, filial, and fraternal affections, love of the human race, love of country, the affection of friendship, of sympathy, and of gratitude.

Having traced out, and illustrated these important principles of the mind, the author remarks,—

"In order to preserve the other principles of human nature in the position which the great Author of that nature has assigned to them, and to render their action just in itself, and harmonious in its relations, we have reason to believe that there was originally in the human constitution a principle of love to the SUPREME BEING."

This affection he supposes to have been analogous in its nature and operations to the other benevolent affections, having like them both an instinctive and voluntary action; but differing greatly in *degree* or *intensity* of action, being, in this respect, in correspondence with the high and holy nature of the object to which it was rendered with all the energy of which the mind was capable. That man possessed originally such a principle, he supposes must be evident from *analogy*, considering the relation man sustains to God, and the duties which grow out of this relation. Further proofs of this are drawn from the Scriptures; from those passages which describe man at his creation; also those which require supreme love to God; and those which contemplate the renovation of our nature, and the restoration of this principle.

The relation of this affection to the other principles of our nature is then traced with philosophical precision, and the natural results, both of the existence and of the absence of this principle, upon all the other affections, and upon the whole character, clearly indicated.

The philosophical basis thus laid for the Scriptural view of depravity is worthy of careful attention, as it embraces the whole range of man's original state, the effects of the fall, the recovery of the soul to holiness, and the divine influence concerned in this transformation. The doctrine of man's dependence, as well as his freedom and accountability—his perfect obligations to serve God—and the necessity of this service to the highest elevation and perfection of our nature—the wrong which the sinner, by transgression, inflicts upon his own soul—are seen in a clear and strong light; while yet all these truths seem the natural and necessary results of purely philosophical inquiry, no less than the attestations of divine revelation. The whole scope and spirit of this philosophy, in short, is eminently Christian; and the service it may render to all denominations of believers, and to the cause of Christian education, is a reason for its extensive circulation. There are various prospective bearings of correct views, and of the general study of mental philosophy, which we deem of great importance; but which our limits forbid us to indicate at present.

ART. VI.—1. *Lectures on Homiletics and Preaching, and on Public Prayer; together with Sermons and Letters.* By EBENEZER PORTER, D. D., President of the Theological Seminary, Andover. 8vo. Andover and New-York, 1834.

2. *Lectures on Eloquence and Style.* By EBENEZER PORTER, D. D., late President, &c. 8vo. Andover and New-York, 1836.

MANY and various have been the attempts to define eloquence; but widely as philologists differ in their definitions of the word, true eloquence is never mistaken, and always appreciated. A counterfeit may deceive for a season: fustian and bombast may be imposed for a while on a part of the community; but the genuine coin carries with it intrinsic evidence of its value, and real eloquence passes current everywhere and at all times.

It matters not, therefore, whether, with Isocrates, we call eloquence the power of persuading; or, with Aristotle, the power of inventing that which is persuasive. Whether, with Cicero, we say that eloquence is speaking in a persuasive manner; or, with Quinctillian, that it is the science of speaking well. Nor yet, to come down to modern times, is it of much consequence, whether we take Dr. Campbell's definition, and say, that eloquence is the art whereby the speech is adapted to produce the speaker's end; or, with a recent lecturer on the subject, who has acquired some reputation, insist upon it, that eloquence is simply *speaking out*, because, forsooth, it is derived from two Latin words bearing that signification.

It were an easy task, to show wherein each of these definitions is defective; but not so easy to give one that shall not be liable to the same or similar objections. Specially would it savor of presumption to attempt this, when it may be fairly questioned whether each successive definition is not more defective than its predecessor.

Nor is it only by the enlightened and the educated that eloquence is understood and its claims appreciated. It arrests the attention of the ignorant, and even the untaught children of the wilderness confess its power. It is potent, nay, omnipotent, so far as any thing human may claim that attribute, for good, or for evil. The pages of all history, sacred and profane, are full of its achievements.

History, moreover, and the biography of eloquent men, throw

much light on the question, if they do not settle it, whether eloquence is an acquired art or a natural gift; for even those who hold to the latter of these opinions must admit, that patient study and persevering toil have accomplished much, where nature had done but little. Nor will it be denied, that although an individual may have a natural genius for eloquence, as some have, by nature, a taste for painting, or music; in the one case as in the other, perfection is, and can only be, the result of well-directed and unceasing effort.

It would, therefore, seem to be a ready inference that from Christians, and especially from the Christian ministry, the eloquence of the pulpit should receive a high degree of attention, and that its study, and every thing likely to promote it, should be sedulously fostered and encouraged. This, therefore, is our present object: not so much formally to review the works named at the head of this article, as to call to this subject the attention of our younger brethren in the ministry: to arouse the energies of Christ's ambassadors; and to urge upon those, whom the great Head of the church has called to this responsible duty, the absolute necessity of *studying* to show themselves approved unto God, workmen that need not to be ashamed.

The object of the pulpit orator, whether we consider his authority, his message, or his responsibility, is paramount to all others. He is called and sent forth by the great Governor of the universe: the message which he bears is HIS; to HIM is he accountable for the manner in which he proclaims it. It is true, that no man is answerable for talents with which he has not been endowed. True, also, that the minister of Christ is not responsible for want of success in his efforts to win souls. But it is equally true, that the great Head of the church will hold that man guilty whose talents have not been improved as they might have been; and whose efforts have not been proportioned to the magnitude and difficulty of the work assigned him. It will admit an argument too, whether, in most cases, the inefficacy of the gospel be not owing to the inefficiency of the preacher. That gospel, an inspired apostle declares to be the power of God. Skill to wield that power, like skill in any other pursuit, is to be obtained only by study and perseverance.*

* "When I look at the great men of Rome, and see Cicero at the head of her senate, and Cesar at the head of her armies, in the daily habit of private

There are indeed many persons, and some too of unquestioned piety, who, although they hang with breathless silence on the lips of the eloquent preacher, yet scoff at the very idea of a man's *studying* to become eloquent: it is associated in their minds with irreverence to the Holy Ghost, and with the justly dreaded consequences of a man-made ministry.' It would be well for the young preacher, before allowing opinions of this nature to influence his conduct, to gauge the intellectual calibre from which they issue; for, although he is not to despise one of Christ's little ones, it is nowhere enjoined on him to be governed by the prejudice of the weak, or the caprice of the ignorant. It is unworthy the character of a Christian minister to be thus influenced. It is still more so for him to appear to be thus influenced when in reality he is not. This superadds the guilt of hypocrisy to actual degradation; as is sometimes painfully exhibited by his conduct, who, feeling the necessity of having before him, in the pulpit, a brief skeleton of his

reading and speaking for their own improvement, I should be inclined to presume, even independently of my own observation on the subject, that skill in elocution is not likely to be attained by accident. Cicero said, 'No man is an orator who has not learned to be so.' Among our students, there is indeed, now and then, a man who knows more about these matters than Cicero; and who confidently maintains that it is enough for any one to be so much of an orator as he *happens* to be, and that to aim at any thing more, is the certain way to spoil himself by artificial habits. But this sort of man, I have observed, when I come to hear him speak, commonly *happens* to be no very perfect orator; yet of the many faults which he *happens* to have, he cannot correct any one, because he lacks both patience and skill to learn what it is, or by what process it is to be corrected. Upon the whole, I have become fully satisfied, as the result of experience, that no man becomes possessed of an interesting and impressive delivery, except as the result of pains and patience in preparatory discipline."—*Porter's Let. to a Prof. in Theo. Sem.*

"So, then, you will make an orator by rule, will you? Just as I would make any other man by rule, where genius and sensibility need to be guided by elementary principles, and disciplined into skill by the gradual transformation of practice. There is an ancient maxim, 'Every *log* is not a Mercury,' which applies to this as well as to other subjects. And he who can tell us that eloquence is not to be produced by art, without genius, has made as profound a discovery as he who could tell us, that an orator is not a chair or a table; or that the carpenter's axe cannot hew a log into a divinity. But when it is admitted concerning any one, that the Creator has made him a *man*, the question remains, how far does it depend on this man to make himself an orator?"—*Ibid., Lect. on Elocution.*

sermon, attempts carefully to conceal it from his hearers. If it is wrong for him to have his notes before him, how dare he bring them into the sacred desk? If it is not wrong, as evidently it cannot be, why should he soil his conscience by an effort to conceal them? or risk his reputation by being detected in that which he wishes to conceal, and of which, by natural consequence, his hearers will infer that he is ashamed?

Of those, too, who are opposed to the labor and study that are by others deemed essential to the formation of the pulpit orator, not a few give evidence that their opposition is rather theoretical than real. They have no objections to the efforts of the young minister, so far as they are directed to the attainment of a knowledge of English grammar: they would have him speak correctly; they would be shocked if his gestures were awkward, and his manner so uncouth as to be repulsive to the man of refinement, or a just subject of ridicule to the young and the gay. And for a very good reason. In the ordinary course of Providence, the labors of such a man could not be beneficial to many, who, under other circumstances, might be induced attentively to listen, resolutely to decide, and, eventually, to throw into the right scale, the weight of sanctified intelligence.

But they ask, What has human learning to do with the conversion of the sinner? The question is often put, and in a tone as if the only answer that can be given must set at rest for ever, not only the question relative to theological seminaries, but also, that relative to systematic training and study of every kind for the service of the sanctuary.

It is easy to ask questions. Might we be pardoned for the presumption, we could ask another, which, indeed, is not another, but the same in a different garb: to wit, What has preaching itself to do with the conversion of the sinner? It is, confessedly, only a means to an end—a means, we readily admit, devised by God himself to effect this object. But still, if the Almighty were so disposed, it might be dispensed with, and the work of conversion be effected in some other way.

Precisely so with human learning; with diligent culture and patient mental discipline. They are means to an end; and, other things being equal, the success of the preacher will be proportionate to the attention given to these matters. Other things, we say,

being equal; for it is not pretended that all the science in the world, although its possessor spake with the tongue of an angel, can be a substitute for genuine piety. Our meaning may be illustrated by supposing the case of two ministers of Christ, equal in piety, in zeal for the advancement of God's glory, and in natural gifts. In the one, these endowments have been cultivated with assiduity; in the other, to a great extent, neglected. Is it not self-evident that the former will be a more successful, and, therefore, a more useful man than the latter?

We may carry the illustration still further: and suppose these men to be equals in their knowledge of divine things, and of the revealed plan of salvation, as well as in zeal and personal piety. The only difference shall be, that the one has acquired, in addition, the graces of a pleasing and winning eloquence; and just in proportion to his superiority in *bringing forth* things new and old, from a treasury no better furnished than that of the other, will be his higher relative standing in the church, and his greater influence over his fellow men.

It is exceedingly important that it be borne in mind here, that in both the cases supposed, we take men who are not only of unquestioned piety, but who have been actually called by the great Head of the church to the work of the ministry. Both these, piety and a call from Heaven, the latter no less than the former, are indispensable; and while it is unquestionable, that none but those who have passed from death unto life are ever called of God, as was Aaron; it is, with us, equally certain, that every religious man is not thus called; and that even depth of piety is not to be taken as sufficient evidence of such call.

It is on this point that our church has taken a decisive stand. She is jealous of the ark of God; and much as she desires to see her standard-bearers thoroughly furnished for their great work; educated, and fully armed for the contest to which they are to lead the sacramental host, she has, hitherto, firmly refused her sanction to the establishment of theological seminaries for the instruction of men who *may* be called to this office. In whatever light this subject appears to our brethren of sister churches, to us it has too much the appearance of usurping the prerogative of God: of manufacturing rather than educating ministers. It seems to us an exceedingly easy thing to persuade men who have been educated

theologically; who have listened to the lectures of the professor; who have passed through the prescribed course; and who can write sermons *secundum artem;* an exceedingly easy thing, we say, to persuade such that God has called them, and, perhaps, nothing but the light of eternity will disclose their error, and reveal in its full extent the mischievous consequences of that error.*

But this is a very different thing from educating men *after* the church has received satisfactory evidence that they are called to the ministry; and the time is not far distant, we feel warranted, from the signs of the times, to predict, when suitable provision will be made for this object: whether, by the extension of our literary institutions already in existence, or by the establishment of theological schools for this special purpose, time and the wisdom of the constituted authorities of the church will determine.

In the mean while, let not our younger brethren, already in the field, imagine, that because the warning voice of their fathers, venerable alike for age and wisdom, has been lifted up against the unhallowed attempts of men to make ministers, and against the presumption of thrusting unsanctified learning into the sacred desk, that, therefore, the church does not need, and expect the development of their gifts, as well as graces, to the greatest possible extent. Let them not listen to the sneers of the ignorant against books and against study, as if the time thus spent were wasted. They will, doubtless, meet with such among the people; perhaps even among the ministry. A jibe of this kind, from his colleague and senior in office, paralyzed for a while the efforts of Adam Clarke, as he tells us in his biography.† It came near quenching for ever that taper

* "Qui cupit juxta Paulum esse διδακτικος det operam ut prius sit Θεοδιδακτικος, i. e., Divinitus edoctus."—*Erasmus.*

"None but He who made the world can make a minister of the gospel. If a young man has capacity, culture and application may make him a scholar, a philosopher, or an orator; but a true minister must have certain principles, motives, feelings, and aims, which no industry, or endeavors of men can either acquire or communicate. They must be given from above, or they cannot be received."—*Newton.*

† We quote this little incident from the Life of this eminent, self-taught scholar, (12mo. ed., vol, i, p. 103:) "In the preachers' room at *Matcomb*, near Shaftsbury, observing a Latin sentence on the wall, in pencil, relative to the *vicissitudes of life*, he wrote under it the following lines from Virgil, corroborative of the sentiment:—

light which afterward blazed like a sun in the moral firmament, and shed its radiance over both hemispheres.

The man was an ignoramus: one of that class, unfortunately, not yet extinct, who are always self-sufficient and perfectly self-satisfied. From such, the young preacher will receive, as in the case before us, warnings against spiritual pride, and against devoting his time to literary attainments. He will hear the truism from the Discipline of the church quoted:—Gaining knowledge is a good thing, but saving souls a better: he will be reminded, possibly, of the remark of Paul to the Corinthians:—Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth. These may be urged in such a way as to give countenance to the idea, that the Discipline, and the most learned of the apostles, intended that ministers of Christ, the teachers of the church, should keep themselves ignorant, in order that they may edify others, and be successful in their office.

Perhaps it needs not, however, that we do more than merely hint at these things. Certainly we shall not undertake to defend Paul, or the excellent Discipline of our church, from a charge of pleading in behalf of ignorance. On his colleague, and that colleague equally with himself under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, the great apostle enjoined the necessity of his giving attendance to reading; and the Discipline, in language that appears to us something more than advisory, directs those who have no taste for reading, and cannot, or will not, contract a taste for it, to return to their former employment. The church here seems to have taken the high ground, and we have no doubt of its being correct and Scriptural, that men, who will not study to improve themselves, give evidence thereby that God has not called them to the ministry.

'*Quo fata trahunt retrahuntque, sequamur.*—
Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
Tendimus in Cœlum.'—*Eneid*, lib. v, 709; *Ib.*, lib. i, 204, 205.

The next preacher that followed him in this place, seeing the above lines, which he could not understand, nor see the relation they bore to those previously written, wrote under them the following words:—

'Did you write the above
to show us you could write Latin?
For shame! Do send pride
to hell, from whence it came.
O, young man, improve your
time, eternity 's at hand.'"

Else why does she say, The church can do without you; go home to your shops or your farms?*

We have already hinted at the importance, when estimating advice, of considering the source whence it comes. No one would think of listening to the counsel of a wicked man on the subject of personal piety. No one ought to heed the opinions of a willingly ignorant person on the subject of education.

That learning fosters pride, is a mischievous and a wicked dogma. It is directly opposite to truth. It owes its origin, and its prevalence, where it does yet prevail, to the pedantic airs and consequential bearing of smatterers and pretenders. Impostors and empirics are found in every profession, and the quack theological, with its various varieties, is a genus, of which specimens may yet be found. Such may deceive for a while, by the appearance of profound erudition, and some, who look only at the surface, are led to attribute their overweening arrogance and conceit, their puppyism, we had almost said, to that learning which they do not possess, and to that education which they never had. But the veil is very thin. Men of sense see through it. Even the unlettered multitude are beginning to attribute ignorance where conceit appears, and to consider modesty, as it really is, the infallible test of the enlightened and well-informed.

"I am not competent," said a certain honest-hearted class-leader, "to form an opinion of the Hebrew quotations with which Mr. —— interlards his sermons; but I should like him better if he talked less about himself, and spoke a little better grammar." It was a bitter sarcasm; its bitterness arose from its justness.

Indeed, we are not sure that it would be going too far to say, not only that the truly learned man is always modest, but that his modesty will be in direct proportion to his attainments. The further he advances, the larger appears the still undiscovered field before him, just as the extent of surrounding darkness is increased by the magnitude and brilliancy of the light that is held up in the midst of it. While the pretender is using every art to push himself into notice, and signally failing in every such attempt, the truly learned man seeks not to display, either himself or his attainments. Circumstances may for a season keep him in the shade; but he pursues his onward course, assured that his industry will be appre-

* See Discipline, chap. 1, sec. xvii.

ciated, and that the moral power he is acquiring by diligent mental culture *will be* called forth and *will be felt.**

The argument against a learned ministry, that is drawn from the conduct of the Lord Jesus, in the selection of his first disciples, is specious, and deserves a passing notice. It is an unquestionable fact, that the Saviour overlooked the educated doctors and learned scribes of the day, and made choice of men whose names were unknown in the circles of philosophy. In this, not less than in other instances, he evinced his wisdom. The twelve had not, as the prominent men of the various sects and schools would have had, to unlearn and to forget the great mass of solemn fooleries and frivolous conceits which constituted their science, falsely so called. This, difficult as the task would have been, must have been done as a preparative to the reception of his divine instructions; and is sufficient to account for his conduct, had he been merely a philosopher seeking to establish a new sect.

* The annexed extract, although from a work that from its manifest sectarian spirit and palpable injustice to John Wesley, will never be a favorite among his followers, yet we quote as subservient to our main design, and as illustrative of the absurdity of the opinion that art and study are destructive of simplicity and gracefulness in a public speaker:—

"Such was the manner of the preacher, whose spirit has spoken for itself throughout all this volume: and I now ask, Was that spirit ever trammeled, cooled, or carnalized, by Whitefield's attention to the graces of pulpit eloquence? Did the study of oratory estrange him from his closet? or lessen his dependence on the Holy Spirit? or divert him from living habitually in the light of eternity and the divine presence? No man ever lived nearer to God, or approached nearer to the perfection of oratory. He was too devotional to be cooled by rules, and too natural to be spoiled by art, and too much in earnest to win souls to neglect system. He 'sought out acceptable' tones, and gestures, and looks, as well as 'acceptable words.' Was Whitefield right? Then, how many, like myself, are far wrong? Let the rising ministry take warning! Awkwardness in the pulpit is a sin; monotony, a sin; dulness, a sin; and all of them sins against the welfare of immortal souls. These, be it ever remembered, invent too many excuses already for evading the claims of the gospel: do not, therefore, place yourself, STUDENT, among their reasons for rejecting it. It is as easy to be graceful in gesture, and natural in tone, as to be grammatical. You would not dare to violate grammar: dare not to be vulgar or vapid in manner. Your spirituality of mind is too low, and your communion with God too slight, and your love of truth too cold, if they can be endangered by cultivating an eloquence worthy of the pulpit."—*Life and Times of George Whitefield, by Robert Philip*, pp. 528, 529.

But he had a higher object. It was to leave behind him conclusive evidence of the fact that he was a teacher come from God: that, in his own language, he was "one with the Father," the great fountain of all light and wisdom. Hence it came to pass, as, doubtless, foreseen and intended by himself, that after his ascension, when his disciples proclaimed boldly the doctrines he had taught them, and preached the truths he had revealed, the multitude "took knowledge of them that they had been with Jesus." Listening to their teaching, so infinitely superior in style and matter to any that they have ever before heard; to the majestic conceptions of the Deity, and the overwhelming ideas of the eternal world which they unfolded, little was needed to impress upon the multitude the fact that none but a divine teacher could thus have instructed such men. Beholding the light shed upon the moral darkness of the world, by the "unlearned" disciples, many, from that fact alone, were doubtless induced to look up themselves to the Sun of righteousness, from whom that light had been so clearly and so wonderfully reflected.

But the disciples were very far from being in reality either unlearned or ignorant. For the great object to which they were set apart, they were better educated than any men have been since the apostolic age: better than any may ever hope to be. They were three years in the theological school of Christ: receiving, daily, instruction both theoretical and practical from the great Teacher himself: from him who "spake as never man spake." A very small portion of his lectures on the peculiar duties of his ambassadors has come down to us; but from the portion with which it has pleased the Holy Spirit to favor us, as well as from other considerations, it is evident, that Christ's scholars must have been well and thoroughly instructed.

In addition to these qualifications, moreover, lest by any means they might forget what they had once learned, as they were men of like frailty with ourselves, he left them the assurance, that after his departure, the Holy Ghost should not only be sent from the Father in his name, but, said he, "He shall bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you." The unqualified language of this promise discountenances the idea that it had reference, merely, to the inspiration necessary to enable them to hand down to posterity a correct and faithful history of his life and suf-

ferings. It implied, also, that at all times they should have a perfect recollection of the instructions he had given them relative to the truths he taught, and to the manner in which he would have them teach.

The memorable events of the day of pentecost, familiar as they are to every reader, must also be adverted to when considering the qualifications of the apostles. The gift of tongues, which they then received, and by which they were enabled, not only to understand foreign languages, but to converse intelligibly with men "of every nation under heaven," filled the minds of the vast multitude that had assembled with astonishment and awe. It would be an exceedingly difficult task to frame an argument against the necessity of high ministerial acquirements from the promise of Christ to his first disciples; or from the remarkable fulfilment of that promise to which we have just alluded.

On the contrary, their whole history may be urged with great force as an unanswerable argument for diligent study on the part of successors of the apostles *after* they have been called to that sacred office; and there is something more than a fancied resemblance between the disciples of Christ, and those to whom we more particularly address ourselves in the present article.

Like them, the younger years of the great majority of those now in our itinerant ranks were spent in daily toil and honest industry. Like them, many left their all, at the summons of the Master's voice. With constitutions unimpaired by the confinement of college walls, or undue devotion to the midnight oil in their youthful days, they are strong to labor, and to endure fatigue, mental as well as bodily. The health and vigor thus acquired, and the practical knowledge of human nature, the knowledge of men rather than of things, obtained in their several vocations, have laid a broad foundation, on which may be erected a glorious superstructure of really useful knowledge.

These are considerations by no means to be overlooked or undervalued. Even in the limited circle of our own acquaintance, we could point to some, who, although well versed in the literature of Greece and Rome, and competent to read, and comment upon the sacred canon in the original Hebrew; are yet as ignorant as little children of human nature, of man as he really is. They live in an ideal world: they know a great deal, but the world is little the

better for it. So, too, many a learned divine looks back, with unavailing regret, upon the fatal errors into which he was led by youthful emulation: his intellect is well furnished; but his physical powers are enfeebled: his mind is sound, but his constitution is broken. Gladly, were it possible, would he to-day exchange all his hard-earned knowledge for the elastic step and buoyant spirits of him who last year left his plough-share in the furrow, or his net upon the beach, that he might follow in the footsteps of his Master, and seek the lost sheep of the house of Israel.*

And why would he do this? Because he has learned to look upon his scientific attainments as of little value? Because he would be content to be ignorant if he might have health? No, indeed: having tasted the sweets of knowledge, and reveled in the enjoyments of literature, it is impossible for him to choose ignorance for its own sake. He would have health, and the restoration of his corporeal faculties, that he might begin anew to feed the flame; that, from the sad lessons experience has taught him, he might pour in the oil, in such a manner as not again to endanger the safety of the vessel. In a word, that he might occupy precisely that position in which the majority of the junior ministers of our church are now placed; and, with a sound body, and vigorous constitution, follow out that course of patient and persevering study, while engaged in the active labors of the ministry, which we are aiming to enforce upon their attention.

Let it not be supposed that we are ignorant of the obstacles to be encountered by the young Methodist preacher; or of the difficulties in his way to the attainment of suitable qualifications for his

* Dr. Porter in one of his lectures has the following remarks, in a note relative to his own experience:—"I entered college at the age of fifteen. Those active habits, which had previously sustained my health, were gradually diminished, during two and a half years of severe study, often continued to a late hour at night. Without one admonition or apprehension of my danger, my strength imperceptibly declined, till a single cold threatened to destroy my lungs." "By resorting again to the saddle, to mechanical labor at the work bench, to wood sawing, to gardening, and, at last, to holding the plough, (*instar omnium* in my case,) sufficient strength was gained to go on with my ministry; but it was only the strength of an invalid. Now it was my *calamity* to have inherited a constitution predisposed to catarrh and dyspepsy; but it was my *fault* (and a grievous one) that I invited disease, by indulging love of study, without a more settled *plan of daily exercise*."

great work. On the contrary, because we do know these things, we thus write; and it is possible, that in noticing a few of these hinderances, we shall hint at some, that have not occurred, even to the mind of the itinerant student himself.

The most common, and, at the same time, the most absurd reason that is offered for neglecting study, is a want of opportunity. Circuits are sometimes large, appointments to preach are numerous, and a great deal of pastoral visiting is necessary. These things certainly must be attended to, but we have never yet met with an instance, where these duties were so engrossing as to deprive a man of as much time as he ought to devote to study. It is, moreover, an observation, founded on experience, that, as a general thing, the most studious and persevering ministers are those who, while doing this, have not left the other undone: giving abundant evidence that there is nothing incompatible in the union of the characters of the faithful pastor and the diligent student. Indeed, it is lamentable to think, for how many wasted hours even ministers of Christ are accountable; in how many instances He who sees the heart knows that the plea of want of time is, in truth, nothing but want of inclination. Take the man who has so often quieted his conscience by this excuse, that he now believes it himself; place him where he shall be free from every other care, and exempt from every other duty; set him down in a comfortable study, and surround him with a spacious library of the best books on every subject; let him have an easy rocking chair withal; and the great probability is, that he will do every thing else but *study;* and that he will come forth, at the end of the year, quite as great a novice as when he entered. By diligent redemption of time, and unwearied husbandry of opportunity, there is no circuit, the duties of which are so incessant, as not to leave, at the absolute disposal of the preacher, as much time in the course of a year as is generally spent in study by the students during the same period at a college or theological seminary. It is true, he may not have this time in an unbroken series, or always at the most convenient seasons; but let any one make the calculation, on the supposition that he was determined to acquire useful knowledge, of how many hours he might save from sleep; and how many he might gain by punctuality; and how many might be redeemed by abstaining from every frivolous and unnecessary pursuit, and his own

arithmetic will startle him, and bear us out fully in the above position.

Of very little more weight is the plea, sometimes urged, of inability to obtain the necessary books. The amount of money actually received by Methodist preachers is, indeed, in many places, pitifully small; but, by the admirable economy of our church, just in proportion to his fidelity to the duty enjoined upon him of circulating the publications of our own press, will be, if he is so disposed, the enlargement of his own library. The possession, merely, of a great many books, is not an object of so much importance as is by some imagined. A man may own a great many volumes, while of the contents of a single one he is not thoroughly master.*

The selection of works suitable for the study of a young minister is a matter of great importance. It depends so much on his previous habits and attainments, that it is impossible to prepare a catalogue that would not, on the one hand, contain works beyond the present ability of some to read with profit; or, on the other, omit volumes that would be of essential service to those further advanced. The theological student must, in a great degree, be governed in this matter by his own good sense: aided, as he may generally be, by the advice of judicious friends.

A few remarks on this topic, such as will commend themselves to the reader's own judgment, are all that may be ventured in the present article.

And, first, it will be seen at once, that no man is worthy the name of a Methodist preacher who is not thoroughly versed, not only in the system of revealed truth as held by the generality of evangelical denominations, but especially with those peculiarities by which the church of his choice is distinguished. There is no scarcity of standard works, from elementary treatises up to logical and profound dissertations on these subjects. There is no good reason why any Methodist preacher should be without them; and

* Observing a handsome copy of Watson's Institutes in possession of a young minister who was lamenting his want of a suitable library, we ventured to ask him if he had read that work? "Why," said he, "yes; I have looked it over." Think of a Methodist minister satisfied with having looked over such a work as Watson's Institutes! Of what use would a library be to him? An occasional lounging visit to a large book-store, where in a little while he might *look over* thousands of volumes, would be quite as beneficial, and much more economical.

absolutely no excuse for his being ignorant of their contents. There would be certainly a great advantage to the young minister, as well as a saving of time, if there were among us a school for the prophets, where he might hear these things from the lips of the living lecturer, and receive that direction and counsel relative to his theological and literary studies which his peculiar circumstances require. The church will see this, and act: our successors will reap the benefit; and, in the mean time, the ministry of the present age must aim, by their own efforts, to supply the deficiency, each for himself.

Another indispensable qualification is, a knowledge of the language in which he is to preach; a familiar acquaintance with the strength, beauty, and peculiar idioms of the English tongue. It is perfectly preposterous for any man to waste his money and his time in purchasing, and poring over grammars and lexicons of foreign languages, until he has acquired sufficient knowledge of his own to speak and write it with purity and precision. *Then* he may soar away into the classic regions of the ancients; *then* let him slake his thirst at the fountain head of the living oracles. But not till then. For while it is indisputable that his mind may be replenished and expanded by an acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, it is also equally clear, that his only medium of communicating the results of this study must be the common language of his hearers; and that in order to arrest their attention, he must be able to present his thoughts in language that will not only command the attention of the ignorant and uneducated; but in such as will not shock the intelligent and the well informed. There are more or less of such in almost every religious congregation of the present day.*

* "But it may be said, the greater part of congregations consist chiefly, and not a few wholly, of plain, illiterate people. Being no judges of language, all they require, or need, is the communication of interesting *truths*, without exact regard to words. What then? Because the choice of words claims not the preacher's *first* attention, does it follow that it is a matter of entire indifference? Or that the plain language, in which it is necessary to address plain hearers, may with propriety, or must, of course, be incorrect?" "In every congregation there are hearers of *some taste*, who will hardly excuse coarse and incorrect *language* in a preacher any more than they would excuse him for appearing on the sabbath in the *apparel* of a clown."—*Porter's Lect. on Style.*

"Vulgarity of language does inexpressible injury to the thought conveyed

We were present once, at a meeting, where every feeling of solemnity was absolutely overpowered by the ludicrous blunder of one who was called on to lead the devotions. He told us, designing, doubtless, to improve on that passage in the Acts of the Apostles where it is said that prayer was *wont* to be made by the side of a certain river, that the place where we then were was a place where prayer was *much wanted* to be made. But this was not so bad as an example quoted from the Christian Observer by Dr. Porter in one of his lectures on style:—"A preacher in discoursing on that text, WRITE, *blessed are the dead that die in the Lord*, made this observation, 'There is a RIGHT blessedness, and a WRONG blessedness, and departed saints are RIGHT blessed, that is, truly blessed.' A striking proof," subjoins the Christian Observer, "how desirable it is that public teachers should be able not only to read and *write*, but also to SPELL."

The choice of suitable subjects for pulpit discussion, the best method of arrangement, and the manner most likely to produce the designed effect, are topics to which the attention of him whose whole business it is to instruct cannot be too forcibly directed. The age in which we live abounds in models for the instruction of the young preacher, and the press is constantly teeming with the productions of profound research and impassioned eloquence. The difficulty is not, as we have intimated above, that there is any scarcity of suitable works of this kind, but in directing the attention of those, who are not cursed with a superabundance of this world's wealth, to such as will be most beneficial in their peculiar circumstances.

From the volumes named at the head of this article, much

under it, how just and important soever it may be. You will say that this is the effect of mere prejudice in the hearers, consequently unreasonable, and not to be regarded. Be it that this *is* prejudice in the hearers, and, therefore, unreasonable. It is the business of the orator to accommodate himself to men, such as he sees they *are*, not such as he imagines they *should* be. But, upon impartial examination, the thing perhaps will not be found so unreasonable as at first sight it may appear. That the *thought* may enter deeply into the mind of the reader, or hearer, there is need of all the assistance possible from the *expression*. Little progress can it be expected, then, that the former shall make, if there be any thing in the latter which serves to divert the attention from it. And this effect, at least, of diverting the attention, even mere *grammatical blunders* are but too apt to produce."—*Campbell's Phil. Rhet.*

valuable instruction may be derived. They are written in a clear and pleasing style; and embody the results of much study and practical experience. Bating an unnecessary fling, here and there, at Arminianism, but with which we are not disposed to cavil, coming, as it does, from a Calvinistic instructor, they may be confidently recommended to the study of young ministers of every sect.

Two thoughts suggested by a review of our preceding remarks may be here added on the subject of the selection of suitable books. The one is, that with the exception of mere works of reference, such as Concordances, for instance, it is unwise for a minister to lumber the shelves of his library with books that he does not intend to *study*. His time may be better employed, and his money laid out to better advantage, than in the purchase and perusal of works designed merely for recreation or literary amusement. His leisure would be more profitably spent in composing an essay, or writing out a sermon at full length.*

The other thought to which we advert is, a caution against rejecting valuable treatises, merely because they emanate from those who differ from us on doctrinal points. The bee gathers honey from the poisonous flower; and it is an old adage, *fas est ab hoste doceri*. Several of the Calvinistic divines of the present day, who have been recently endeavoring to throw light on the doctrine of Christian perfection, would have escaped the ridiculous position they occupy, had their attention been directed to, and had they condescended to study the works of Wesley and Fletcher on that subject.

* We take great pleasure in transcribing the following note from Dr. Porter's lecture on the style of the pulpit. It has ten-fold force, now that the green grass waves above his silent pillow. "The question has often been put to me, 'To what extent ought a theological student to read the *modern works of fiction* with a view to improve his own style?' The inquiry has commonly had a primary regard to the writings of Walter Scott. To the magic of his genius, my own sensibilities have responded, whenever I have opened his pages; but the very enchantment which he throws around his subject has warned me to beware of putting myself in his power. This is one reason why I have read but two or three of all the volumes of fiction from his prolific pen. Another reason is, that as an instructor of young ministers I could not, with a good conscience, devote the *time* requisite for all this reading of romance; nor am I willing that my example should be made an occasion for others to do so *when I am in my grave*."

The frequent changes, consequent upon our system of itinerancy, are, not necessarily indeed, but, nevertheless, really one reason why study is neglected, and so many of our teachers are themselves untaught. The mind is naturally predisposed to sluggishness and inactivity. It requires resolute determination to curb its waywardness and to bring it down to patient study. Whatever may be the opinion of the thoughtless, it is hard work to think, and mental labor is even more fatiguing than bodily toil. Hence it follows that many who have been called to the ministry, after the first year or two, seem disposed to study as little as possible; to get along as easily as they can. Instead, therefore, of pursuing a systematic course of mental culture and improvement, they sink into a state of torpid apathy; reading, if they do read, without order, without method, without design. They pass their year, or two years, if there is not a remonstrance against their being sent back, in preaching over and over again the same course of sermons which fear of being rejected on their examination induced them to prepare during the first two years of their ministry. The pulpit efforts of such men have been compared, with as much truth as quaintness, to the manna provided for the children of Israel in the wilderness, which although fresh and wholesome when gathered, yet, when kept over, notwithstanding all their care, bred worms and stank. There is an air of dishonesty about such conduct, that ought to make a Christian minister tremble; it is a species of imposition upon the people, who have a right to expect the best of his intellectual efforts, and that he, above all men, will not attempt to serve God with that, which having been memorized years ago, now costs him nothing. Let the young preacher beware of attempting *to get along easy*. He is sent into God's vineyard to labor; and the mere repetition of a stale sermon, though he may exert his lungs in its delivery, is not labor; it is mere "bodily exercise which profiteth little."

We would not be understood here, to imply that a text, because it has been made the subject of a sermon once, may not be again used by the preacher. On the contrary, we are not speaking about the *text* at all, but about the *discourse* founded thereon. More labor may be spent, and spent profitably, in altering, improving, and remodeling a sermon, than it cost in its original composition. We care nothing how often the young preacher discourses on the same

subject, only let him see to it that he neglect not suitable care and preparation; and that each succeeding effort be an improvement on the last in matter and in style. When he has gone so far, and arrived, in his own opinion, at such a high degree of excellence that no improvement can be made, it is time for him to lay aside that sermon, and to preach from that text no longer.

The approbation and applause of hearers, upon whose judgment, in other matters, the preacher would place no reliance, may sometimes encourage him in his neglect of suitable preparation for the pulpit. They will tell him, perhaps, that the sermon which cost him little or no mental effort was one of his best. Predisposed to idleness, flattery of this kind, if heeded, will make him a very drone. While he ought to listen attentively to candid criticism, and endeavor to profit by judicious advice as to his faults, he has something within that will not fail to point out to him his excellences without a prompter. It will be wise in him to close his ears to the voice of indiscriminating commendation, let it come from what source it may. It was John Bunyan, if our memory serves us, who replied to one who observed in his hearing, that he had preached an excellent sermon—"The devil told me that before I came out of the pulpit."

The example of men who were almost without education, and who scarcely gave any attention to literary pursuits, and whose labors were, nevertheless, owned and blessed of God, is readily urged by those who, determined to be ignorant themselves, are seemingly anxious that others should be so too. But what a barefaced and palpable piece of sophistry is this. It assumes, in the first place, what cannot by any possibility be proved, that these men would not have been more successful in winning souls to Christ if they had given more attention to the cultivation of their own minds. And, what is worse, it seems to imply, for here is the whole gist of the argument, that their success was in consequence of their ignorance. An absurdity too gross to impose upon any man who is not desirous to be imposed upon. It is very evident, that the men to whom we have alluded (we honor them for their works' sake) were successful, not *because* of the disadvantages under which they labored, but *in spite* of them. The peculiarities of the age in which they lived, and of the circumstances under which they were placed, may account, in some degree, for their success; and it will, at least, admit of a question, whether the

same men with the same zeal would be equally useful at the present day? Ardent piety, there is no doubt, is always more desirable than mere knowledge; but zeal alone is no equivalent for the two combined.

The fact is, the spirit of the times in which we live demands high intellectual attainments on the part of those who profess to teach. It is not only an age of bustle and excitement, but an *age* of *reading*. Volumes of sermons, and of works on practical Christianity, are published, and circulated, and read. They are to be met with, not only in the libraries of the higher classes, but on the tables of those in middle life. By the praiseworthy exertions of tract societies, many of the most powerful and stirring appeals that have ever been written, are put into the hands of the poor and the illiterate. Whatever may be the truth, as to the number of real Christians, it is beyond controversy, that the theory of Christianity is now better understood than ever it was in all preceding time. The contrast between the dry and cold speculations of the learned ministry of a former day, and the ardent zeal and fervor of a few who, with little attention to the graces of oratory, preached the gospel in the demonstration of the Spirit, tended not less to the success, than to the popularity of the latter. Rude though they were in speech, it was the bread of life they broke to the multitudes who thronged around them, forsaking the husks and chaff dealt out by those to whom the hungry sheep had so long "looked up and were not fed." They had in their favor the charm of novelty, and an unquestionable air of sincerity and singleness of purpose, which atoned for every deficiency, and contrasted wonderfully with the stale and threadbare homilies of the head rather than the heart, so universally prevalent.

But that day has gone by. The mass of the community understand what practical piety is, and know full well what a professed minister of Christ ought to be. They will not be satisfied with dull exhibitions of dry and prosing morality; nor yet with zeal and energy in an uncouth garb, when they may have them adorned with the drapery of a fascinating eloquence and a polished style. It is perfectly idle to say it ought not to be so. We must take men as they are, and instead of supposing that any thing *repulsive* can attract, avoid, as far as in us lies, every thing that would repel the man of refined and cultivated intellect, as carefully as we would avoid offending the weak and the uneducated. The ministry de-

manded by the wants of the present age, is one that shall not only be holy, and fervent, and self-sacrificing; but educated, enlightened, and always in advance of the surrounding community. Indeed, it may be laid down as a rule, admitting of but few exceptions, that the preacher *will* always be in advance of his hearers; for if he be not, they, as a general thing, will leave him, and seek that ministry by which not only their hearts may be warmed, but their minds enlightened.

This is true even of professing Christians, with the exception of those who, from conscientious motives, consent to sit, until a change can be effected, under the ministrations of those who cannot teach, because they will not learn. So far from piety being all that is required of the ministry of the present age, there is no more common form of expression, when censure is intended, with as little harshness as may be: "*Brother so and so is, no doubt, a very good man;* BUT—." Every body's experience will bear testimony to the truth of this remark.

Another feature of the present age is, the unblushing boldness of error, and the ten thousand varying shapes which it assumes. Genius, and talent, and eloquence are pressed into its service. It is scattered by the press, disseminated from the lecture room, and instilled by the pulpit. In our own country, where the rights of conscience are guarantied, and free discussion is tolerated on almost every topic, it is not to be wondered at that its name is *legion*, and that its votaries are many. Now the ministry of Christ have been by himself constituted the guardians, as his church is the pillar and ground of THE TRUTH. Is it enough for them to say, the truth is on our side? To fold their arms, while error is riding rampant through the land, because, forsooth, the old adage declares that *truth is mighty and that it will prevail!* Prevail, will she? What, when her champions lie wounded and bleeding by the road side, because they went forth illy equipped, nay, only half armed for the contest?*

* There was a public controversy, not many years since, between a Methodist minister and a Universalist on the doctrine of future punishment. The perverted ingenuity and sophistry of the latter were more than a match for the simplicity and artlessness of the former. The result was just what might have been expected. A well-informed member of our church, who was present, declared that if he had not been fully satisfied of the truth of the doctrine from

Yes; the truth will prevail: but God has decreed that her triumph shall be brought about by human instrumentality. Her victories are the result of skill and energy on the part of her champions: skill to select the weapons from her armory and energy to wield them.

A great deal is said about the beauty and the power of simple and unadorned truth by those, who, at the same time, overlook the fact, that we are living in a world in which truth has had to contend for her very existence from the first hour of man's apostasy to the present: a world inhabited by men of like feelings and dispositions with those who, when the TRUTH *embodied* appeared among them, instead of embracing it, cried out for the scourge and the cross, that they might no longer endure His withering glance. Men love darkness rather than light, no less now than they did in the days of the Saviour; and it is not to be wondered at, that error, in her protean forms, assumes the garb of fascination, and seeks by every allurement to increase the smiles and to perpetuate the homage of a world in which her throne is erected. To tear off these embellishments, to expose sophistry, to chase error through her many windings, and to present unpalatable truth in such a manner as shall induce the carnal mind to listen, and listening, to love; this is the work for heaven's appointed champions; a work of constantly increasing difficulty, and for the accomplishment of which, with the anointing of the Holy Ghost, learning, and skill, and eloquence are requisite.

To the ministry of the Methodist Church, especially, many arguments may be advanced bearing on the importance of this subject. We will merely advert to a few, and bring this article to a close.

The fact that other denominations of the church of Christ are insisting on a higher degree of piety and zeal in their ministry, as well as suitable literary attainments, is an omen of good; a subject for unfeigned rejoicing among all who love the Lord Jesus. It

other sources; if, in other words, he had had no settled opinion on that subject, he should have been inclined to give the victory to the Universalist.

We shall be censured, perhaps, for giving publicity to this incident. For our own part, we see no sufficient reason for withholding it. The fact is as stated. The effort of our brother was well meant, but the result—enough to make an angel weep. It serves to illustrate the remarks in the text; and may stand here as a beacon to warn men from undertaking that to which they are not competent.

might be difficult, logically, to prove, but, in our minds, there is no doubt that this is in a great degree owing to a holy emulation caused by the labors and the success of the ministry of our church. Now, while we would not have this ardor in any degree cooled, nor this zeal one jot abated, we would have our ministry able to cope with that of any other branch of Christ's church, in directing that zeal according to knowledge, in defending peculiarities of doctrine, in influencing, swaying, and molding the public mind. We hold that man unworthy of his vocation, we doubt, indeed, whether he has not mistaken his calling, who is willing that the church, of which he is a minister, should be thrown into the back ground, or should rank anywhere but FIRST in its influence, its power, and its success.

Do we really believe in the peculiarities of our creed? Are we convinced that there is more of truth and less of error in the doctrines of our own than in those of our sister churches? Are we satisfied that the "sect everywhere spoken against" is destined to embrace every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, when the millennial reign of Christ shall fill the earth with his glory? We profess all this. That we are Methodists, is evidence that such is our belief and our expectation: and can any labor be too great, or any toil unnecessary that shall tend to enable the ministry of our church to show by their works that this *is* their faith?

Again, the tendency of our economy is evidently and unavoidably to concentration. Keeping pace with the population, and losing sight of territorial limits, the district becomes a conference; and what, in many instances, was once a circuit, is now the boundary of a district. Stations are multiplying everywhere; and within a section of country where formerly we could do little more than fire a random shot at different places once a month, or once in six weeks, now, the citadel of error is to be attacked by a continued and incessant bombardment. To say nothing of the qualifications that are requisite to enable our ministry to appear in places like these, creditably, when compared with the talent and eloquence in the pulpits by which they are surrounded, the wants of our own people demand from them qualifications that they cannot have without diligent study and faithful mental discipline. They cannot be satisfied with tedious repetitions and reiterated dulness: they will not be satisfied with awkwardness or monotony. Hence the anxiety

of our people to secure the services of such men as they suppose are best furnished, intellectually, for the pastoral office, is pardonable, nay, praiseworthy. The fact that a man is a Methodist minister, in good standing, is satisfactory evidence of his piety; but they ask, with solicitude which does them credit, Is he qualified to meet the opposition that *we* have to contend with? Can he feed the lambs of our flock? Is he able to retain our congregations, to withdraw which the efforts of our neighbors are skilful and unceasing?

It is a question which we do not intend to answer, but which we would commend to those who are loudest in their denunciations of what is called the "petitioning system," whether, in most instances, that practice does not arise, on the part of our people, from a sincere and ardent desire for the honor and the advancement of Methodism? It is a yet graver question, and one still more pertinent to the subject before us, whether the fault complained of in this respect may not be traced to the door of the ministry? *For whom* do the people petition? Is there any good reason why all may not, in a greater or less degree, acquire those qualifications for which the church asks as a favor, while other denominations demand them as a right? In fact, the embarrassments of our executive do not arise so much from the number of petitions, with which, in some conferences, their tables groan, as, from the fact, that comparatively but a few men are petitioned for.

Here we pause for the present. If the motives urged fail to effect the object for which we have written, the fault is not in them, but in us. In ourselves, we mean, because we have not presented them with sufficient vividness and energy; or, in ourselves still, for we are one among our brethren, because we will not allow these motives to have their due influence. The glory of God, and, if we have no higher object, even our own interest for this world, as well as for that which is to come, demand from every minister of our church the unceasing improvement of the talents committed to his stewardship: that Methodism may be urged on to the accomplishment of her destiny—the publication and the embracement of a FREE and a FULL salvation to the ends of the earth. F.

ART. VII.—1. *Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection, with other kindred Subjects, illustrated and confirmed in a Series of Discourses, designed to throw light on the Way of Holiness.* By Rev. ASA MAHAN, President of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute. Fourth edition. Pp. 193. Boston: published by D. S. King. 1840.

2. *Christian Perfection.* By ENOCH POND, D. D., Bangor Theological Seminary. American Biblical Repository, second series. Vol. I, pp. 44–58.

3. *Review of Mahan on Christian Perfection.* By Rev. NATHANIEL S. FOLSOM. Providence, R. I. American Biblical Repository, second series. Vol. II, pp. 143–166.

4. *Strictures on Mr. Folsom's Review of Mahan on Christian Perfection.* By Rev. ASA MAHAN, President, &c. American Biblical Repository. Vol. IV, pp. 408–428.

5. *Examination of the Doctrine of Perfection, as held by* Rev. ASA MAHAN, President of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, Rev. CHARLES FITCH, and others agreeing with them. By LEONARD WOODS, D. D., Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. American Biblical Repository. Vol. V, pp. 166–189.

THE discussion of the subject of *Christian perfection*, now pending in the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, is a matter of no small interest to the church of Christ in general. And at present, we rejoice to say, it seems to be assuming a tone which augurs a favorable result. The best talents are called into requisition, and a becoming gravity and brotherly feeling characterize the parties engaged in the investigation.

We are not at all disposed to intermeddle with questions of difference among other denominations, so far as these questions are merely local or only interesting to them. But this question is one of general interest, and such is the relation which is held to it by all the followers of Wesley, that it cannot be supposed they will look on with indifference. Especially as the views of Wesley and the Methodists frequently come into question; and, as we think, are sometimes but badly represented, it ought not to be taken amiss that we should interpose at this time a brief review of the controversy.

We have read Mr. Mahan's book with great interest and satis-

faction. Though it is not to be maintained that he expresses himself Methodistically upon all the points of this great doctrine, we are satisfied that the *thing* which we mean by *Christian perfection* is truly set forth in that work. The failure to express the Wesleyan theory, if in any point, is in not sufficiently distinguishing between *legal* and *evangelical* perfection. This we merely hint by the way, being by no means certain that there is any real difference between his *conceptions* of the subject and our own.

The point upon which we feared, when we took up his book, we should find him to have failed, is the distinct and proper recognition of *divine influence* as the efficient cause of the work of sanctification. But his language upon this point seems sufficiently explicit.

We should be happy, had we room, to give a complete analysis of this work, but after what we have said, we must leave those who wish further information with regard to its character, to procure and read it for themselves.

We shall next notice Dr. Pond's article, in opposition to the doctrine of Christian perfection. This writer *first* gives us his views of the different schemes of "the pretenders to Christian perfection;" *secondly*, he attempts to meet the arguments by which its abettors labor to support it; and, *thirdly*, he brings against it several objections.

"The question," Dr. P. says, "is one of *fact*." He does not deny that the doctrine is taught in the Bible: admits that we are commanded to be perfect; that the apostle prayed that his Christian brethren might be made perfect, that this state is matter of promise, and that we are bound ever to aspire to it; but then it turns out to be a "fact" that *none ever are so.* That *no man since the fall, while living, ever attained to this state, nor will any in future to the end of time.* We shall not, at present, controvert this point, nor attempt an answer of the author's arguments, but shall merely undertake to set him right in some things in which he has failed to represent what the "fact" really is in the case. In this controversy, as a matter of course, Mr. Wesley must come in for a share of praise on one side, and of blame on the other. But we are sorry that a writer of so much character as is Dr. P. should have been so very careless a reader of Mr. Wesley's writings, and should so represent his views upon important points connected with this question, as to leave a false and an injurious impression.

In a note Dr. P. says,—

"Mr. Wesley did not intend, perhaps, to depress the standard of duty; but he held to the repeal of 'the Adamic law,' and thought it very consistent with perfection that persons should fall into great *errors* and *faults*. See his Plain Account, pp. 93, 94."

"Great *errors* and *faults*" are not Mr. Wesley's words, but words which perhaps suit Dr. P. a little better than any he could find in the author upon whom he palms such obnoxious doctrines.

Dr. P. seems entirely to have overlooked the explanatory clause included, in the copy before us, in a parenthesis, but which originally was inserted in a foot note. Having said that "Christ is the end of the Adamic, as well as of the Mosaic law," that "by his death he hath put an end to both: nor is any man living bound to observe the Adamic more than the Mosaic law," Mr. Wesley adds this explanation: "*I mean, it is not the condition either of present or future salvation.*" Now, had Dr. P. noticed this very important qualification, he could not consistently have stated, unqualifiedly, that Mr. Wesley "held to the repeal of the Adamic law." His simple view is nothing more nor less than this: that *present and future salvation are suspended upon the condition of faith, without the works of the law.* But if Dr. P. takes the converse of this proposition, and, contrary to the doctrine of the Confession of Faith of his own church, believes in salvation by the law as a covenant of works, let him come out and say so.

There is still another injurious and erroneous representation of Mr. Wesley's language in this article. After saying some things of those who profess to have attained Christian perfection, not highly imbued with charity, the writer adds in a note,—

"In illustration of what is here said I cannot forbear quoting a few sentences from Mr. Wesley's 'Plain Account' of some of his *perfect* followers in London."

He now quotes several paragraphs of what Mr. Wesley says of "those in London who seem to have been lately renewed in love," but who were evidently wanting in the characteristics of perfect Christians; being deficient in "gentleness, goodness, fidelity," &c. And in the conclusion of his remarks Mr. Wesley says, "You have not what I call perfection. If others will call it so, they may. However, hold fast what you have, and earnestly pray for what you have not." But how Dr. P. could quote this language of Mr.

Wesley, as said "of some of *his* perfect followers in London," and how he could make out, even after all Mr. Wesley says of them, that these people were "far gone in error and sin," we are utterly at a loss to see. The whole is an effort upon the part of Mr. Wesley to show that these persons were not entitled to be considered as perfect Christians. He says to them plainly, "You have not what I call perfection." Can it be possible that Dr. P. failed to understand a few plain English sentences, written with characteristic perspicuity? We would fain hope that the fault was in his power of attention, and that it did not originate in a design to make a wrong impression. Of such a design we charitably hope the doctor is incapable.

We next pass to notice Mr. Folsom's review of Mr. Mahan's book. After premising that the question is simply a question of fact, and inflicting a slight chastisement upon Mr. M. for "not fairly" stating "the question at issue," Mr. F. proceeds to spend his strength upon Mr. M.'s arguments; and then adduces "a few brief considerations, to strengthen the proof which has long been the defense of the church, in respect to the doctrine that none ever reach a state of perfect and perpetual holiness in the present life." His brief "considerations" consist in nine assumptions, which prove nothing at all. They amount to about this: *the doctrine that no one ever attains perfection in this life* is proved by all those passages which deny the fact of the existence of perfect Christians! Where these "passages" are he leaves his readers to find out. The last paragraph of this writer is not a little remarkable. The following is a part of it:—

"There is one permanent and visible state which the Christian *must* reach. It is that where his life will be in general accordance with the requirements of God's word. He must be able to say with Paul, I know nothing by myself. He must live free from open, known sin, free from transgression in secret. His growth must be permanently upward into the stature of a perfect man in Christ."

Now, if we *are* not deceived, this comes very little short of the very state which this gentleman has taken so much pains to prove *will never be attained*. If we "*must* live free from open and known sin," and "from transgression in secret," what place is left for sin of any kind? Is not all "sin" either "open" or "secret?"

President Mahan's reply to Mr. Folsom is written with ability and in good temper. The simple question at issue he makes to be,

"Whether we may now, during the progress of the present life, attain to entire perfection in holiness, and whether it is proper for us to indulge the anticipation of making such attainments."

The *fact*, that some are represented in the Scriptures as having attained this state, he only adduced, because of its bearing upon this question. The question of fact Mr. M. fairly rests upon Scripture ground, but we have not space for a specimen.

The next who enters the list against President Mahan is Dr. Woods, of Andover. This gentleman writes in good temper, and manifests great respect for the character and feelings of the man he feels constrained to oppose. After a brief introduction, he makes the following statement:—

"When a man undertakes to sustain and propagate a novel system —a system different from what has commonly been entertained by the best of men—it is inadmissible for him to set forth, as a part of his system, any opinions which are held by those from whom he professes to differ."

To this no valid objection can be made, provided he confine his restriction to the question in debate. But there is a counterpart to this proposition upon which it will be Mr. Mahan's privilege, if he should see proper, to insist; and that is, that *in opposing a novel doctrine, nothing should be assumed as common ground which does not legitimately constitute a part of the ordinary creed.* This latter restriction is as legitimate and as important a rule of discussion as the former, and one by which Dr. Woods is most sacredly bound to be governed. Whether he has adhered to it we shall presently see; but it is certain that he thinks Mr. M. has passed over his boundary.

The "views" which the doctor charges Mr. M. with maintaining as "different" from those commonly entertained by his brethren, and which he maintains are not "novel," but equally "held by those from whom he professes to differ," may be expressed in the simple proposition, that *Christian perfection, or salvation from all sin, is* ATTAINABLE *now, during the present life.* This, all Mr. Mahan's opponents, so far, have declared to be *common ground*, and, consequently, not the question at issue. That Dr. Woods takes this ground will be seen in the following passage, which constitutes but a small portion of what he says to the same purpose:—

"And he lays it down as a truth, which distinguishes his system from the one generally held, that 'complete holiness is, in the highest

and most common acceptation of the term, *attainable*. And in the last number of the Repository (p. 409) he states it as a point peculiar to him and his party, 'that we *may* render to God the perfect obedience which he requires.' But we hold to this as much as he does, and, as I suppose, on the same conditions; that is, we *may* render perfect obedience, if we apply ourselves to the work *as we ought*, and *fully avail ourselves* of the gracious provisions of the gospel. He surely would not say that we may render perfect obedience in any other way.

"I must therefore protest here, as I did in the former case, against Mr. Mahan's claiming that, as belonging peculiarly and exclusively to him, and to those who agree with him, which belongs equally to others. We hold as decidedly as he does, that, in the common acceptation of the term, complete holiness is *attainable* in the present life. When we assert that a thing is *attainable*, or *may* be attained, our meaning is, that a proper use of means will secure it; that we shall obtain it, if we do what we ought; and that, if we fail of obtaining it, truth will require us to say we *might* have obtained it, and that our failure was owing altogether to our own fault."

In another place Dr. W. asserts, that "devout Christians and orthodox divines have in all ages maintained this precious doctrine," and that he "might fill volumes with quotations from evangelical writers, from Augustine down to the present day, in which this grand sentiment is strongly asserted and clearly illustrated." Among these "orthodox divines" he names Calvin, Flavel, Owen, Bunyan, Watts, Doddridge, President Davis, Good, M'Lauren, and John Newton.

We know we cannot mistake Dr. W.'s meaning, for he has so varied and repeated his statements, and has so seriously argued from them, through the whole of his article, that there is no room left for doubt. This learned Calvinistic divine then, not only avows his belief in the doctrine of *the attainableness of Christian perfection in the present life*, but declares this to have been *the common doctrine of "orthodox divines,—from Augustine down to the present day*." What class of divines the doctor means by "orthodox divines," is obvious from the names he gives.

Now, we hope Dr. W. will not deem it impertinent in us to inquire, whether this representation is historically correct. The fact is, that the very gist of the controversy between the Methodists and Calvinists upon the subject of Christian perfection has ever been its *attainableness*, and this Dr. W. says, "orthodox divines" have always "maintained." Had the good doctor carefully read Mr. Fletcher's Last Check to Antinomianism, he could hardly have fallen into the errors in point of fact which he has evidently

committed. Messrs. Hill, Toplady, Martin, and others, who fiercely assailed the doctrine of perfection, as held by Messrs. Wesley and Fletcher, did explicitly deny *the attainableness of Christian perfection in the present life*, and steadily assert *the necessary continuance of indwelling sin until the hour of death.* This fact we might prove by numerous quotations, had we room. Now will the doctor impugn the *orthodoxy* of these "divines," and allow that the right of the quarrel was on the side of Messrs. Wesley and Fletcher? This he certainly must do, or stand convicted of palpable error in point of historical fact.

There are others who, it may be presumed, Dr. W. will feel bound to acknowledge as "orthodox divines," who have explicitly taken the same ground. The learned and truly "orthodox" Witseus says,—

"There can be no doubt, but whoever carefully walks in this way, shall make very great progress in sanctification, and daily arrive more and more at a nearer conformity to the pattern set before him. However, we are not to imagine, that ever any one in this life *can* attain to that perfection which the law of God requires, that, living without all sin, he should wholly employ himself in the service of God, with that purity, that intenseness of all his powers, that the divine holiness itself could find nothing in him but what was agreeable to it."—*Economy of the Covenants*, vol. ii, pp. 55, 56.

Dr. John Dick says,—

"The *possibility* of perfection in the present state, could be conceived only by men who were ignorant of Scripture and of themselves They must first have lowered the standard of holiness. They must have narrowed and abated the demands of the divine law, to meet their fancied attainments."—*Lectures on Theology*, vol. ii, p. 242.

Rev. Charles Buck says,—

"There is also a perfection of *degrees*, by which a person performs all the commands of God, with the full exertion of all his powers, without the least defect. This is what the law of God requires, but what the saints *cannot* attain to in this life."—*Theological Dictionary*, Article, Perfection.

Here are three "orthodox divines" who explicitly deny *the attainableness of Christian perfection in the present life*, and one of them charges those who hold "the *possibility* of perfection in the present state," with having "lowered the standard of holiness" and "narrowed and abated the demands of the divine law." Now as Dr. Woods, Dr. Pond, Mr. Folsom, and all others who like

them distinctly admit "the possibility of perfection in the present state," and blame Mr. Mahan for announcing this as a new doctrine, one not received by the churches with which he is in connection; they must come in for a share of this condemnation, and must prepare to defend themselves against the very serious charge of *lowering the standard of holiness.*

Our last authority, we know, has Dr. Woods' highest respect and confidence: it is the *General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.* The following is the 149th question and answer of the "Larger Catechism:"—

"*Is any man able perfectly to keep the commandments of God?*—No man is able, either of himself, or by any grace received in this life, perfectly to keep the commandments of God; but doth daily break them in thought, word, and deed."—*Confession of Faith and Catechisms of the Presbyterian Church of the United States,* p. 268.

This article we have ever supposed sets forth the doctrine of the Presbyterian Church, and though Drs. Pond and Woods, and "devout Christians and orthodox divines," and "evangelical ministers generally," of the same communion, have taken up a different view of the subject, we have not been advised that the *General Assembly* has ever rescinded this article or changed its phraseology. Can Dr. Woods be right then in his representation of *the common ground* upon this point?

As to the writers whose names Dr. W. gives in support of his position, that the attainableness of perfection is an old and common doctrine among "orthodox divines," and "evangelical ministers," we have not had time sufficiently to examine their voluminous writings to become entirely satisfied whether he has fairly represented them. One of them, the learned and pious Dr. Doddridge, says,—

"On the whole, none can pretend to say that it is absolutely impossible for us to do our best, or that God now requires us to do better than we possibly can in present circumstances; nor can we certainly say that no one *has ever exerted the utmost of the capacities God has given him* in any particular act of duty."—*Miscellaneous Works,* p. 459.

But in this instance Dr. Doddridge goes a little too far for Dr. Woods, for he not only admits the possibility of doing all that God requires, but denies that we can be sure that *no one has actually done this.* This is a little more than Dr. Woods wants, to make out his case.

We will now leave the question of the attainableness of perfection, and admitting that Mr. Mahan's opponents have always held as firmly to this doctrine as he does; and, if you please, that this has always been the doctrine of those "divines" whom Dr. Woods recognizes as "orthodox;" we will now inquire what is the true issue between Mr. Mahan and his opponents, according to them. They say the question is simply one of *fact*:—That Mr. M. affirms and they deny the *fact* that *any have ever attained to a state of Christian perfection*, or *that any ever will attain to this state.* Now, though this indeed seems to us a mere evasion of the real question at issue; though it never was *the main* question between the asserters and deniers of the doctrine of Christian perfection; yet we will pass to see how much is gained by thus changing the ground of the discussion.

Drs. Pond and Woods admit that we are commanded to be perfect, encouraged to seek for perfection, authorized to pray for it, and that it is distinctly promised in the Bible, and yet it is *a revealed fact*, settled and fixed by the pen of inspiration, *that none ever did or ever will attain to this state during the present life.* Now here is an anomaly. *God requires us to seek what he, at the same time, tells us we never will obtain!* Can these learned divines show us any other instance in the word of God where we are required to seek what no one ever attained or ever will attain in this life? We doubt. And, moreover, we doubt whether this view of the subject helps the matter at all. Who will ever set himself seriously to seek what he knows he never will find? That there is very little difference, in this case, between *will not* and *cannot*, even in the estimation of the various classes of the opposers of Christian perfection, is perfectly demonstrable.

Dick, as is seen above, identifies holding the doctrine of "the possibility of perfection" with the "fancied attainments" of those who hold this doctrine. Witsius, and the assembly of divines in the Larger Catechism, quote precisely the same passages to prove the *impossibility* of perfection that Mr. Mahan's opponents do to prove the *non-existence* of the *fact*. And it is here very worthy of remark, that of all the passages quoted by these high authorities, not one says any thing about the *unattainableness* of perfection, but they simply assert *facts*. Now supposing, what by the by we do not admit, that these passages mean what Calvinistic

interpreters contend for in their philological exegesis, then they simply assert the fact *that there is no man without sin.* Well, from this *fact*, asserted by the sacred writers, as they suppose, the learned reformer above referred to, Dr. Dick, Mr. Buck, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, conclude that perfection *is not attainable.* And though Dr. Woods and others on the contrary assert the *attainableness* of a state of perfection, what practical influence will this have upon themselves or others, so long as they deny the *fact* that any will ever attain to this state? Will not the latter be likely to *practice* just as the former *reason?*

Witsius, with singular consistency, carries out the practical bearings of his doctrine. He says,—

"Seeing God has expressly declared that he does not give his people absolute perfection in this life, it is the duty of all to acquiesce in this disposition of the divine will, nor are they allowed to beg of God to grant them that perfection here, which they know he has not appointed for this, but for the other life."—*Economy of the Covenants*, vol. ii, p. 61.

Now this is right. No man should feel himself authorized to ask of God *now* what he knows is in the divine economy "not appointed for this, but for the other life." And can Dr. Woods, with his present views, fervently and *believingly* pray to God *to make him perfect now?* Believing him to be constituted just like other men, notwithstanding all he has said upon the subject, we still have some doubts as to this. How a man, in the exercise of a sound mind, can pray, with the expectation of being heard and answered, for what he believes *never was and never will be*, is something quite beyond our comprehension.

But is there any marked difference between the preaching, praying, and the actual efforts of those divines, who, with the Catechism, assert that "no man is able, either of himself, or by any grace received in this life, perfectly to keep the commandments of God," and those who, with Dr. Woods, simply deny the *fact* that any *ever have perfectly kept the commandments of God* or *ever will do so?* If there be any such difference, it is yet for us to learn. And should Drs. Woods and Pond begin to preach the *immediate attainableness* of Christian perfection, assuring their hearers that God *requires* and *promises complete* and *perfect holiness* NOW, and that they are *permitted*, and even *bound* to seek for it as *at present* within their reach, how long would it be ere

they would be suspected of strong affinity with the views of the Oberlin divines?

We shall be happy to learn that these wise and good men are urging all their brethren on to the high mark of entire sanctification, and that their efforts are producing their appropriate effect.

There is, indeed, one light in which the concession of the *attainableness* of a state of entire holiness is truly important. It will naturally enough be concluded, that what is attainable *may be attained*—yea, *has been*, and *will again be attained*. And so the paralyzing influence of the doctrine of the *necessary continuance of indwelling sin* will be destroyed. Indeed, now that the opposers of the doctrine of Christian perfection are admitting its *attainableness*, they will find it rather difficult long to hang upon the simple denial of the *fact*.

Mr. Mahan's opponents say, "the question between us is simply one of *fact*." Though this is not conceded by Mr. M. to be "the question" of difference, and, as we have before said, has never been considered the *main* question between those who assert and those who deny the doctrine of Christian perfection, yet in consequence of its bearing upon that question, it has generally been mooted in the controversy. And now after conceding that the doctrine of entire sanctification is taught in the Bible, and that the state is attainable in the present life, how can any prove that there are no *instances* of this state among men? How can they know that there is no existing *fact* corresponding with and practically carrying out the doctrine? If they have this knowledge, it must be the result of a universal knowledge of mankind—they must "know all men, and know what is in man,"—or it must be the result of a perfect knowledge of the nature of things—they must know *a priori* that this perfection is not predicable of man in his present state—*that the thing is impossible;* or their knowledge must rest upon a specific revelation of the *fact* that none ever was or ever will be thus perfect. No claim, it is presumed, will be set up to either species of evidence above named, except the last. The question, then, to be settled is, whether God has revealed in his word the *fact* that no man ever did or ever will attain to the state in question.

But even if we should find this fact clearly revealed, we are not quite clear of embarrassment. We have the anomaly to account for, of a principle or doctrine without a corresponding fact. We

think it will be found upon the most careful examination, that all the doctrines of the Bible, relating to the improvement of man's moral character, have corresponding facts illustrative of their nature and practical tendency. The doctrine of *repentance* is exemplified in the life and conduct of the true *penitent;* the doctrine of *faith,* in the *believer;* that of *justification* in the *justified; regeneration* in the *regenerated,* &c. But, according to the views we oppose, here is the doctrine of *perfect holiness* without any *perfectly holy* individuals to exemplify the doctrine. We do indeed read in the Bible of *saints,* or *holy ones,* persons *sanctified, perfect,* &c., but as the "fact" of the existence of an individual entirely holy must not be admitted, the aids of criticism and logic are called in to deprive these terms of their legitimate meaning.

A specimen of the Scripture argument upon this point may not be inappropriate in this place.

1. To say nothing of Enoch, Elijah, Daniel, and others who are represented, as far as we recollect, as without offense, we premise that men of this class are recognized by the sacred writers as living upon earth. The psalmist says, "Blessed are the undefiled in the way, (תְּמִימֵי־דָרֶךְ *perfect of the way,*) who walk in the law of the Lord," Psa. cxix, 1. Again he says, "He that walketh in a perfect way, he shall serve me," Psa. ci, 6. And Solomon says, "The upright shall dwell in the land, and the perfect shall remain in it," Prov. ii, 21. Our Saviour says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," Matt. v, 8. *Professor Robinson* interprets *οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ,* pure in heart; "*sincere, upright,* void of evil." (See Lexicon.) And *Parkhurst,* "clean, pure, in a spiritual sense, from the pollution and guilt of sin." (See Lexicon.) After giving these few examples under this head, we must pass

2. To such passages as speak of a state of sanctification as preparatory to duties which are appropriate to the present state of being. The psalmist prays, "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me," Psa. li, 10; and adds in the 13th verse, "Then will I teach transgressors thy ways; and sinners shall be converted unto thee." From this it seems evident that the psalmist must have thought of living to do good in the world, after he should have "a clean heart and a right spirit."

And the prophet Ezekiel says in God's name, "Then will I

sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean," &c.; "And cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them," Ezek. xxxvi, 25–27.

St. Peter represents our election to be "through sanctification of the Spirit *unto obedience*," 1 Pet. i, 2, "εἰς ὑπακοὴν; i. e., in order that they should obey the gospel."—*Dr. Bloomfield.* (*See Greek Testament, with English notes, in loc.*) In all these cases, and many others which might be quoted, sanctification is represented as a qualification for the great duties which are to be done in the present world, and, consequently, cannot be understood as only to be attained at death.

3. Particular instances of this state of holiness mentioned in the Scriptures. Some of these are declared by the sacred writers to have been *blameless, perfect, upright,* &c. Among these are Zechariah and Elizabeth; others profess to have attained to the state indicated by these qualifying terms. Among these we would mention the great apostle of the Gentiles. But we cannot here go into the evidence.

4. Passages which imply gross absurdity, upon the supposition that none are sanctified until death. St. Paul prays that his brethren of the church of Thessalonica may be *sanctified wholly.* Now does he pray that they may speedily be removed from the world? Our blessed Saviour prayed that his disciples might be sanctified: "Sanctify them through thy truth," John xvii, 17. Did he pray that they might be removed hence? This could not be, for he had just said, verse 15, "I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil."

The entire argument of Dr. Woods is not a very specious sophism of the class called *Ignoratio Elenchi, a misapprehension of the question.* And whether, from the light he has shed upon the subject, Mr. M. and his friends will "feel themselves bound in truth to abstain from any further attempt to uphold their scheme by the arguments which" he has "noticed," remains to be seen. They may be sorry indeed that Dr. W. should be so "greatly disappointed" as to the success of his argument, but we fondly hope the glory of God, and the proper elevation of the church, are with them objects of paramount importance.

February 10, 1841.

Art. VIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *The School District Library.* Third Series. New-York, 1840. Harper and Brothers. 50 vols. 18mo.

The publishers of these series are, beyond doubt, rendering a very important service to the community. The cause of school district libraries is identified with the best interests of the people; and there is no way in which it can be effectually sustained but by successive publications, in a collective form, of cheap and good books. We are happy to perceive that the Messrs. Harpers continue rightly to appreciate the obligations they have assumed in this matter; their third series is an admirable one, in all respects worthy of being placed by the side of those which have preceded it; and this, as far as our knowledge extends, is, without any exception, the judgment both of the public and the press. The number of original works in this series is greater than in either of the former, and we notice among their authors the names of some of our best writers and most distinguished scholars: Washington Irving, Dr. Nott, Professor Renwick, Dr. Potter, Professor Upham, Mr. Mackenzie, &c. Halleck and Bryant have also contributed three beautiful volumes, consisting of selections from the British and American poets. The subjects treated of are exceedingly well chosen, and embrace the most interesting departments of useful knowledge. It would be difficult, we think, to find in any other collection of the same compass so great an amount of varied information. While every thing of a sectarian nature has very properly been excluded, we are glad to see that there is a due proportion of valuable religious matter in the present series—such as Counsels to Young Men, by Dr. Nott; Portions of the Family Instructor, of Professor Sedgwick's admirable Discourse on Study, and of Dr. Johnson's inimitable Moral Essays. In one respect the volumes in this collection are worthy of all commendation; they are thoroughly pure in language and in sentiment, a circumstance of vital importance in books intended for such an object. There are several works, both original and selected, which on account of their striking merit we should like particularly to notice; but, as our space is limited, and we are desirous to say something in relation to the great importance, &c., of the library system as established in this state, as a means of diffusing useful knowledge among the people, or, in other words, of educating the entire mind of the community, we must content ourselves with this general expression of opinion.

It is now about six years since the subject of school district libraries

first attracted the attention of a few individuals among us, deeply interested in benevolent designs, and especially in the improvement of our system of popular education. They hoped, by the establishment of these libraries, to awaken a spirit of inquiry and desire of improvement among our youth, that would lead them to habits of self-cultivation, and, at the same time, were persuaded that no method so effectual could be devised for the spread of useful information, and the enlightenment of all classes in the community. These views they presented to the legislature of the state of New-York, and in the spring of 1835 an act was passed, authorizing the inhabitants of any school district to raise by tax the sum of twenty dollars the first year, and ten dollars in any subsequent year, to be applied to the purchase of books for a district library. This act, however, being simply permissive, while the subject itself was entirely new, attracted but little attention, and only a very small number of districts availed themselves of its provisions. Still, the friends of the measure were not discouraged. They again pressed it upon the notice of the legislature with renewed earnestness; and, in April, 1838, that body, in a spirit of enlightened liberality worthy of all praise, appropriated from the income of the United States deposite fund (the whole of which had been nobly set apart for purposes of education) the sum of fifty-five thousand dollars annually for three years, to be apportioned among the school districts according to the number of children between the ages of five and sixteen that they were respectively reported to contain, with the condition, that it should be expended by them within the year, in the purchase of books for a district library; directing, at the same time, that an equal amount should be raised by a tax on the people at large, making together the sum of one hundred and ten thousand dollars, to be applied annually, for the period before named, to this object. This period was extended, in the following session, from three years to five; after which, as the law now stands, though the same amount will continue to be distributed, the inhabitants of the districts will be at liberty to employ the money so received, either for the maintenance of a library or the payment of teachers' wages, at their discretion. We cannot doubt, however, so thoroughly convinced are the community at large of the importance of perpetuating the system so happily commenced, and of giving to it the fullest development, that the latter period will be further extended, or, what is perhaps still more probable, that the discretionary clause will be entirely withdrawn, leaving it mandatory on the districts, without any limitation of time, to expend the money for the support of a library, and for nothing else.

The first distribution of library money was made in the spring of

1839. In his report, presented to the legislature the following spring, the superintendent states, that over six thousand districts had provided themselves with libraries, comprising in all about two hundred and fifty thousand volumes. But as this was only the first starting of a new and widely extended system, the returns had necessarily been very imperfect, and the number of districts that had actually purchased libraries was probably over seven thousand, and the whole number of volumes not less than three hundred thousand. The number of efficient school districts in the state may be set down at about ten thousand, and the delinquency of the remaining three thousand districts, supposed to have been without libraries, had been owing, we may presume, in most cases, either to the remoteness of their situation, or the smallness of the sum received by them, or the want of proper knowledge how to proceed. The superintendent not having yet presented his report for the last year, we can only refer to the governor's message, recently delivered, for information as to the progress of the cause up to the present period. In this he says, "There are very few districts which have not complied with the act providing for the establishment of school district libraries, and there are at this time in these various district libraries about one million of volumes. These libraries generally include history and biography, voyages and travels, works on natural history and the physical sciences, treatises upon agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the arts, and judicious selections from modern literature." Thus in the two first years of the experiment, two hundred and twenty thousand dollars have been distributed, not far from a million volumes, with few exceptions, of good and useful books have been procured, and are scattering light and knowledge over every portion of the state, and nearly all our school districts are furnished with libraries.

These, it must be admitted, we think, are highly gratifying results, and full of promise for the future. We congratulate, therefore, the early and untiring friends of this measure, on the signal success that has crowned their efforts, and the community at large, who have so honorably sustained it, and who will not fail to reap its rich benefits. Of their own noble state, that leads the way in this great and good work, its citizens may feel more justly proud; and we would say to every state in our glorious Union, "Go, and do thou likewise"—that throughout all our borders there may be established the united influence of intelligence and virtue.

2. *Oxford Divinity compared with that of the Romish and Anglican Churches: with a special View to the Illustration of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, as it was made of primary Importance by the Reformers; and as it lies as the Foundation of all Scriptural Views of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.* By the Right Rev. CHARLES PETTIT M'ILVAINE, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of Ohio. 8vo., pp. 546. Philadelphia: Joseph Wheaton & Son. 1841.

THE doctrines of the Oxford divines, as set forth in the celebrated *Tracts for the Times*, and other publications, have been considered by many, both Protestants and Romanists, as a departure from the true doctrines of the Reformation, and a virtual return to those of popery. In two Catholic discourses upon *the rule of faith*, which we heard last May in Baltimore, one of them from the celebrated Bishop England, these divines were quoted in proof of several distinguishing doctrines of the Romish Church. And, in our view at least, the authorities were pertinent to the purposes for which they were employed.

Bishop M'Ilvaine has conclusively *proved*, in the work whose title is given above, the identity of *Oxfordism* and *Romanism*. His discussion is wholly theological, and he directs his attention to one great and leading doctrine, viz., "justification by faith." This doctrine is by these divines confounded with sanctification, and so rendered entirely nugatory. They assert the "real identity, in matter of fact, between sanctification and justification," and allege that "justification and renewal" are "convertible terms." Justification is represented as "coming to us through our sanctified wills and doings."

But their notions of sanctification itself are equally crude and anti-scriptural. They hold to "baptismal regeneration," i. e., that the soul is really renewed by this external ordinance. So according to this theory, *baptism* is the grand instrumental cause of human salvation in all its parts! These doctrines the bishop proves to be fundamental in the Romish theology and wholly antiprotestant. Numerous other developments of the peculiar dogmas of Rome, growing out of these capital errors, are detected by the bishop.

It has sometimes been said, "A great book is a great evil." According to this maxim, many will be disposed to find fault with the work before us. Perhaps for popular effect the author might in many places have condensed to advantage; but, for our part, we read the book without weariness to the very close. The quotations from the reformers are full and pertinent, and reflect much light upon their theology. Though we must not, by this notice, be supposed to indorse all the bishop's views, yet in general we consider him quite evangelical; and, upon the whole, would most earnestly recommend the work to all who wish a clear, extended, and comprehensive view of the character and tendency of *Oxford divinity*.

The mechanical execution of the work is truly creditable to the publishers. They have given this excellent work, of an excellent author, a most beautiful dress.

3. *The Convert's Guide and Preacher's Assistant.* By Rev. T. Merritt. 18mo., pp. 260. New-York: published by George Lane. 1841.

This manual, as the title imports, is especially designed for the benefit of those who are young in religion. The directions and instructions which it contains are the fruit of much thought and deep experience in the things of God. It constitutes a concise body of practical divinity, and cannot fail to be eminently useful in helping the convert, be he young or old in years, to a right understanding of his duty, and the means of defense against the numerous snares which may be laid for his feet. It will be found an effective "assistant" to the faithful pastor in feeding the *lambs of the flock* with the "sincere milk of the word, that they may grow thereby."

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4. *The Wesleyan Student; or, Memoirs of Aaron Haynes Hurd, late a Member of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.* By Joseph Holdich, A. M. 18mo., pp. 288. New-York: published by G. Lane. 1841.

When a young man works his way through numerous difficulties to eminence as a student, and by excessive application fritters away the wheels of life before he completes his collegiate course, we naturally inquire, To what purpose is this waste of strength and talent, in the mere work of *preparation* for a course of usefulness, which is never realized? The interesting little volume before us answers this question. We here have a messenger of God, if you please, a *missionary*, sent out of the woods of Canada into our higher literary institutions to do his Master's work. That work was *well done*, and the fruit will long remain. We have not space adequately to describe this excellent Memoir of an excellent and most promising young man. But we would most earnestly recommend it to the attention of all who want a rich repast—a feast of rational entertainment and of spiritual instruction. Especially would we commend it to the young, and *more especially* to students, and *still more especially* to those who have at any time sustained the relation of a *student* in the Oneida Conference Seminary, or the Wesleyan University. To such it will have a peculiar charm.

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5. *The Obligations, Subjects, and Mode of Baptism.* By Rev. Henry Slicer. 18mo., pp. 262. New-York: published by G. Lane. 1841.

This work is upon a subject which has been discussed on both sides by many able and learned divines, and yet there seems little prospect of a termination of the controversy. The author treats the subject as a controversialist; and bringing his antagonist to the test of Scripture and argument, he exhibits in a clear and strong light the weak points of his theory. Though perhaps we ought to say, his touches are sometimes too caustic, yet our author has, doubtless, shed much light upon this truly vexed question, for which the public ought to be grateful.

Mr. Brownson complains that injustice is done him in our January number, in making him oppose "the institution of marriage," whereas he only denies it to be "a religious institution—a sacrament, rather than a civil contract." We are happy to learn that Mr. B. does not maintain what our correspondent considers the legitimate consequences of his positions; but would be still better pleased, should he see proper explicitly to retract his *language* on that subject. We have not room for Mr. B.'s letter, or we would insert it entire, though it is quite too small a covering to hide the absurdities of his system.

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memoir was a minister of the gospel, whom we were taught love and venerate, in his sacred office, at a time when our young hearts were unsophisticated by skepticism or misanthropy, and when with childlike simplicity, and happy innocence, with our beloved parents, we sat at his feet, and rejoiced to share in his counsels and in his prayers. As our fathers, we honor the names and memory of such, as we do our earthly parents, whom we love next to our Father in heaven; and peculiarly is this the case when

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THE

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EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Morrell,*

OF THE NEW-JERSEY CONFERENCE.

"THE fathers! where are they?" is an exclamation we are wont to repeat when the reminiscences of by-gone days come up in seasons of solitude and meditation. Especially in our "religious hours" of contemplation, does the memory of the past inspire us with vivid and distinct impressions of the venerable dead, from whose lips we used to hear the lessons of heavenly wisdom, in the days of our childhood and youth. Nor can we divest ourselves of an indefinably sad and melancholy train of reflections, when their names, their countenances, and even the tones of their voice, recur to us with all the freshness of reality, stealing over the senses during our waking hours, or mingling in our slumbers during the visions of the night.

Hence it is that most readers find attraction and even fascination in those biographies and memoirs of the venerable dead, which record events, incidents, and circumstances of men and things, that are associated with their own earliest recollections. And especially is this the case, when the subject of such biography or memoir was a minister of the gospel, whom we were taught to love and venerate, in his sacred office, at a time when our young hearts were unsophisticated by skepticism or misanthropy, and when with childlike simplicity, and happy innocence, with our beloved parents, we sat at his feet, and rejoiced to share in his counsels and in his prayers. As our fathers, we honor the names and memory of such, as we do our earthly parents, whom we love next to our Father in heaven; and peculiarly is this the case when

they can truly adopt toward us the language of the apostle, and "though they be dead yet speak" to us, and say, "Though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers; for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel."

Among the sons of Wesley in Europe and America, and among the children of Methodists everywhere, these sentiments will find a ready response and ample illustration. The name of Wesley has an inconceivable charm to the children and children's children of those who were the direct fruits of his ministry, and will continue "blessing and being blessed" to the latest generation. His son in the gospel, and our American apostle, Francis Asbury, acquired in our country an influence and authority only second to Mr. Wesley, and which he justly merited, by his labors and his successes, his zeal and his usefulness. And such is the affectionate and fervent attachment felt by the present generation of American Methodists to the name and memory of Bishop Asbury, that all who were his colleagues, fellow laborers, and helpers in the gospel, or identified with him in any capacity, however subordinate, have come to be regarded by such, as worthy to be held in everlasting remembrance. And as the number of these worthies is now but few, and these are rapidly taken to their reward, it is fit that we should pause beside their opening graves, drop a tear over their remains, and record a tribute to their piety and worth, as they pass away, one by one, from among us. Soon all who labored and suffered with our Asbury, as his sons in the gospel, will have gone the way of all the earth, their record will be on high, and their reward in heaven.

Such are the reflections which spontaneously suggest themselves to the writer of this brief memorial, while he inscribes on the tablet which bears the names of the "blessed dead," another of our fathers in the ministry, who has fallen asleep in Jesus, and now "rests from his labors where his works do follow him."

Thomas Morrell was born in New-York on the 22d of November, 1747, and his mother was one of the few who were formed into a class by Philip Embury in the year 1766, and consequently was among the first Methodists in America. She lived until the year 1796, when her son made the following record in his journal, dated July 30th:—

"This day my dear, my aged, and my honored mother fell

asleep in Jesus. Blessed be God for such a mother! so pious, so tender, so affectionate to me and to all. She was indeed a mother to the preachers, and a mother in Israel, having been a Christian thirty-six years. I mourn only as one that has hope, and murmur not. This day, while she is a corpse in the house, I do afresh dedicate myself to God, and humbly hope through mercy and grace to persevere to the end, and meet my dear mother in glory. God grant it for Christ's sake. Amen."

By the same journal it appears that his father also died, in great peace, in his house at Elizabethtown, September 26, 1805, at the age of eighty, having been a devoted Christian for more than forty years. The event is recorded in the same spirit, and with the same pious emotions as is the death of his mother just mentioned, and he here adds, "I am now the last that is left of the main branches of the family, having lost my mother, my two brothers, my only sister, my two daughters, lately my only child, and now my aged father. Death upon death! O to know, to value, and to redeem my time in a suitable manner! Lord, sanctify this fresh stroke of thy providence to me and my wife! May we be devoted to God, and ready to follow those who have gone before us!"

These extracts will serve to show the character of those pious parents, whose loss was thus registered by filial affection. To the prayers and example of his mother, especially, this son was doubtless greatly indebted. In 1772 the family removed from New-York to Elizabethtown, New-Jersey, and there being no Methodist society there, his parents attached themselves to the Presbyterian Church. In the year 1785 the Rev. John Hagerty, a name familiar to many on earth and in heaven, was sent by Bishop Asbury to "Newark circuit," which at that time included a large portion of New-Jersey. He was the first Methodist preacher sent to this circuit, and on arriving at Elizabethtown he was directed to the house of the parents of Thomas Morrell, and being kindly entertained there, where he preached his first sermon, the foundation of the society was then laid, which has continued to this day. Under this sermon Thomas Morrell was awakened, he being then thirty-eight years of age. The following brief record made in his journal in 1832, nearly fifty years afterward, corresponds with one made at the time, or soon after, in the

journal which is still preserved, and certainly deserves a place here :—

"I was born in New-York on the 22d of November, 1747; moved to Elizabethtown in 1772; lived a gay and thoughtless life generally, though I had often convictions until I was awakened in 1785, under the preaching of the Rev. John Hagerty, the first Methodist preacher I had ever heard, and under his first sermon in Elizabethtown. I found the Lord early in that year, and in three months afterward began to preach by direction of Mr. Hagerty; and Robert Cloud coming in the fall of that year to form a circuit, extended his preaching to Staten Island, and a great revival taking place there, the labor was too hard for one preacher, and I was constrained to enter the traveling connection, and joined brother Cloud. It was then called the Elizabethtown circuit. Here I preached twenty months, and was then ordained a deacon, and stationed in Trenton circuit in 1787. In 1788 I was stationed in the city of New-York with the charge, and Robert Cloud with me. Here a great revival broke out in February, 1789, and in this year I was ordained an elder, and continued in New-York five years. In 1794–95 I was stationed in Philadelphia; here taken sick, and did not recover fully till 1799; then stationed in Baltimore two years, till 1801; and in 1802–3 stationed again in New-York two years. This was my last station out of Elizabethtown, though I continued to preach for sixteen years as often as when I traveled more extensively, till the year 1822, and then preached mostly in Elizabethtown every sabbath, except unwell, and have continued to preach once each Sunday to the time I am writing this account, January, 1833. Blessed be God for health, and that my mental powers are still preserved, so that I can labor a little for God and the salvation of my fellow men, though now *eighty-five years and two months old.* Through the mercy and goodness of God I have lived to see the beginning of the year 1833. I hope to grow in grace if spared."

The foregoing is a specimen of the records which are frequently made in his journal, which for neatness and accuracy, as well as its exhibitions of fervent piety, is worthy of being preserved, and lithographed for the benefit of posterity. Every anniversary of his birth, every New-Year's day, and every special religious season was improved by some new record in his journal, some tribute of

grateful piety toward God, and benevolence to men. The readers of this memoir will be interested in a few of these, among the latest of his life. They are transcribed from his own manuscript, with the dates affixed by his own hand:—

"*January*, 1834. Through the tender mercy of God I have been spared to see the beginning of another year, in health of body and of mind; my faculties but little impaired; my soul in some measure engaged with God. I am able generally to preach once on each sabbath with my former strength of mind and voice. *To God be all the praise.* My family in their usual health; my son on Belvidere circuit is useful and acceptable. I hope, if spared the part or the whole of this year, to be more holy, more engaged, and more useful. O Lord, revive thy work in Elizabethtown!"

"*January* 1*st*, 1835. By the goodness and mercy of God I have lived to see the beginning of another year, and have now passed my eighty-seventh year, an unusual term of life, granted to few. I have been an unprofitable servant, and solicit from the mercy of God pardon for Christ's sake of all my errors, frailties, and sins, and earnestly desire to be renewed in love. By the influenza I have partially lost my hearing, but hope the Lord in mercy will restore it again; if not, I desire to be fully resigned to God's will. Blessed be God, I have all the comforts of life, my family in health, and all my children and wife serving the Lord; my son remarkably successful as a preacher. Would to God I was as thankful, as humble, as holy, as resigned as I ought to be! I have not preached since October, 1834, but hope in a week or two to resume my public labors, if the Lord please, and if spared a part or the whole of the present year, I hope to be more holy and useful than in the past year."

During this year, 1835, father Morrell's health only allowed him to preach occasionally, until August 9th, when he delivered his last sermon in the church at Elizabethtown from Luke xvi, 21, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither would they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

But though his feeble health, and serious affection of the throat constrained him to desist from pulpit labors, now that he was nearly eighty-eight years of age, yet his soul was still ardently engaged in the work, and whenever he was able, he took his accustomed seat in the house of God, and still continued *regularly to meet his class*

weekly. His journal was still posted up as formerly, recording the names of the preachers who officiated, and every important incident connected with the church, and especially every instance of awakening, conversion, or revival.

On the 22d day of November, 1837, I find the following record:—

"This is my birth-day, and on this day I am ninety years of age, and am a rare instance of mercy, long-suffering, and patience of my heavenly Father, having the use of my mental powers as well as I had forty years ago, my sight tolerably good, my hearing as good as formerly. An instance of such advanced age, with health of body and strength of mind, demands my most ardent thanks, and would to God I was more grateful than I am. I feel devoted to the service of my God, and earnestly desire to be more holy, heavenly minded, and spiritual; my wife and family are in health, and all religious, my son a very successful preacher, and we abound in earthly things. O to be continually praising God! *I meet my class weekly, and have God's blessing with us on every occasion of meeting*. Lord, prepare me and mine for thy heavenly kingdom!"

The last entry in the journal was made on the 23d day of April, 1838, when, after alluding to the illness of himself and wife, from which they had then partially recovered, and a prayer that the affliction may be sanctified to his preparation for departure out of time, he mentions the marriage of his youngest daughter, and adds,—

"May the Lord sanctify this union, and may the parents, with this and my other children, by the mercy of God, have a happy meeting in heaven at last to part no more for ever!"

This is the last sentence he was able to write in a journal kept for more than half a century, which begins and ends with prayer. From this time his health continued to decline, and in the midst of protracted sufferings, at times severe, his mind was kept in perfect peace, he continued to witness a good confession, talked much of heaven and glory, the prospect of which was without a cloud, spoke of his confidence in the divine mercy, through which he exclaimed, "I have gotten the victory!" and in the last conflict he was heard to say with his expiring whisper, "All is well," and soon after, while a peaceful smile was seen upon his face, his happy spirit was

released from its clay tenement, and father Morrell was at rest. The large assemblage of his friends who attended his funeral solemnities, (including the clergymen of all the different denominations in the vicinity,) and united with his family connections in their last tribute of respect, attested how many knew and loved him while living, and mourned for him when dead. A discourse, from Gen. v, 24, was delivered on the occasion in the church near his residence, to which the body was conveyed before interment in the family vault. In the solemn and affecting services of the occasion, both at the house and the grave, ministers of different denominations united.

Thus lived and died Thomas Morrell, at the advanced age of ninety years eight months and sixteen days, having continued to preach regularly every sabbath until within two years of his death; a period of half a century spent in the ministry, though he did not enter upon the sacred office until he was thirty-eight years old.

But the writer of this memoir, having already availed himself of the highly interesting journal which father Morrell kept so diligently to the end of his life, cannot hope to answer the just expectations, which the possession of these documents inspires in the minds of the relatives and friends, without making still further extracts. Indeed, so judiciously has this diary been kept, with so much elegance and taste, even in its chirography, that a leaf from it would be a treasure in any museum of autographs, especially those parts of the journal written long after he had passed his fourscore years on earth. But as we cannot transfer to these pages a *fac simile*, however desirable it may seem to the reader, we must be content with a few brief illustrations of its matter, which cannot fail to interest all who knew its venerable author.

From the year 1789 he records in tables all the texts on which he preached, with the date of each sermon, during the whole course of his ministry, in the cities of New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, South Carolina, and since at Elizabethtown, New-Jersey, and elsewhere, in each of which places he was stationed a longer or shorter time by Bishop Asbury. The seasons of revival in each of these cities, with circumstances and results, are carefully noted, together with every important event which transpired, especially the occurrence of yellow fever and other

epidemics, in the midst of which he was called to labor and to suffer. Of his colleagues he makes honorable mention in all cases. Among them I find the names of Robert Cloud, Jethro Johnson, J. Merrick, Jacob Brush, Wm. Jessop, Richard Whatcoat, J. Mann, D. Smith, Lewis Mansfield, N. Snethen, M. Coate, —— Williston, —— Wilson, and George Roberts. Of the last he says,—"Brother George Roberts was my last colleague in Baltimore in 1800–1. We had a glorious revival, and my colleague was one of the most excellent of men, I think superior in every point of view to any I had ever been stationed with."

It appears by this journal, that he was accustomed to preach three times every sabbath, besides week-day services, when stationed in the several cities, and he sometimes preached also in the streets and market houses in addition to his other labors, of which latter services he records instances of signal usefulness, especially in Baltimore. After his removal to Elizabethtown, being no longer able to travel, when his health permitted, he continued for many years to preach twice every Sunday, and often three times, and this was the case until he was *more than threescore years and ten.* After this, the conference provided assistance, first by making it a circuit, and afterward a station. Among the preachers who were stationed in Elizabethtown, and enjoyed the benefit of his counsels in their early ministry, I find the names of Joseph Lybrand, G. G. Cookman, Professor Holdich, Thomas B. Sargent, Professor M'Clintock, E. S. Janes, W. H. Gilder, J. Buckley, W. A. Wilmer, and others, all of whom are registered in his journal, the nature and extent of their ministerial services recorded, together with his testimonial of Christian confidence and regard for all of them, whom he loved as sons in the gospel. And as his journal is complete so far as services in the church at Elizabethtown are concerned, every brother in the traveling or local ministry who ever occupied the pulpit there, is here registered by his own hand, whether he was himself present, or absent from ill health, which alone ever kept him from the sanctuary. In this respect he was truly exemplary, in a point in which he has few imitators, among preachers or people.

It is much to be regretted that so little can now be learned of the history of father Morrell's early life, especially as he lived in the times which "tried men's souls," and we have reason to believe

that he filled a prominent and important place in civil and military life up to the period of his conversion and call to the ministry. That his practice of journalizing every important event in his diary was not the result of his conversion, but had been adopted in early life, we have the evidence among his papers, in which he records and deplores the loss of all his revolutionary manuscripts, including certificates of funded debt in continental money, and other valuable documents, which were pillaged or destroyed by a body of refugees, who in 1780 made an irruption into Elizabethtown at the time the Presbyterian church, court house, and academy were burned, and the houses of the whigs plundered. His house was among those which suffered from this outrage, he being at that time absent in the army, and having been odious because of the active duty he had performed in disarming the tories, and searching for concealed arms and ammunition, under the orders of the committee of safety, in whose service he had been zealous and useful. By certain records in the war department at Washington, however, as well as by the history of those times, the nature and extent of the military services he performed in the revolutionary war, during which he held the commissions of captain and major, are detailed; and go to show, that in fighting and bleeding for his country he was as zealous and intrepid as he afterward became in the Lord's army. In 1775 we find him in command of one of the boats which boarded and captured the transport ship "Blue Mountain Valley," about twenty miles from Sandy Hook. She was laden with provisions and coal from England for the supply of the British army in America, mounted twelve carriage guns, and was manned by forty men. Having surprised and captured her, she was safely brought round by the way of Amboy to Elizabethtown Point, and her cargo soon landed by these intrepid Jerseymen. This was immediately after the first American blood had been spilled at Lexington. Soon after he was at the head of a company of volunteers, raised by a patriotic address which he himself delivered to a body of Jersey militia, and composed of the most respectable young men of the state; and he marched with them to New-York to join General Washington's army. They were soon ordered to join General Sullivan on Long Island, and at the battle which followed, on the heights of Flatbush, they received the first attack of the British army. Here Captain Morrell received a musket ball in his right

breast, which passed through his body about an inch above his lungs, and fractured his shoulder blade. Another ball struck the fusee he held in his hands, which split the ball, and a part of it passed through his right hand. Thus severely wounded, and fallen upon the field, by feigning himself dead, he escaped further injury from the advancing foe, and being afterward brought to the lines, his wounds were dressed by the surgeon, and he was carried upon a hurdle to New-York, when, by the advice of the surgeon-general, and the direction of General Washington, six soldiers were dispatched to convey him to his father's house at Elizabethtown. Before he had fully recovered from his wounds he received a commission as major of the fourth Jersey regiment of the continental army, and was in the battle of Brandywine, where his regiment suffered severely, and though his health rapidly declined from his premature exposure and arduous duties, yet he marched all night with the army to the attack at Germantown, after which he was directed by General Washington to retire from the army until he should recover from his wounds, the principal one being not yet healed.

During the war, however, he performed many other acts of heroism and hardship in the service of his country, and yet it was not until a few years before his death that this old revolutionary soldier, officer, and patriot, was placed on the pension list, to which his services and his wounds gave him so strong a claim. He bore the scars to his grave, and though he lived more than half a century after these dangerous wounds, received in the battles of his country, yet much of the afflictions of his long life were owing to the injury thus inflicted upon his otherwise vigorous constitution. The preservation of his life, after a gunshot wound, the ball passing through his chest, and fracturing the shoulder blade in its exit, is an extraordinary instance of providential interposition, and was ominous of the subsequent life of usefulness for which he was destined, and which was protracted by the same Providence so far beyond the age generally allotted to man.

Of the religious and ministerial character which father Morrell sustained from the period of his conversion in 1785, sufficient has been said in the former part of this memoir, and the few extracts from his diary which have been given, may suffice to show the uniformity and consistency of his Christian character, the ardent

and devoted piety of his life, as well as the qualifications for ministerial usefulness by which he was distinguished. As a husband and father, he was an eminent example of affection and kindness, and in the domestic circle of his home, an atmosphere of devotion and family religion seemed ever to abide and prevail. From Bishop Asbury's time until the period of his death, his house was the home of the way-worn pilgrim, a retreat to which our ministry, especially the aged and the afflicted, were wont to be welcomed with the most affectionate hospitality. His bereaved widow, and his children, a son and two daughters, all of whom rejoice in the salvation of God, have lost their aged counsellor, exemplar, and friend, and they, more than all others, know the desolation of that home which father Morrell's presence so long sanctified and cheered. But many on earth, and more whom he has embraced in heaven, remember with gratitude to God the seasons of prayer and praise, in which they have been privileged to mingle at that family altar, when, like another patriarch, this venerable man would read and expound, as was his custom, the book of God, unite in a song of praise, and then in simplicity, meekness, and fervor, pour out his soul to God in prayer. In such seasons the writer has often felt "quite in the verge of heaven," and can never lose the cherished recollections, of which many others have spoken, that were inspired by familiar intercourse and communion with this man of God.

But he is gone; and we may appropriately adopt the language of the psalmist, and exclaim, "Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth, for the faithful fail from among the children of men." He was a true Wesleyan in his spirit and practice, and to the day of his death was a Methodist of the old school. To the venerable Asbury he was ardently attached, shared his most intimate counsels and friendship, and was his chosen traveling companion in 1791–2, accompanying him in his circuitous journeyings from Baltimore to Charleston, South Carolina, visiting the several conferences, districts, and stations, preaching alternately with him, and aiding him in confirming the churches. Having filled many of the most important stations by his appointment, until 1804, father Morrell was constrained to retire from efficient itinerant labor, and remain at Elizabethtown, New-Jersey, in a supernumerary relation to the conference, mostly in charge of the station, with a junior preacher,

until his age and infirmity rendered him "superannuate." Here his long residence had served to endear him greatly, not only to his own denomination, but to Christians of every name, and indeed to the entire community. His catholicism and liberality of sentiment were so well known, and his freedom from all bigoted sectarianism, that with the successive pastors of the other churches, and especially of the numerous church of the Presbyterian order, so long and favorably known to exist here, the closest intimacy was perpetuated. An interchange of pulpits, and united communion, were at all times mutually agreeable, and more than once father Morrell was selected to preach in the Presbyterian church on occasions of religious celebrations, in which all denominations were wont to unite: for his religion constrained him to abound in every good word and work, and in his heart he was ever ready to say, "Grace be to all them who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

Thus lived and died this venerable and venerated man of God. Having served his generation according to the will of God, he fell asleep, and has been gathered with his fathers to his own tomb: whence the Lord will raise him up in the last day, and having turned many to righteousness, these shall be stars in the crown of his rejoicing, for ever and ever. May the mantle of his primitive, evangelical, apostolic spirit fall on his sons and successors in the ministry till the heavens shall be no more! D. M. R.

ART. II.—1. *Histoire de la Philosophie au dix-huitième siècle.* Par M. V. COUSIN, Professeur de la Philosophie à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. 2 vols., 8vo.

2. *Elements of Psychology, included in a critical Examination of Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, being a Translation from the French of ten Lectures of the second Volume of the above—from the sixteenth to the twenty-fifth inclusive.* By Rev. C. S. HENRY, D. D.

THERE is not another living philosopher who occupies so much of the attention of the philosophic world as M. V. Cousin, the Parisian eclectic. To this he is entitled, not only on account of his prodigious and unremitted labors in the cause of philosophy through a period of more than thirty years; but also for the new and important principles his labors have evolved in metaphysical

science, and the new and elevated turn he is giving to the course of philosophy in the French nation. Cousin is distinguished no less for the boldness and originality of his ideas, than for the eloquence and effectiveness with which they are urged upon his immense auditories. He claims to be the partizan of no sect in philosophy, and the dupe of no system. He contends for the most absolute freedom of thought and investigation; and thus trammels himself with the leading strings of no exclusive system. But when I say that he is a most absolute free-thinker in philosophy, let me not be misunderstood. He is also a Christian, a believer in revelation and religion; and his philosophy, instead of being infidel in its character or tendency, is essentially Christian throughout. Indeed, he claims for religion a high place, even in an efficient system of national education; and distinctly declares "that a system of common instruction cannot be effectual in restraining vice, unless it is based on religion." It was a very just and apposite remark of Linberg, that "Cousin avows everywhere distinctly, and without reserve or hypocrisy, his firm belief in the truth of the Christian religion." It is no small triumph on the part of Christianity, that infidel France condescends to listen with attention and reverence to a philosopher with whom revelation and religion are the very foundations of all sound philosophy and all truth. It is true, she once abjured religion—that her philosophers sacrilegiously laid their hands upon the altars of the living God, and sought to blot all knowledge of him, and reverence for him, from the minds of the people. Voltaire, and his associate wretches, sought to crush the Bible, and to bring all the forms of religious worship into universal contempt; and under the auspices of sensualism and materialism, they had well nigh accomplished their nefarious purpose. But under the influences of "the new philosophy," Christianity in France is undergoing a resurrection from the grave of licentiousness and infidelity—thus proving to the world that though overwhelmed for a time, it was not destroyed. It is "irrepressible, invulnerable; and, like Milton's angels,

'Cannot but by annihilating die.'"

We have already intimated that Cousin is a disciple of no one of the systems which have heretofore been thought to embrace all philosophers. Rather, perhaps, we should have said, he is the

disciple of all the philosophical schools and the antagonist of all. He enters the penetralia of every system; but bows only before the shrine of truth. It is his province, as a philosopher, to embrace the part of truth discovered in each system; while, at the same time, he makes war upon error wherever and whenever found. And on this rests his eclecticism, the "method" of which we shall examine by and by.

But whoever looks for a *system* of philosophy from the hand of Cousin will be disappointed. His *system*, as yet, is to be drawn, by inference, from his works. It is true that its distinct features may be discovered in his Philosophical Fragments, and in the Introduction to the History of Philosophy, and also in several programms which he has sketched out. But he has as yet given no full and systematic exposition of the principles of his philosophy. And it yet remains to be seen whether he possesses as much ability to build up as to pull down, to form a new and faultless system of philosophy, as to expose the errors of systems already formed. Around him lie the colossal fragments of exploded systems; but will he, from these scattered fragments, cause another temple of philosophy to arise, faultless in its proportions, grand in its dimensions, and indestructible as truth itself? To pull down the already dilapidated and tottering structure is comparatively easy; but upon its ruins to cause another, more grand and durable, to rise, *hic opus, hic labor est.*

Cousin adopts the maxim, that the philosophy of mind is to be discovered and developed by a careful examination and critical analysis of the history of mind. Hence he essays to go back to the very beginnings of recorded thought, and thence following the onward flow of philosophy, to trace out its developments and analyze its various systems. This he has done with great ability and effect, exhibiting everywhere the most profound and accurate knowledge of the whole range of philosophy and philosophical systems. Perhaps no one is so deeply read in philosophy; no one has been admitted to such familiar intercourse with the giant intellects of antiquity. Nor has he penetrated this exhaustless mine in vain, but has returned laden with abundant materials to strengthen and adorn the magnificent temple of modern philosophy. He is a critic; but he criticises only for the sake of *truth.* And the broad and deep incisions he has made on systems

that have been, or may now be in vogue, were made that philosophic truth might flow with freer course. He has touched no sound and healthy part; but, at the same time, he has endeavored to leave unamputated no diseased and sickly limb. Ever holding the torch of reason above him, he gropes his way onward in search of *truth*.

He traces out the development of philosophy, its spirit and its method, through its successive periods, exhibiting what is peculiar in the development of each period. And from this examination of the *history* of philosophy, he educes a classification of its *spirit*, as exhibited in every epoch of the world, into four general and distinct schools or systems, viz., sensualism, idealism, skepticism, and mysticism.

That these terms may be distinctly apprehended, it may not be amiss to subjoin a brief definition of them.

1. The term sensualism is used in no invidious sense; but to designate that system in philosophy which takes sensation as the sole principle of knowledge. It assumes that there is not a single element of knowledge or consciousness, which may not be explained by and referred to sensation.

2. Idealism is the antagonist of sensualism. It denies to matter an existence—finds all reality in mind alone—and absorbs all things, God and the universe, into individual consciousness, and that into thought. So that it is willing to allow a real existence to ideas only.

3. Skepticism throws the mists of doubt and uncertainty over all things. It admits only one thing as certain, and that is, there is no certainty in any thing.

4. Mysticism is expressive of a philosophic system, which has been and still is in some places exceedingly prevalent. The system of the mystics proceeded upon the doctrine of the Platonic school, that the divine nature was diffused through all human souls. Hence the mystics affirmed that the faculty of reason, from which proceed the health and vigor of the mind, was an emanation from God and comprehended in it the principles and elements of all truth, human and divine.

Mysticism, however, as the term is understood and used by Cousin, is not the renunciation of reflection; but reflection itself, building its system upon the eternal principle of reason in the human mind.

This, I admit, is an imperfect account of these schools; but it is as extensive as my present limits will allow. In these four systems, Cousin claims, may be found the fundamental elements of all philosophy, and consequently in tracing out these systems we embrace the entire history of philosophy.

At the head of the sensual school he has placed Locke, as its father and expounder. Not that Locke was the first sensualist. For he finds the sensual school,

"With all its distinctive traits, in the philosophy of India; he traces it through the twelve centuries, filled by Grecian philosophy, from its commencement in the Ionian school to Aristotle and the Peripatetics; thence to its reappearance in the middle age, involved in the scholastic Nominalism of Occam; thence to its more decided announcement in Pomponatins, Zelesio, and Campanella, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and finally in modern philosophy, in Hobbes, Gassendi, and others, the immediate predecessors of Locke."—*Introduction to Psychology*, p. 38.

But still it was Locke that gave form and consistence to sensualism in the eighteenth century. Cousin claims it to be a legitimate offspring of Locke's researches in a preceding century, and therefore declares him to be the true father of sensualism in that period.

But we design to notice more particularly the critical examination of the Essay upon the Understanding. This is a master-piece of logical criticism; and the learned translator has done an essential service to the cause of philosophy in his own country, in presenting it to the American public. Every one, who can appreciate its merits, must admit that Cousin has exhibited in this work the most masterly power of critical analysis. Neither Leibnitz nor Reid ever hurled half so formidable a club at the metaphysical colossus of Locke. The formidable empiricism* of Locke has met with a stern rebuke in the eclecticism of Cousin.

He speaks thus of the spirit of Locke's philosophy:—

"A single glance is enough to show that Locke is a free seeker of truth. Everywhere he appeals to reason. He starts from this authority, and from this alone; and if he subsequently admits another, it is

* Empiricism was a term used to designate the philosophical system of Locke, because he made experience (*εμπειζια*) the exclusive source of knowledge. With him experience was two-fold, sensation and reflection. And to these two sources of knowledge he attempted to refer the origin of all our ideas.

because he arrived at it by reason; so that it is the reason which governs him, and, as it were, holds the reins of his mind. Locke then belongs to the great family of independent philosophers. The Essay of the Understanding is a fruit of the movement of independence in the eighteenth century, and it has sustained and redoubled that movement. This character passed from the master to his whole school, and was thus recommended to all the friends of human reason. I should add that in Locke, independence is always united with a sincere and profound respect for every thing worthy of respect. Locke is a philosopher, and he is at the same time a Christian."—*Elements of Psychology*, p. 41.

So much for the spirit; now for the method. Speaking of the Essay on the Human Understanding, he says,—

"It is a work of psychology and not of ontology. Locke does not investigate the nature and principle of the understanding, but the action itself of this faculty, the phenomena by which it is developed and manifested. Now the phenomena of the understanding Locke calls *ideas*. This is the technical word which he everywhere employs to designate that by which the understanding manifests itself and that to which it immediately applies itself." "The study of the understanding is with Locke, and with all his school, the study of ideas; and hence the celebrated word ideology, recently formed to designate the science of the human understanding. The source of this expression already lay in the Essay on the Human Understanding, and the ideological school is the daughter of Locke."—*Psychology*, pp. 51, 52.

Understanding, as in Locke, ideas to embrace all human cognitions, Cousin is no less an ideologist than Locke. Indeed, we may safely affirm, that inasmuch as we may not enter into the interior sanctuary of the soul, and then comprehend its essence and nature, it is only by its developments, its manifestations, or, in other words, *ideas* that we can discover any thing of its nature and its laws. Let no one be startled at this, as though we were about to shroud the study of mind in impenetrable mystery. We envelop the mind in just as much mystery as every thing else in nature is shrouded, and no more. For instance, in the study of matter, or any portion of it, is its essence in any way directly developed to the individual consciousness? Rather, do we not become acquainted with it in its relations? and study it, through its qualities, as they are manifested to the understanding through the medium of the senses? The sensation, it is true, is not a *quality* of matter, neither are ideas qualities of mind, but as our sensations develop to the understanding the properties and laws of matter, so ideas develop the principles and laws of mind. Again, as our

knowledge of matter is limited to a cognizance of its qualities, so our knowledge of the mind, soul, spirit, (or whatever you please to call it,) is limited to a cognizance of the actual state of human knowledge, its law of development and being.

But again, with reference to ideas, as tending to unfold the nature and principles of mind, there are three very important, yet distinct questions, which embrace a complete system of ideology.

1. What are the actual characteristics of ideas as they are manifested to the individual consciousness?

2. What is the origin of those ideas?

3. What is their certainty or validity?

A complete system of psychology must comprehend the solution of these three questions. But with which shall it commence? Shall it begin by investigating the actual characters of our ideas? or by tracing out their origin? Cousin thus enters upon this inquiry:—

"Shall we begin with the question of the origin of ideas? In the first place, it is full of obscurity. The mind is a river which we cannot easily ascend. Its source, like that of the Nile, is a mystery. How, indeed, shall we catch the fugitive phenomena, by which the birth and first springing up of thought is marked? Is it by memory? But you have forgotten what passed within you then; you did not even remark it. Life and thought then go on without our heeding the manner in which we think and live; and the memory yields not up the deposit that was never intrusted to it. Will you consult others? They are in the same perplexity with yourself. Will you make the infant mind your study? But who will unfold what passes beneath the veil of infant thought? The attempt to do it readily conducts to conjectures, to hypotheses. But is it thus you would begin an experimental science? It is evident, then, that if you start with this question concerning the origin of ideas, you start with precisely the most difficult question. Now if a sound method ought to proceed from the better known to the less known, from the more easy to the less easy, I would ask, whether it ought to commence with the origin of ideas? This is the first objection."

"Look at another. You begin by investigating the origin of ideas; you begin, then, by investigating the origin of that of which you are ignorant, of phenomena which you have not studied. What origin could you then find, but a hypothetical origin? And this hypothesis will be either true or false. Is it true? Very well, then; you have happened to divine correctly; but as divination, even the divination of genius, is not a scientific process, so the truth itself thus discovered cannot claim the rank of science; it is still but hypothesis. Wisdom, then, good sense, and logic demand, that omitting provisionally the question of the origin of ideas, we should be content first to observe

the ideas as they now are, the characters which the phenomena of intelligence actually have at present in the consciousness.

"This done, in order to complete our investigations, in order to go to the extent of our capacity, and of the wants of the human mind, and of the demands of the experimental problems, we may then interrogate ourselves as to what have been, in their origin, the ideas which we at present possess. Either we shall discover the truth, and experimental science, the science of observation and induction, will be completely achieved; or we shall not discover it, and in that case nothing will be either lost or compromised. We shall not have attained all possible truth, but we shall have obtained a great part of the truth. We shall know what *is*, if we do not know what *was*; and we shall always be prepared to try again the delicate question of the origin of ideas, instead of having all our ulterior investigations impaired, and observation perverted beforehand, by the primary vice of our method in getting bewildered in a premature inquiry."—*Psychology*, pp. 56–58.

Such is undoubtedly the true method, the Baconian method in philosophy; and such must ever be the experimental method. We must first know what things *are* before we can know *how* they became what they are. Any other course than this would vitiate the whole course of our investigation. The error would be fundamental. For at the very outset of our inquiry into things as they are, we should find upon us the trammels of a system, which, in some measure, must prejudge the whole case. Nor is it a particular error, affecting some particular case; but the error would be general, universal, affecting the whole range of science. There is no argument which can be wielded against such a method in physical science, which may not be urged with equal justness and force in mental science, or in the investigation of *ideas*. What would you say of the geologist, who instead of entering upon the exploration of nature as she is, in all her vastness and wildness, instead of diving into the bowels of the earth, and there endeavoring to discover the relative position of the different strata; who, instead of observing the actual phenomena of the earth as it is, and then deducing his system, should first sit down and form his system, or hypothesis, (for hypothesis it must be,) with regard to the order and origin of these phenomena, and postpone the question of the phenomena themselves till afterward? Such a geologist would walk forth to make his observations and experiments with his *system*, like a coat of mail around him; and what avails it that after his hypothesis is adopted, he nobly determines to be an experimental, an inductive philosopher? His experiments are all

subject to and prejudged by his either true or false hypothesis, and the whole course of his induction is put upon the same train. This is first embracing our theory and then attempting to establish it by facts; but the true method, the inductive, the Baconian method is, first to examine, to analyze all the facts that can be discovered in relation to the subject, and then from these facts, as they are, without being prejudged by any system or hypothesis, to deduce our system. This is building the system upon the phenomena; the other method is edging down and distorting the phenomena to fit them to the system. It is, as if the tailor should first make the coat, and then attempt to fit the man to the coat, instead of the coat to the man. This course of prejudging facts and experience by hypotheses, has ever been one of the greatest obstacles to the advancement of true science. It would be interesting to pause here, and show how it has fettered and led astray some of the brightest and noblest intellects that ever appeared on the field of philosophy; but time would fail me.

We see then the method of Cousin. He would defer the question of the origin of ideas till after the ideas themselves, their characters as they exist in the consciousness of every individual, have been thoroughly and critically examined and tested. It remains now to inquire how Locke has proceeded, and in what order he has taken up the discussion of these problems concerning our ideas. He says, (Essay on the Human Understanding, b. i, sec. 3,) "First, I shall inquire into the original of those ideas, notions, or whatever else you please to call them, which a man observes, and is conscious to himself he has in his mind; and the ways whereby the understanding comes to be furnished with them." Here, then, we see that Locke proposes to consider as the first question in philosophy, the origin of ideas. He inquires into their origin, before he investigates their nature, or inquires what they are. Here Locke and Cousin take leave of each other; and henceforth we find the eclectic of the nineteenth century arrayed in conflict with the empiric of the seventeenth. They are both independent seekers after truth; they are both ideologists, resolving the study of mind into the study of ideas; but having thus far marched side by side, they thenceforward pursue different routes;—Locke in his perilous journey to solve the intricate and difficult question of the origin of ideas, before he has ascertained what they

are;—Cousin proposes, indeed, to march right onward in the road of investigation, "to investigate, without any systematic prejudice, by observation solely, in simplicity and in good faith, the phenomena of the understanding in their *actual state* as they exist in the consciousness." His *first* maxim is, to omit none of the phenomena attested by consciousness. The *second* is, to imagine none, or to take upon supposition none that do not really exist. This is a fair setting out. The "land-marks" of the true philosophic method are very clearly defined. But still the champion stays to "do battle" with the erroneous method of Locke, and to inquire if that erroneous method did not lead Locke into error in carrying out the details of his metaphysical system.

Having thus obtained a foothold and planted his engines of attack within the domains of Locke, he marches boldly forward into the very heart of his system, carefully discriminating its part of truth from its part of error. The ordeal into which the system of Locke is here thrown is too searching for it to withstand, and it crumbles into pieces in the operation. We would gladly trace out this contest to its issue; but our time and space will not permit us to give even a synopsis of its results.

It may be proper, however, in passing to another branch of the subject, to remark, that, though the origin of ideas was agitated long before Locke, yet he was the first who made this the first and grand problem in philosophy. And since his time it has been the predominant method of all his school. But this can no longer be the method of this science. Cousin has demonstrated its absurdity, and endeavored to put it upon the true, Baconian method. And in doing this, even if he go no further, he has done great service to metaphysical science.

We have seen in our foregoing remarks, that Cousin charged the system of Locke as being pregnant with sensualism; if it did not, in itself, embody its very essence. We are now prepared to sustain that charge; and we undertake to show, in a few words, and we trust very clearly, that the system of Locke is liable to this charge in its full extent; that it embodies the very essence of sensualism.

Let us bring the matter to the test. Locke, commencing with the inquiry into the "original of ideas," before he had prescribed their characteristics, as they exist in the human intelligence, claims that in

the twin fountain, sensation and reflection, he has discovered their true "original." From these two sources, according to his theory, flow all the ideas which can enter the human understanding. But let us appeal to his own language, b. ii, ch. i, sec. 2. Under the enunciation, "All ideas come from sensation or reflection," he remarks, "These two are the fountains of knowledge, from whence *all* the ideas we have, or *can naturally have*, do spring." The same statement is reiterated in several of the succeeding sections.

A new question here necessarily arises, namely, What are the conditions under which these two sources are developed? Are they developed simultaneously and independently, or is there an order of succession, and a dependence one upon the other? If so, what is that order; or, in other words, which is subsequent and dependent? The solution of these questions Locke gives with singular assurance: "I see no reason to believe that the soul thinks before the senses have furnished it ideas to think on." And again, he gives the specific and expressive enunciation to sec. 8, ch. i, b. ii, "Ideas of reflection later, because they need attention." Such then is the theory of Locke with regard to the "original of ideas." They all spring from sensation and reflection. But without sensation for its antecedent, there could be no reflection, because reflection, according to Locke, springs from and is based upon its antecedent sensation. Hence, though reflection is an accredited source of ideas, it becomes such only by virtue and in consequence of sensation, which thus becomes the fundamental source of all our knowledge. Here then Locke sets forth, clearly and distinctly, the doctrine of the mind's dependence upon the senses for its ideas; and this, though it is couched in terms less objectionable, is, in substance and reality, sensualism. The French sensualists took one step further, and but one, when they denied to the mind any essential distinctness from the body. Then followed, in easy and early train, utter contempt and mockery of all forms of religion, all faith in the Bible, or God, or a hereafter;—then scenes of anarchy, and wo, and massacre, in which all the restraints of virtue and truth were thrown aside, and scenes were enacted over which humanity will never cease to weep. Instil into the minds of the people that they are brutes, and when they have once given credence to your doctrine, they will need no further arguments to induce them to pursue a course of action appropriate to the place you have assigned them

in the scale of being. Here we cannot fail to discover that metaphysical science, instead of being a *mere* matter of abstract speculation, has an important bearing and influence upon the character and conduct of the human race.

Having shown the immediate proximity of sensualism and Locke's philosophy, we will turn our attention more critically to some of the characteristics of the "new philosophy."

Cousin professes to be an eclectic. Let us examine the ground of this claim, and the characteristics of his eclecticism.

Eclecticism is a word of wide and varied application. It is used to designate that class of philosophers, who embraced neither of the prevailing systems of philosophy as a whole, but sought to extract from each such principles and opinions as they thought sound and rational. Such philosophers there have been in every age. In fact, eclecticism is almost as old as philosophy itself. It gave character to the Alexandrian school, and was in a flourishing state when our Saviour was upon the earth. The early eclectics formed the design of selecting from the doctrines of all former philosophers such opinions as seemed to approach nearest the truth, and of combining them into one system. In the second century the eclectic philosophy was further developed and perfected by the sect of the Ammonians or New Platonists, who also blended Christianity with their philosophy. From that time to the present, the spirit of eclecticism has been stirring on the arena of philosophy. (See Watson's Bib. Dic.; also Ed. Enc.

Cousin, himself, declares,—

"Eclecticism is not of yesterday. It was born the moment that a sound head and a feeling heart undertook to reconcile two passionate adversaries, by showing them that the opinions which they combated were not irreconcilable in themselves, and that, with a few mutual sacrifices, they might be brought together. Eclecticism was long ago in the mind of Plato; it was the professed enterprise, whether legitimate or not, of the school of Alexandria. Among the moderns, it was not only professed by Leibnitz, but it was constantly practiced by him; and it is everywhere presented in the rich historical views of the new German philosophy."—*Preface to the Translation of Tenneman's Outlines of the History of Philosophy.*

Again, eclecticism rejects no one system as a whole. It professes to discover some truth in every system; and to this element of truth the system owes its existence. It further assumes, as its own peculiar province, to detect the truth in each, and to separate

it from the error in each; and so, by bringing the disjected members of truth, found in the different systems of philosophy, together, to form a new and complete system, which should embody no element of error, but be absolute truth. Such a system, were it possible to be attained, would not inherit the frailty and error that belongs to man. It would be truth; but truth is absolute and immutable, therefore our system would be subject to no change. The speculations of no succeeding philosopher could undermine its foundations; and no corrodings of time could deface its beauty or affect its stability.

Eclecticism, then, has a lofty aim. It searches for truth; and truth, whenever and wherever found, it embraces. It crouches before the dogmas of no exclusive, partial, and imperfect system; but labors to concentrate, in one focus of brilliancy and power, all the scattered rays of intellectual light that may anywhere appear. This is the very spirit which inspires the French philosopher with energy, vigor, and originality in his extended researches; and so far Cousin is an eclectic; so far he is eminently worthy of the honorable title he courts, and the kindredship of which he is ambitious. He claims that an entirely false system, or one that contains only error, is utterly impossible. And further, asserts that it is only by virtue of the truth which is mingled with it, that error finds its way into the mind. Absolute error is inadmissible, impossible. It exists only in connection with and for the sake of truth. Every system has within it a central truth, which props it up and imposes it upon the human understanding. And it is in its endeavors to embrace the truth that the mind is duped into a reception of the error.

Now, as we have already remarked, it is the province of the eclectic philosophy to search out the central truth of each system and desecate it from the mass of commingled truth and error. We come now to the severest test of eclecticism. In what manner, and by virtue of what shall we determine what is truth and what is error in the various systems that come under our observation? In a word, what shall be the "method" of our investigation? What shall satisfy and limit our research? Where is to be found our standard, our test of universal truth? The right determination of these questions has ever been the grand obstacle in the way of eclecticism. Here is the rock on which it has too often split.

Here lie concealed the quicksands in which are deeply buried the wrecks of too many eclectic systems. They stand as beacon lights to warn the future eclectic that the part truth and the part error, instead of the pure truth, is too likely to be obtained. And that these, when brought together, form only another system of error and truth—a system partaking of all the frailty of the nature of man, and marking the finitude of his capacity.

"Method," the "true method," is of as deep and vital importance in eclecticism as in empyricism. An error in the "method" or course of investigation, in either, will be a fundamental error, and prejudice the whole course of subsequent investigation. But true eclecticism has a method; and so far as I can comprehend its true order, it seems to be thus:—*First*, To analyze each and every system with the closest scrutiny, to apply to each the just principles of rational criticism, to bring in every collateral fact, every possible test, found in consciousness, in reason, in sense, and in observation; and then to commence its process of comparison, to compare the discovered, developed, and exalted truth found in each system with that found in the other, and both these with some immutable, absolute standard. The true method in eclecticism, then, is first one of *analysis*, and then one of *comparison;* in both of which operations there must be some immutable standard to which the ultimate appeal must be made. It is a standard not discovered in the analysis, not developed in the comparison. It grows not out of the collision of any system or systems. It is not weighing sensualism by idealism, and then idealism by skepticism, &c. This process, even according to the admissions of eclecticism itself, would be weighing each system in a false balance. A hopeless way, truly, to the discovery of the real merit of either. Weighed in a false balance, every result would necessarily partake more or less of error; and the aggregate of results thus obtained be only a complication of more subtle and abstruse errors.

It remains now to inquire whether the eclecticism of him who has refuted the errors of Locke, and carried war into the very heart of the old systems of philosophy, has been steered clear of those dangerous shoals and quicksands. Let us see whether he who has so successfully combated the erroneous method of Locke, and with such accuracy and spirit pointed out "the true method" in philosophy, has committed no error in "method" in the application of

his peculiar eclecticism. But on this subject, we will let Cousin speak for himself.

"I have loved to repeat," says he, "that each of these schools has existed, therefore there was some reason or ground for the existence of each. If these schools had been purely absurd and extravagant, they could not have existed; for the absurd, by itself, could have found neither place nor credit in the human mind, nor could it ever have gained reputation or acquired authority in any age, still less in an age so enlightened as the eighteenth century. Hence, from the simple fact that the sensual school has existed, it follows that it had a reason for existing, that it possessed some element of truth. But there were four schools, and not merely one. Now, absolute truth is one; if one of these schools had possessed absolute truth, there would have been only that one school, and not four. They are, therefore there is a reason for their being, and they contain some truth; but they are four, therefore neither contains the whole truth entire, but each of them, with an element of truth which has caused it to exist, contains some element of error, which reduces it to exist only as a particular school. It was my duty, then, at once to vindicate and combat all these schools. I was to vindicate the sensual school as having had its part of truth; and I was to combat it, as having blended with the part of truth, which recommended it, many errors and extravagances. And in what way, with what was I to combat the school of sensation? I promised you to combat the errors of one school by the truth of its antagonist school. I was to combat the exaggerations of sensualism by all that was sound and reasonable in idealism. This I have done. At a future day I shall take up the spiritual school; I shall examine it in its positive elements, and then I shall turn against it, against its sublime errors and mystical tendencies, the weapons which the good sense of empyricism and skepticism will frequently furnish."—*Histoire de la Philosophie*, vol. ii, p. 553; *Psychology*, p. 347.

Here we have developed a method—*the* method adopted by Cousin in the application of his peculiar eclecticism. And not only so, but we have the fundamental reason of that method, the fulcrum on which the lever is planted. He says,—"If either of these schools possessed absolute truth, there would have been only that, and not four." Again,—"They are four, therefore neither contains the whole truth." These propositions are wide and expansive; and admitting their truth and pertinency, we can have no difficulty in admitting also the summary process of battering down sensualism by idealism, and then idealism by skepticism, &c., till from this war of systems, another system, like the Corinthian Æs, formed by the fusion of many metals, should come forth radiant throughout with truth. But to these sweeping propositions we have an objection to propose. Now, can it be made to appear by

any just course of reasoning, because there were four systems, that all of them must partake more or less of error? All of them, it is true, if they conflict, cannot be absolute truth; but does it, of necessity, follow that all must contain error, that all must be false? Not so have we learned philosophy. If four witnesses stand up and give conflicting testimony in a court of justice, does it follow that no one among them speaks "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?" We admit that each of these schools had its part of error and its part of truth, but on different grounds and for a different reason than that given above. Merely because sensualism existed, we do not feel authorized to draw the conclusion that the ideal system is not absolute truth. This must be learned from an examination of the system itself, and testing it by the immutable principles of truth and reason already in the human mind.

Now if two philosophical systems exist, which are contradictory to each other, we infer that both cannot be true; that one of them *must* possess some part of error, and *perhaps* both do; else there would be no antagonism, for truth cannot antagonize with truth. It becomes, then, the true business of philosophy, by a critical examination and analysis of each system, to ascertain where the error lies—whether in both—and, if not in both, in which system, —and also in what particular part of each. If sensualism, then, is all truth, it follows that idealism is not all truth; but it does not follow that idealism contains *no* element of truth.

Here we discover the first departure of Cousin from the true system of eclectical philosophy; his first aberration from the "true method." The ground here assumed is truly "vantage ground;" and the "method" of warfare to which it leads unique; for it enables him to turn the weapons of his adversaries against each other. Here then is his "method"—"to combat the errors of each school, with the truths of the antagonist school. To combat the errors of sensualism by all that is just and reasonable in idealism," &c. This method, or mode of philosophical warfare, does not even recognize what must ever be a primary element in any true system of eclecticism. For what is it but first being an idealist for the sake of combating sensualism, and then a skeptic till a like office is performed for idealism? And it is in accordance with this tendency of his method, that we find Cousin wavering in the lofty principles

of his eclecticism, and falling upon the shambles of sensualism, idealism, skepticism, or mysticism, just as he may happen to determine each particular question. "Combat the errors of one school by the truths of its antagonist school!" Now this is all very well on one condition, and that is, that we commence with truth, and not with error; that we, in some one system, shall first separate its part of truth from its part of error. For since truth cannot antagonize with truth, it will then follow that whatever we find in any other system, antagonist to our discovered truth, must be error, and therefore ought to be rejected. But how are we to get at this truth, unless by virtue of some more interior and decisive principle than has been here recognized? Where is our standard by which we may know that we are not bringing the *errors* of idealism into this contest with sensualism? Let us apply this method:—The truths of sensualism are to be reached, the system is to be sublimated, its ore and alloy to be cast away. How shall it be done? What is the process? Shall we combat the system with the truths of idealism? But idealism is not all true. How then are its truths to be extracted from its errors? Where is the umpire that is to decide what is truth in idealism, that we may turn that truth against the errors of sensualism? Without some high and authoritative umpire, eclecticism becomes speculation, nor can science expect much real advancement from its operations. So long as error may be blended with and become imbedded in partial truth, just so long may this method of conflicting system with system be carried on, unless upon the arena of philosophy some sage should appear to give practical evidence of "the infinite perfectibility of humanity," in the exhibitions of his own intellect. Again, we repeat of this system or "method," it is radically deficient. It is utterly averse to the Baconian method of investigation. It is not a careful induction of general principles, which may be combined into a complete and perfect system, from particular truths which come under the direct cognizance of our intellectual faculties, and are addressed to individual consciousness. And, it is marvelous that so able a refuter of Locke, so able an expounder of the "true method" in philosophy, should so soon have fallen upon the shoals and quicksands of philosophical speculation.

We have not time now to return and trace out "the critical examination of the Essay upon the Human Understanding" into its

results. But we would remark that the empiricism of Locke in this conflict receives a signal discomfiture: no *system*, it is true, is wielded against it; but that which is infinitely more powerful, the principles of inalienable reason and good sense.

But there is one thing for which Cousin, as we have already remarked, deserves great credit; and that is, the elevation he is giving to the character of metaphysical science in France. It is well known that the philosophy of France has, for some time, been essentially infidel: the philosophy of Locke bordered hard upon the inner temple of sensualism; and from sensualism to materialism, and thence to deism and rank atheism, the descent is gradual, but almost unavoidable. Such undoubtedly is the downward tendency of the philosophy of Locke; but yet Locke was a Christian, or rather, as Cousin says, "upon the limits of Christianity." This tendency of his principles, though Locke himself, perhaps, did not discover it, was early discovered and promptly met by the Scotch philosophers, Reid, Stewart, and Brown; but in France no such antidote checked its progress, and French philosophy, in company with French morals, sunk into one common maelstroom of infidelity. Such was the fruit of Locke's philosophy in France; and with Voltaire for its patron, and Condillac, Helvetius, and D'Holbach for its expounders, we cannot wonder at the result. The revolution in the spirit of French philosophy, it is true, was commenced by Roger Collard, and Jouffroy, his pupil; but it was reserved for Cousin to push forward the conflict to its present auspicious stage. He stands conspicuous in the field, and stands, too, like a giant still girded for the contest. All his works that have come within my reach have been read with increasing interest and avidity. His unsurpassed, if not unequalled power of critical analysis, his independence as a philosopher, his comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the history of philosophy and of philosophical systems, the spirited and elevated style in which he discourses, command my admiration; but, at the same time, his ingenuousness, the freedom with which he acknowledges the real excellences of those whose errors he is called to expose and refute, inspire in me sentiments of the highest possible esteem for the man, in whom is blended so many of the virtues that give dignity to the philosopher, and honor to human nature. I can only hope for Cousin that he may do for the metaphysical philosophy of France, what Reid and Stewart

have already done for that of England and America. Cousin's philosophy is also becoming extensively known and as extensively admired in this country; and the author of these fragmentary thoughts will not esteem his labor lost if they shall be the means of directing any to a mine so replete with knowledge and truth.

Amenia, N. Y., 1841.

Art. III.—*Translation from Professor Tholuck.*

The author of the following piece (Professor Tholuck, of Halle) is already favorably known to the American public as a Christian and scholar; and as having borne in our age an active and influential part in the revival of evangelical religion throughout Germany. The unhappy infidel tendency of the close of the last and the beginning of the present century was not confined to France. The Christian world everywhere felt it more or less; and while France was its mainhold, where it exhibited its direst effects, and most revolting fruits, yet the form that it assumed among Germans, by courting an alliance with their learning and industry, was more dangerous. As it did not there, as in France, banish the church, and as the union of church and state is so intimate as to affect, more or less, men's fortunes in all departments of life, it naturally became an infidelity in the church—and while all men were in its pale, it was not uncommon to find theological professors and ministers of the altar disowning every essential doctrine of the Bible—indeed, denying revelation itself. The strange anomaly was presented of a Christian people rejecting Christ. The moral decencies of life were the only duties acknowledged by the mass, and too often these were shamefully neglected.

But it is one of the pleasing fruits of the passing century that this malign religious influence has year by year been sensibly wearing out. Under Bonaparte matters had already somewhat improved; but especially since his fall, and the return to Europe of peace, commerce, and prosperity, has the advancement of the interests of true religion and true learning been rapid. For fifteen or twenty years Professor Tholuck has been a prominent assistant in this revival of evangelical principles. By his books, and largely

as professor of theology, by his influence upon students annually ripening into ministers, has he been instrumental in redeeming piety from the odium into which it had fallen, and shaking the influence of rationalism, which for a long time had been triumphant. At him, perhaps more than at any other individual, have the attacks of the opposite party been directed. This contest has issued in as signal defeat to his opponents as the most happy discipline of Christian character in himself. In the cause of Christ, there have been also many other able and amiable men, of whom it is not our present purpose to speak. Through their united influence, with the blessing of Heaven, the cause of holiness for the last few years has become strong—it gives all indications that it is in the ascendant—and the world has yet much good to expect from the German Church.

The piece here offered to the English reader was among Professor Tholuck's early publications. Perhaps, in its abridged form, the transitions in the course of thought and illustration may not always appear easy.

Randolph Macon College, Va., March 15, 1841.

Apologetical Hints for the Study of the Old Testament. Translated and abridged from the German of Professor A. THOLUCK.

IN the last ten years the error has almost universally spread itself, as well in the theological world as elsewhere, that the *study* of the Old Testament for theologians, and the *reading* of the same by the laity for the purpose of edification, are either wholly unnecessary, or but little beneficial. With especial reference to theologians, we will at present cursorily develop, 1st. *How important the study of the Old Testament would be, even though it had no connection with the New.* 2d. *How deep and wisely founded were the institutes of the Israelites and the divine dispensation toward them.* 3d. *How the New Testament entirely rests upon the Old, and how Christ is the kernel of all the Old Testament.*

As this our undertaking has invited the attention of profound men of all ages, much that is good has already been said on the subject by others, so that the main design of this composition cannot be to give much that is new, but to present only that which is called for by the condition of *our* age.

I. *How far do the books of the Old Testament deserve a diligent study, even if they were not connected with Christianity?*

If *stability* is praiseworthy as a great distinction in an individual man, it is in a double degree so in a whole people. Josephus says, (*Contra Ap.*,) "Were our nation not known to all men, and were mankind not generally acquainted with our voluntary subjection to the law, and should a person describe and represent our institutions to the Greeks, or say, that out of the limits of the known world, he had met with a people that had so sublime conceptions of God, and for so many centuries had remained true to the same laws, they would be altogether astonished, since among themselves they know nothing but perpetual change."

Variety and change create vivacity, an objector will reply, and on account of this very vivacity is the Greek nation to be considered great and exalted, while the whole East from the remotest times to the present languishes. But a mere busy activity of the mind without object (which the Persian Dschelaleddin compares to the constant flow of a stream) cannot be the end of life. If the truth is once found, it is useless to be ever seeking it anew; and hence the apostle of the Gentiles gives the most striking picture of all heathens, both of ancient and modern times, when he says, "They are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth," 2 Tim. iii, 7. The Hebrews had a worship of God, which, as we shall see, satisfied the requirements of an humble mind, but one not yet arrived at high intellectuality. To this they remained true, according to this they fashioned their whole life; and hence Josephus can rightly say, "It can be no reproach to us, that we have discovered nothing new, but it affords this *testimony, that we needed nothing better.*" "What can one think of more beautiful," continues this sagacious man, "than a whole people, whose entire government resembles a general religious festival? While other nations can hold their feasts and mysteries scarcely a few days together, we celebrate our religious precepts without change from century to century." If now such a continuance in established institutions, springs not from the enervation or ossification of a people, it is something truly sublime. The praise of Sparta, indeed, resounds in history, because she was able for several centuries to remain faithful to the brazen laws of Lycurgus. But who can accuse the Israelites of enervation, who, without unity in the

time of the judges, flourishing in the splendid period of a David or Solomon, split and at enmity under the kings, trodden down by enemies during the Babylonish captivity, and under the Maccabees preserving with heroic power their ancient honor—passed through all the catastrophes which nations suffer. At the time of Christ their weakness and decline are not to be mistaken, but then even something unusual occurred. Frightfully did the remaining power convulse itself when the ruins of Jerusalem buried the antiquated sanctuary now stripped of meaning; as once at Nineveh the smoldering palace overwhelmed the effeminate Sardanapalus, and with him the fallen glory of Assyria. Instructive must it therefore be to become acquainted with the source of this iron constancy of temper, which long ago the Greek Hecatæres Abderita acknowledged and admired in this people.

If one now asks how the Spartan state became what it was, and if he be forced to answer the question by showing that ambition and unchecked haughtiness were the nurses of the Spartan constitution, and that Lycurgus endeavored to augment the hardness of character natural to the Doric tribe, and founded the greatness of the citizens of Sparta upon the brutal degradation of the Lacedemonians. the legitimate inhabitants of the land; the Hebrew people will then exhibit themselves in a light proportionably the more beautiful as the following words of Josephus are true:—"That our legislation was by far more useful than all others, must undoubtedly be regarded as the cause of our unchangeable faith in God and his commandments. For *Moses did not make piety a part of virtue, but all virtues he made parts of the fear of God*, by attributing to all our actions a reference to God." And no impartial historian will deny that in just this constant reference of all events to God lay the source of the great power of the Israelites: since times, when the fear of God was extinguished, mostly failed in firm and manly characters, which are the products only of a foundation in God.

Next to the stability of the Hebrew people, is their *antiquity* (already the subject of much praise) worthy of our respect. More than six hundred years before Lycurgus, Moses gives his laws; six hundred years before Pindar, the king of the Hebrews composes his divine Psalms. Moreover, three hundred years before the mythic heroes, Orpheus, Hercules, and Theseus, go against

Colchis, Moses founds his divinely wise theocracy. If the antiquity of the Pentateuch be not allowed, still the historical facts are certain. But the antiquity of the Pentateuch is not called in question by historical inquirers, but only by theologians who are displeased with its representation of miracles. It is with the most remote antiquity, as with childhood. "Tota illa ætas periit diluvio, sicut infantiam mergere solet oblivio," says St. Augustine. We know but little of it, but what tradition preserved out of the primitive age, Moses has given us much clearer than the confused fables of Greeks, Egyptians, Hindoos, or Chinese. Allow that which Moses takes from the period before the patriarchs to belong to a dark region, where much disfiguration has taken place, yet no one can deny the great truths which the chapters on the creation and fall contain, and no one can mistake the truly historical representation which the history of the patriarchs exhibits. Let us begin with the history of Abraham. Who can dare assert that after a thousand or sixteen hundred years, when every thing had changed, some person fell upon the invention of the expedition of the five kings against Sodom, in the narrative of which every thing portrays the people of that age? Pits of asphaltum, and the crust of the earth, consumed by asphaltum, hinder the flight of the Sodomites, while they sink through the thin surface. Fugitives come over the mountains of Judea, and enter the grove where Abraham has his tent, and give him information. Three hundred and eighteen servants accompany Abraham—three allies are with him—on their return they are hospitably received by the priestly king of Salem—presents are exchanged. How truly antique and historical is all this! Would not all this in the annals of any other people be acknowledged as history? If one will not allow the genuineness of Ossian because in him mention is made of ships at a time when the Caledonians had only boats, woven of willows and covered with oxhides; because chimneys are mentioned among a people that had scarcely huts; because the hunted deer is spoken of where Martial says, "Nuda Caledonia sic pectora præcludit urso;" why shall not this rust of antiquity—this childlike simplicity of manners—be admitted as an evidence for the authenticity of Moses and the patriarchal history? Abraham avails himself of deceit, not to tell a falsehood, but to conceal the truth; (for Sarai was also his sister;) Rebecca deceives old Isaac; Jacob increases his own flock to Laban's dis

advantage: these things the Tindals and Celsuses of every age have brought forward against the character of the Bible; but the constant reply is, Is not this an evidence of the integrity of the narrator? Only reflect, *what did not an interpolator have ample opportunity to interweave for the adorning of the story?* Schlœzer says, in his History of the World, "The Jews are a *leading people of the world*, not only as the people of God in ecclesiastical history, but a *powerful nation*, which, at the period of its greatness, consisted of more than five millions of souls; a *cultivated people*, the depository of all the knowledge we have of that oldest state of the world before the existence of the more modern Greeks." Of these modern Greeks Josephus speaks beautifully: "I am astonished that men think, they must in old matters trust the Greeks, but not us and other men. I believe, however, that if men would not follow idle opinions, but search out the truth of things, they must pursue the exactly opposite course; *because among the Greeks every thing is new, as it were of to-day or yesterday—the foundation of states, the establishment of trades and legislation, and latest of all, their historical writings.*"

If we now consider the spirit that breathes in this old history, we will find everywhere the idea of divinity (sensus Numenis) most lively. Diodorus Siculus calls historians the *servants of Providence.* Lessing says, "O Providence! let me not doubt thy existence, because I cannot scan thy way!" In the world's history retributive justice (Nemesis) stands powerfully dominant, and even a Plato exclaims, "Divinity measures all," (ὁ Θεος παντα γεωμετρει.) In the history of the Hebrews, indeed, this presiding divinity (præsens Numen) exhibits himself not only as a dim and unknown avenger of wrong, but *reveals* himself as an *absolute God*, i. e., an independent God, who, in the face of his creatures, with a wise and uncontrolled power creates and destroys. Philo says, "In the creatures the Greeks have forgotten the Creator. So the historians, who are without God in the world, have forgotten, and yet forget, that God is over and in the world, disposing all things. They miss of recognizing that breath, which, through the wire-work of the bones, sets the wandering skeleton in motion."* If Herodotus,

* Herder says, "History without the Spirit of God is an image of Polyphemus with his eye put out." In Bancroft's History of the United States, third volume, are some excellent remarks on this true idea of history.—*Translator.*

who nowhere forgets the hand which out of eternity takes a hold in time, moves us, how much more important is it for us to see the God who is "the possessor of heaven and earth," (as Melchisedek called him, Gen. xiv, 19,) acting a part in the history of the Hebrews! Justice (Adrastea) as a winged goddess appears in the histories of the Greeks, but Judaism and Christianity first exhibit to us in the events of the world a guiding, sympathizing, and loving God. "God is the sphere whose centre is everywhere, and circumference nowhere." Where is this more true than in history?

Thanks, then, to the Hebrews, who immediately, and also through Christianity, have taught us this holy spirit of history! It is evident that the East, in general, strives with holy zeal to dissolve the world into God, and thus destroy freedom of life; equally evident is it the endeavor of the West, with downright coldness, to dissipate God into the world, but there is always a safe middle way, and he who is taught of God in these matters, also recognizes it. And, as in the history of the Israelites, faith on a universal and wise government of the Highest is everywhere predominant; so does their doctrine of faith on his fatherly care for every individual pervade it in a lovely and comforting manner. The spiritual eye of the noble Plutarch could recognize in the breast of Arion, while in the dangers of the sea, this beautiful thought, that he wished to be saved, mostly that hereafter he might put the stronger trust in the gods. Well did Johannes Von Müller say, "Will not this heathen Chæronean some day stand up a witness for the truth against many theologians?" Where better than in the book of Psalms can we learn the struggle of the pious man with the oppression of troubles which enkindles his faith, as wind does a conflagration? There we never see a hardy struggle against dark power, but trial and preservation beget hope—a hope that never shall be put to shame. But the internal benefits of these books, which breathe a high and divine spirit, are too numerous for us to speak of them here particularly. We will point out but one; that connected with the Israelitish idea of God's holiness, and the consequent sense of sin and humility. The more like men the heathen gods were, the more like gods did men consider themselves. Wicked pride desecrated all the bloom of the world. One Socrates alone stands in all antiquity, who thought himself *rich* through his *poverty;* and O! that he could have banished that scoffing sneer that sprung

from the pride of his humility! *There is a deep thoughtfulness that grovels, and a simplicity that conquers heaven.* And if David had been a threefold greater sinner than he was, his sin had been destroyed by that simple humility and penitence which to all heathens was, is, and ever will be folly. Let one dwell upon the reading of the single book of Psalms, and inexhaustible riches of the deepest moral ideas will unveil themselves to his eye. "Before I was afflicted I went astray; but now have I kept thy word," Psa. cxix, 67. Such a maxim of humility, throughout all proud Greece, is not found. We, however, must turn from this subject and seek to show briefly,

II. *How wise and deep were the divine guidance and religious institutions of the Hebrews.*

We speak first of the guidance* (experience) of the Israelites. "True philosophy," says Leibnitz, "is contained in history," and thoroughly established is the declaration of Clarke, "In religion men are apt to be more easily wrought upon, and more strongly affected by good testimony than by the strictest arguments." (*Discourse concerning God.*) Not, therefore, through system and demonstration, but through *facts* only can sensual men receive the truth; so also the doctrines and wonders of Christianity, though they may be *taught*, can, nevertheless, not be rightly *believed* except by him who has *experienced* them. *The voice of its fate (lot) is the most intimate voice of God to every human heart*, therefore through their fortunes were the Israelites taught doctrines and ethics. An inquirer now asks, why God chose but one people to whom to reveal himself? Why arrived other people without special direction almost so far? Why was the Jewish nation in particular chosen? The first question, the intelligent Saint Martin answers by asking a second: Why has the body but one marrowbone, since so many limbs also need it? The other questions Lessing meets by a comparison of the individual man, the antitype of the human race: Does education appear worthless, because children of nature may equal, if they do not sometimes excel the children of education? and, Is not this the chief consideration, that even upon the rudest and most unyielding people, God built, that the struggle

* There is a difficulty in fitting an appropriate English word to the German *fuehrung*. Divine guidance or dispensation, I think, expresses the idea near enough.

between the *divine* and *human* might be exhibited in the most striking manner? Both of these replies are true, yet Lessing has overlooked,—1st. That no people (though the Persians were far before the Greeks) really equalled the Hebrews in *that* which was and is essential *in the humble, true knowledge of God*, for all other things are but trifles; 2d. That nations, whose eye is not single, are entirely unqualified for divine revelation; that, therefore, neither the phantasy of the Indians, nor the vanity and speculation of the Greeks, nor the haughtiness of the Romans, could have received a revelation, without disfiguring it. If we consider the records of the Hebrews, we discover that the outward and historical directions of God constitute the mainhold, which kept this degenerate race from entirely abandoning that God, who in Isaiah xliv, 6, 7, emphatically exclaims: "Besides me there is no God, and who, as I, shall call, and shall declare it, and set it in order for me, since I appointed the ancient people?"

Along with the divine guidance of the Israelites, the law and the prophets were established as God's means of grace. Johannes Von Müller says sublimely of the law: "Moses led the Israelites into this land of wonders, and from the summit where primitive worship had existed they received their law, *but the spirit of this law was itself a miracle.*" This law, and the manner in which it was given, has always been a stumbling-block to those who believed not in Christianity. Few heathens, like Strabo, could praise the law, and among its Christian apologists there is found great disagreement. The learned Spencer gives himself trouble to prove that something necessarily must have been borrowed from the heathens to keep the hard-necked race from becoming apostate; in opposition to him Witsen strives to show that all which Israel had, was peculiarly their own; and between the two Warburton comes in, to prove that the law must have been divine, because it exhibits nothing but earthly reward and punishment. Since now we must hold this in particular, that the other races of the earth had not been fully abandoned by God, and that out of the original revelation much that is divine had been obtained through tradition; we will, if we search into the foundation of the general economy of God, find it clear, how so much is found in common with the Israelites and heathens. For it appears in the general economy of the divine counsel to be settled that a ceremonial worship and

sacrifices shall precede the worship in spirit and in truth. Whether the nations would not at first have received a spiritual doctrine, whether the Chinese and Japanese are not yet ripe for a purer faith, are questions which no human being dare assume to answer. We shall understand this when the dialplate of the world's great clockwork shall be removed. Therefore we find among all heathens ceremonial pomp—and therefore the Jews had a glittering external worship, but (and here is the great difference) monotheism and symbolic and typical significancy gave to the Israelitish worship a peculiar character. Two great objects are seen in the religious laws of the Jews; to write the faith of monotheism in the most secret heart, and to awaken a lively sense of sin. *Sin, sin!* is the word that resounds again and again in the Old Testament; and had it not for centuries rung in ears and hearts, the sound of *grace for grace*, the great watchword of the New Testament, could not have been heard at the time of Christ. What need have heathens of grace, who wish to hear nothing of sin, because only they have too much thereof! The priesthood and the whole system of sacrifices existed, that all flesh might know that it is but grass. Who cannot see that in this way the law essentially prepared the way for Christianity? The sacrificial service was in general one of the deepest institutes of the ancient world. However wonderfully and lively, uncorrupted nature, even without grace, may feel its dependent relation on God, and its great guilt, yet we are forced to adopt the following words: "*Downward*, or how this reverence toward the unseen God, when it was once introduced among men, should extend to following generations, the answer is not difficult. The water runs easily down the mountain, and finds its own way; but by ascent one finally arrives at the highest point. To that point the water cannot flow, but must descend from it. *It is indeed a deeper question than many a one supposes, how the first offerer arrived at the idea of an offering.*"

The advantage for piety, that this faith on one God has wrought, has never yet been sufficiently appreciated. The gods of the Greeks were exalted men, who, unequal in strength, were constantly warring against each other. As that man, who knows of no other protection and safety but the favor of powerful party, can never arrive at peace of mind—as he, now full of anxiety lest his party may fail, now troubled lest it may prove faithless to him, ever

nourishes in his bosom fear and doubt; so in the heart of no religious Greek could there spring up a joyous and contented life. No Greek could say, with the Psalmist, My soul is quiet before God. An eternal ebb and flow agitated the fainting heart. Otherwise was it with the Hebrew. He knew that his God was the God of heaven and earth, who had appointed their habitations to all people, to whom every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall swear. What effect this constant flowing of the soul to the only God produces, they will understand who live a spiritual life. What it is to look away entirely from men, and alone to God, the holy men of Judaism and Christianity and all the martyrs understood. Luther, too, felt it when he said to the elector, "*You cannot protect me by your power, but I can you by my prayers.*" Thus operated the faith on *one* God; but still more blessed was the faith on one God, as the God of *holiness*, that presides over all. As the world of gods among the Greeks, in its principle rested alone on nature, there was nothing in it by which man could transport himself beyond the limits of time. Not only so, but earthly nature was by the Greek consecrated, so that to him it seemed presumption to wish for superiority over it. The law of Moses in its political part is inferior to none other. The natural feeling of humanity and equity is its foundation, and out of this spring most of the precepts. Mildness and compassion are enjoined toward strangers, widows, orphans, and animals. How delicate and affecting is Exod. xxiii, 9; xxii, 21! "Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." Also Lev. xix, 34, "And thou shalt love him (the stranger) as thyself." Also the many commandments respecting widows and orphans, as Exod. xxii, 22, "Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry; and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless." Compare Exod. xix, 13, 32; Deut. xv, 7; xxiv, 10, 14, and 17: and for animals, Exod. xxiii, 11; Lev. xxii, 24; Deut. xxii, 1. And before all commands, "Thou shalt love God above every thing, and thy neighbor as thyself." This law, and this worship given to men, were only the hull, and toward the time of Christ became constantly dryer, and more devoid of sap; but then at length the winged

Psyche burst through the obsolete chrysalis, and directed its flight to heaven. Till this great event happened, (or nearly to the time,) men were constantly sent, in whom the Spirit of God breathed, quickening their age. We poor mortals are fallen, and have, so long as we are unenlightened from above, no standard in us for what is divine, wherever it meets us; and hence the contempt of the natural man for holy writ. First, through a long struggle and effort are we made partakers of some illumination, and since in divine things each one *knows* only so much as he himself *is*, we recognize in Scripture what is divinely excellent only in the same measure as it begins to grow in us. Thus is it especially in the reading of the prophets. Their words appear dry and unfruitful to every heathen, and one cannot blame them if they had a hundred times rather take up Homer or Anacreon. But possessed of the Spirit of God as teacher, man sees therein a new sense. He sees, 1st, The prophecy; 2d, Wonderful annunciations; 3d, Infinite depth of spiritual meaning. Of this, however, more hereafter.

If we wish to obtain a correct idea of the prophets, we must transfer ourselves fully into antiquity. Origen takes it for granted that the heathen obtained a knowledge of futurity; and that the Jews might not fall behind them, it was necessary that they should have prophets, and that *God* should give them. From whatever source the knowledge of the future may have been derived by heathen priests, it is certain that the Jewish prophets had theirs from God. All the ancient world lived in much more intimate connection with the supernatural world than the present age; hence the liveliest feeling of necessity to do nothing without God, (sine Numine.) The prophets should also be looked upon from this point of view, and be regarded as standing in *every thing* between God and men. As the direction of the political fortunes of the Hebrews had a specially important influence upon religion, as their doctrines are written in capital letters on their destinies, it was necessary that prophecy should have its immediate reference to them. While thus the will of God was poured into the souls of his saints, there remained a continued and intimate union of the people with their God. Perverted, therefore, is the new-fashioned view of those who will see in the prophets nothing but demagogues and poets. Isaiah was as little the war minister of Hezekiah, as Tiresias was the minister for religion to Œdipus, or the Brahmin

Bidpai, state chancellor to the wise Dabshelim of India. Still more wonderful does it sound, when some speak of court prophets as of court comedians. How can those men be called demagogues who manifested zeal about public matters only in reference to the prosperity or decline of God's worship—who threatened war only against ungodliness, promised peace only as a reward for piety—who never sought self—who announced futurity and still remained cowherds, (Amos,)—who in times of declension from God had to expect only persecution and the sword? Who can place such men, of whom the world was not worthy, by the side of Cleon the tanner? And what idea of poetry has a man, when he introduces Jeremiah and Isaiah in the character of poets? To them the *form* was nothing, and therefore they cannot be called poets; but their *spirit* and *high flight of thought* cannot be called poetry *only*, when one believes that the Spirit of God was active in these men of God, and that more is discoverable in the books than human elevation of mind. If the Spirit of God intimated what lies without the sphere of man, the words of the prophets were not merely the outward representations of the excited mind, they were the *word of God*. Had this not been so, how could it have been complained by them of false prophets not sent of God? If their view had been dim and deceptive, how could a fact succeed for confirmation? In Jeremiah, chapter twenty-eight, it is said, "And Hananiah spake, saying, Thus saith the Lord: even so will I break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar." "Then said the prophet Jeremiah to Hananiah the prophet, Hear now, Hananiah, the Lord hath not sent thee, but thou makest this people to trust in a lie. Therefore thus saith the Lord: Behold I will cast thee from off the face of the earth: this year thou shalt die, because thou hast taught rebellion against the Lord. So Hananiah the prophet died the same year, in the seventh month." Could Moses by a prophet have meant a poet or a specious demagogue, where he thus threatens in Deut. xviii, 20? "But the prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die. And if thou say in thy heart, How shall we know the word which the Lord hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken."

We now pass to the third and most important point, to show,—

III. *How the New Testament depends entirely on the Old, and that Christ is the kernel of all the Old Testament.* (Non sapit vetus Scriptura, si non Christus in ea intelligatur.—*Augustine.*)

This intimate connection of the New with the Old Testament may be comprehended under a threefold division:—1. The principles of all the New Testament morality depend upon the ideas contained in the Old. 2. The entire doctrine of the New Testament is the perfected religious system of the Old Testament. 3. The prophecies of the Old Testament are fulfilled in the New, Christ being the centre of all. We speak first of *morality*. The three great tones cognizable in the complete Christian life are, *humility*, *faith*, and *love*. Of these three, the element and anticipation are found in Judaism, and of the two first, *only* in Judaism.

Humility, as we have seen, was contemplated by the whole of the sacrificial system; to awaken a feeling of sin were the priesthood and the law ordained. For this reason we find such great evidences of humility in the Old Testament. Psa. xxxiv, 18, "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart; and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit." Micah vi, 8, "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Isa. lvii, 15, "For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones." Isa. lxvi, 2, "For all those things hath my hand made, and all those things have been, saith the Lord; but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit and trembleth at my word." Everywhere, therefore, we find that poverty of spirit—an humble feeling, (animus demissus, humilis fractus,) to the heathens a crime, (*Cic. Off.*, iii, 32,) was to the Hebrews the true and correct disposition of the soul. While the heathen praises a high and lofty mind, (θυμος ἀγανος,) it is said in the economy of Israel, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble." If we take a glance, in reference to this important matter, at the oriental heathen, we shall find something more exalted and better than among the Greeks, and yet the eastern world, by the force of inference, strayed upon giddy heights. The

Indo-Chinese book Suche-ulh-chang-king teaches: "Man must abandon father, mother, every feeling, every good, every wish, that he may sink into that annihilation where he may think as God." The Nyaya sect teaches, "When the true light of God comes, then is self-annihilation so entire, that knowledge ceases." In the East, therefore, we see abandonment of self,—*annihilation*. This is a fruitless speculation, without influence on the life; but a deeper signification lies in it, than in the Grecian views of worldly enjoyment.

The other Christian element in Judaism is *faith*. This, too, was an idea wholly foreign to heathenism. Faith, in the Christian sense, is, "An actual possession, a real *fore-feeling* (participation) of a higher mode of existence, into which a man may enter by the condition of his spirit, although he be unable to comprehend it. While we carry in the innermost ground of our nature the image and seed of a higher life, unknown to this world in which we now exist; we have it thereby in our power to become conscious of the reality of those rays of life which are shed into us from on high, and to feel within ourselves the certainty of that better state which is appointed for us. Therefore the apostle John says, not only emphatically and figuratively, but with true and deep significancy, 'He that believeth, hath eternal life, and hath passed from death unto life.' The Saviour himself shows clearly the deep meaning of this expression when he says, 'The water that I give you shall be in you a well of water springing up unto eternal life.'"—*Neander*. In this full extent the Hebrews possessed not faith, yet the unconditional and full surrender to God which we find exercised by the fathers of the Old Testament was the most glorious introduction to it. What a power of spiritual life was exhibited when Abraham, because the voice of God called, could give up his *son*, his only heir, him who had been given in answer to many prayers, upon whom hung the promise of *the seed!* In the night, the command of that God whom he knew, came to him. Early in the morning he sets forth with two servants. To no one, not to the mother, the son, or the servants does he disclose his conflict of faith. His lacerated heart speaks only in the words, "My son, the Lord will provide an offering for himself." This was a faith, this was a surrender, that was sufficient to make him the father of the faithful. The idea of the submission of faith reigns throughout all the books

of the old covenant. And even this word covenant, if we will regard it, discloses the greatness of this idea of faith. What a thought! that *God should make a covenant with man!* A presumptuous thought, if *discovered;* a high one, if *given.* It is necessary, though difficult for man to come to this divine faith. Philo says, "Every thing around us tempts to the laying our trust in health, strength, prudence, power, &c., but to turn away from them all, and depend only upon God, is a great and heavenly state of the soul."

But *love;* is *its* stamen also to be found in Hebraism? God the Lord speaks to Israel, Deut. vi, 5, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." But what does he, who would thus be loved, promise in order to seem worthy of love? Isa. liv, 10, "For the mountains shall depart and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee." Also Isa. xlix, 14, 15, "But Zion said, The Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee." This is indeed the language of love, a language able to excite the heart of man on its part to fulfil the law of love. But if, however, after so many refreshing streams of love, the fire of his zeal should sometimes break forth, yet was the affection decided, and the purpose tender. Sufficient proof of this is found in the consideration of the deliverances of the people which the Holy One had taken as his own. These deliverances produced an inward trust—and where there is trust there must be love. But here the old objection meets us, that Israel's God was a jealous and wrathful God. But the Hebrew expression represents this jealousy as proceeding always from love—and, therefore, so far from its meaning any bad, it becomes the most endearing epithet. One must, then, meet the objection as did Origen; the sinner needs not only to be protected, but to be *alarmed.* Even after the message of love has come to us in the gospel, we read these alarming voices of awakening with an humble acknowledgment that to us also in our ever-returning weakness, they can be recalled with profit. Moreover, this jealous God spoke to his chosen ones quite otherwise than to the stiff-necked people.

When Elijah spake with God, it is said, (1 Kings xix,) "And behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice. And it was so, when Elijah heard it, that he wrapped his face in his mantle and went forth." This is the love of God to man, and of man to God, but how can love of man to man be more strongly expressed than in the command, Thou shalt love thy neighbor (the stranger) as thyself. Here is love placed high enough; and it can be no derogation from the command, that future selfishness confined it to lower limits. Thus in Moses and the prophets by anticipation, the heavenly harmony of Christian life sounded in its threefold tones, and as humility and love were practical, there were ever humble and loving hearts, as of Hannah, Elizabeth, Mary, Simeon, and Joseph, ready to give it a response.

If the principles of the Christian morality can be pointed out in Judaism, still easier is the task to show the connection of Christian doctrines. Theologians, although universally admitting the most intimate dogmatical relation between the Old and New Testaments, yet draw therefrom directly opposite opinions. Some think that by this very relation it can be shown how the gospel could arise out of Hebraism in the natural way of human development; while others, assuming a continued direction of God among the Israelites, endeavor to establish that it was the design of the Ancient of days gradually to prepare all hearts and spirits for the day of the appearance of the Saviour of the world. If one desire to arrive at the truth in this matter by inference, he can at once show that the Hebrew nation is to the historian an unsolved riddle; that their character, and law, and destiny are wonders: and then from the condition of the world, and of that nation at the time of Christ, as well as from the history of the Lord, conclude with the greatest clearness that Christianity never could have arisen out of Judaism in a natural way. But this mode of proof is not so convincing as to enter into the system of salvation by Christ, learn the power of the Holy Ghost, and then seek, moved by the authority of Christ, more in Judaism than meets the view at first, and be convinced that there is no natural development without the special guidance

of God. Whoever pursues this way, whoever submits to the new birth of the Spirit, will get rid of all his doubts—for it is not his understanding, but his will, that doubts. What are, then, the doctrines of the New Testament to be found in the Old? All of them, I suppose, are to be found there, more or less clear. The proof in each particular need not here be adduced; and we shall confine ourselves to some general remarks on the history of Old Testament dogmas. It is undeniable that many doctrines first make their appearance in the course of ages and after the Babylonish captivity. If the doctrines of immortality—of the resurrection—of judgment—of demons, were borrowed from foreign nations, are they therefore false and fabulous? Alas! testimonies from the time of the captivity are so deficient, that we are left to hypotheses, without having any thing positive. With the authority of Christ, and the maxim of Cicero and Augustine, Nulla falsa doctrina est, quæ non aliquid veri permisceat, (There is no false doctrine but has some truth,) we may assume that there was something divine and true in all ancient religions, (particularly among the Persians,) since God has not left himself among any people without a witness. On the other hand, however, we find intimations of these doctrines in the books of the Old Testament, as, of immortality in the translations of Enoch and Elijah—of the resurrection in Psalm xvii, 15—of the judgment in the frequent expression, Terrible day of the Lord—and of demons, in Genesis iii, and Lev. xvi, 8, (where Gesenius, too, explains by demon.) We cannot, therefore, resist the belief (v. *De Wette and Drusius*) that the Jews had a species of secret doctrine which was perpetuated among the wise ones (elders) by tradition, and makes its appearance only here and there in the Scriptures in a general and indistinct light. This assertion can be supported by the universal reception among the Jews of an oral law; or at least this Jewish reception shows that such a thing is not entirely without foundation. If this supposition be well-grounded, a similar occurrence appears to have taken place in Judaism, as occurred in the sinking of heathenism. Creuzer has shown, that the heathens, when Christianity threatened to overcome every thing, drew forth from their mysteries to the light of day whatever was analogous to Christianity—and here and there modified it by the Christian doctrine. Even so, by the divine providence, Judaism seems to have come into so near contact with the

Persian doctrines, that what had been long taught in the dimness of secret tradition, at that time came forth to the light, and perfecting itself through the Persian, served for the foundation of a new order of things which Christ brought in. This is to us the most probable genesis of these doctrines. They were according to the plan of providence disseminated just before the advent of Christ, so that he, who was to bring in the new spirit, and by it crush the hull of the law, but perfect the form of doctrine, should not be under necessity to give any new doctrine, but by his living and teaching announce this one great doctrine: That *God has loved the world.* The post-Babylonian doctrines were, however, so transformed by Jesus and the apostles, that they now in a pure and perfect form exhibit that spirit which has departed from the lifeless body of Rabbinic faith.

We now turn to the *prophecies*, the third point of connection between the Old and New Testaments. A distinction may be made between those which relate to the time of Christianity, (the kingdom of heaven on earth,) and those which treat only of the person of Christ. If anywhere a confused treatment of the sacred Scriptures has done injury to the faith, it has happened in the apprehension of the prophecies of the Old Testament. Without regard to the facts that the New Testament was written within a short period by the disciples of one teacher, but the Old during the lapse of eleven centuries by priests, kings, cowherds, and lawgivers of different characters, though excited by the same spirit; the commentator has explained the Old Testament in the same manner as the New, without distinguishing time from time. We who now stand at the point of nearly six thousand years from the commencement of the world, must, with a universal historical view, overlook the entire past, in order rightly to understand the plan of the Ancient of days in the history of the Jewish people. He, however, who measures the waters in his fist, and compasses the heaven with a span, hath also set limits to knowledge; and if the bucket fills itself only after thousands of years by drop succeeding drop, we must consider that a thousand years with him are as one day—and who is he that can give him understanding, or teach him what is right? We find that the idea of a kingdom of God, and the idea of a day of judgment, as well as that of a spiritual king of Israel, only gradually developed themselves among the people of

God. We propose not to be full on this topic, but to throw out the leading ideas. There are in the nature (mind) of man (as Jos. Scaliger calls them) the seeds of eternity, (semina æternitatis:) i. e., eternally existing ideas, which the rational belief of man seizes and holds fast in the whirlpool of ever-changing time. Such ideas were among the ancient heathens, and are still prevalent with many pagans of the present age. But in Europe many persons consider themselves too wise to acknowledge and entertain such ideas. O, that the words of a true philosopher (Solger) could be heartily accepted! "The conviction is spreading itself, that the lately so called free-thinking rests upon a weak foundation, and that it requires a far freer and stronger mind to believe wonders without quibbling and false interpretation, than to get rid, by an insipid and timid denial of all that does not harmonize with the most common laws of experience. Among these seeds of eternity may be reckoned the ideas of God, freedom, and immortality, which the self-comprehending spirit apprehends and holds fast by means of a rational faith that overtops all knowledge—that does not *prove*, but *refers to*—that does not *construct*, but *vindicates*. On the same ground may be defended the idea of a former lost blessedness of the human race—of an intimate union between the spiritual and material worlds—of a revelation of God—of a Saviour of the world—and of future happiness. Among all races of the earth spake and speaks yet the feeling of these truths in the most varied manner. The same feeling dwelt with the Jews. With them this seed gradually waxed, and became a tree in whose shadow the fowls of heaven might rest. Two stars, a period of earthly prosperity and a Redeemer, gleamed upon their wise ones with uncertain light. And the nearer the time approached in which the two should appear united, the more brilliant became the light of these stars. Indeed, the hope of a Saviour in different forms was found among other people; the Chinese, the Thibetians, the Indians, the Persians, and the Greeks have their reports of a golden age, and of its return—with the Indians, Krishna; with the Persians, Oshanderbami; with the Icelanders, Thor is the hero who shall establish the redemption of the world, but this fabulous glimmer shines with doubtful light: among the Jews, on the contrary, the Messiah is the confirmed and glowing centre of all hope;—at all times they believed him near, as the apostles the day of the Lord—the second advent of the

Messiah. I do not assert that Eve (Gen. iv, 1) already supposed that the Messiah had been born of her, but Jacob certainly believed his advent near, as also David, and hence, also, no objection can be made against Isaiah, chapter ix, as inappropriately giving the signs of a near event to what was veiled in the darkness of distant futurity; for to the Israelite it was the most certain matter that a Redeemer should at some time come, and while the prophet brings this most certain fact of redemption into his contemplation, and expands and confirms it, the nearness of the promise gains in certainty. So deeply had the idea of a Messiah penetrated into the conceptions of the Hebrew, that the prophet returns to it in the eleventh chapter, because he that was to come would supply all wants—bring peace on earth, and establish righteousness, holiness, the state, religion, and law. Without dispute, by the promise of a seed that should bruise the serpent's head, (Gen. iii,) the Messiah is designated. This the Christian asserts as confidently as the Indian asserts the snake whose head Krishna mashes with his heel, or the heathen Icelander asserts the dragon whose head Thor breaks, is the evil enemy. This great promise flew from race to race until He came who was to come. Zoroaster teaches: In the last age of the world, the holy man Oshanderbami will come to fight with the evil demon twenty years, that he will finally conquer, that righteousness will return, kings will obey him, and peace will be on earth. The next appearance of this joyful hope in the Old Testament is in Gen. xlix, 10, where the dying patriarch, fanned by the breath of eternity, pronounces it. That the Messiah in Deut. xviii, is meant, there is some doubt. First, in David's Psalms this cheering light again shows itself. No sound interpretation can explain Psalms ii, and cx, of any other person but the Messiah. Up to this period, the expected Anointed appeared as a king—as a priestly king. His spiritual kingdom and character had not been described, which is first done by the prophets. Nearly all of them look upon Him that was to come, but as the sun-beam breaks itself into a thousand tints, so did this prophetic light of heaven, according to the disposition of each recipient spirit. He is a priestly king with most of the seers. With clearness Isaiah views him, and recognizes him as God—as the eternal Father, and points to the place of his appearance, Isa. ix, 1: "As in former time Zebulon and Naphtali suffered most, there-

fore the way of the sea, this side Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles shall be glorified. The people that walked in darkness shall see a great light."* In Isaiah liii, the same Deliverer is seen in his suffering state; and Malachi, the last herald of God, views him that was to come as the covenant Angel of the Lord, "who comes to his temple," Mal. iii, 4. This Angel of the covenant is, however, the same who led the Israelites in all their travels, and therefore completely the divine Revealer.

Here the old covenant closes, and the stillness that precedes the storm now reigned for nearly four centuries, while the materials were collecting for the time when the foundations of the earth should quake. In this interim, the Angel of the covenant assumed the improved shape of Wisdom and the Word of God—and St. John avails himself of these to represent the person of the Saviour. The years from Malachi to the Baptist constitute a period of prime importance. The (semina æterna) religious ideas of all Asiatic creeds were introduced into Western Asia;† what was valuable to enlighten and improve the world was brought to Judea, in order that that portion which should stand for all ages might be woven into the web of Jewish doctrine. How could John have depicted the worth of his Master, had not Providence directed the idea of the Logos to be generally known and disseminated? In the prophets, parallel with the doctrine of the Messiah, runs the anticipation of the kingdom of the Messiah. This point deserves extensive consideration, but we must now confine ourselves to the showing how the ideas of the seers at one time mounted to a high glory, and at another time remained in an inferior conception. The lowest representation of this kingdom is, that Israel shall enjoy perfect peace from without, shall be served by her enslaved enemies, shall quietly dedicate herself to God, and, under a ruler of the race of David, be happy. Luke i, 74. With this is united the idea of particular righteousness and holiness which each individual shall exhibit. Isa. lxi, 6–11: "Ye shall be named the priests of the Lord: men shall call you the ministers of our God"—* * * * * "For as the earth bringeth forth her bud, and as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth; so the Lord God will

* This passage is differently translated in both the English and German versions.

† Mostly by Alexander's Indian expedition.

cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations." Zech. xiii, 1: "In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness." The Redeemer will come to the penitent and take away all sin: (Isa. lix, 20:) "And the Redeemer shall come to Zion and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord." Isa. xliv, 22: "I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sins: return unto me; for I have redeemed thee." United with this picture of the holiness and righteousness of Israel, is the anticipation of the healing that is also preparing for the Gentiles, and it is in this confident expectation that all nations shall acknowledge the God of Israel, that the divinity of the prophecies is particularly evident. Isa. lxv, 1: "I am sought of them that asked not for me: I am found of them that sought me not: I said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name." Isa. lx, 5: "Then thou shalt see, and flow together, and thy heart shall fear, and be enlarged; because the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee." Still higher mounts the prophecy in Isaiah lxvi, 18, 19, and to the conclusion of the book, where Judaism appears almost lost in the grand representation, when the prophet announces that the Lord will take of the heathen for priests and for Levites, and that missionaries of the Jews shall go into all lands to proclaim the Lord to the Gentiles. The prophet can, therefore, predict, "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea," Isa. xi, 9. Also, Zech. xiv, 9, "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth; in that day shall there be one Lord, and his name one." As we cannot imagine beforehand the divine preparations, but must deduce the laws of God from events as they happen, we need not wonder that the annunciation of the coming salvation was made in ways so different and general. We remark too, with confidence, that whenever any thing divine is exhibited in time, it accommodates itself more perfectly to the state of things, than was anticipated by the understanding of man. Hence it is explicable, why the conceptions of the kingdom of God were so different among the Hebrews; and why the universal conversion to the Saviour Jesus Christ appeared as a conversion to the Israelitish Jehovah, and to the sanctuary at Jerusalem. As time was fulfilled, it was shown what the Spirit of God had

signified. But how does it happen that frightful judgments, and the fearful day of the Lord generally, are connected with the annunciation of redemption through the Messiah? The idea springs up easily of itself, that good can never make its appearance without involving a spirited contest with evil; hence the reconciliation of the two representations can be made in a very natural way. Even the Baptist, when he saw the Lamb of God bearing the sins of the world, also imagined as near the sifting of the wheat, the winnowing-fan, and the axe. The disciples too were expecting the day of vengeance, and the throes of time; yet what does Jesus? He places centuries between his appearance and the catastrophe of time—and distinguishes a second coming of the Messiah. If we now draw conclusions from events, we shall see how the prophets, in gazing at the future, crowded, as if by the laws of perspective, times upon times, and confounded the dawning of God's earthly kingdom with that of his eternal. Nevertheless, the kingdom of heaven below and above is one; for when a man now enters into the heavenly salvation of Jesus Christ, he at once becomes a citizen of the eternal economy—he feels the influences that flow from above—he *walks* on earth, but *lives* in heaven. Hence our Lord speaks of the kingdom of heaven at one time as something already appeared—and at another as something yet to come. From this point of view, all the significations of the phrase (Schleusner gives eight) coincide in one of peculiar and eternal significancy.

The development of these glorious ideas might be extended; but we wish to add a word on the typical and symbolical meaning of the ritual and history of the Israelites. Whoever does not bring an accurate knowledge of the East to the consideration of this subject, will err in his opinions. In the East, all is symbol. Primitive Greece, with its mysteries and rites, breathes the oriental spirit;—and that every thing in the erection of the tabernacle and temple should have a secret meaning is very natural. The oriental loves all *intuitive* (meditative) modes of instruction. Calm, and claiming (as it were) but one faculty of the soul, that of contemplation, he feels an aversion to all *discursive* (investigating) modes of communicating knowledge. As nature in the East, unfolding itself without established regularity, ever swells and germinates, so is the oriental in his mode of instruction. He produces an image complete, and filled with variegated stuff—and then another and another, but

never attempts to analyze the rich blossom, leaf by leaf. Hence with him speculation becomes poetry; history fable (mythe;) and religion symbol. Hence is incorrect the opinion of those who believe that all the ritual laws have no end, (aim;) as well as of those who acknowledge a deeper meaning in the principal ones only. (The first opinion Maimonides refuted among the Jews, the second Thomas Aquinas defends in his Quæstiones.) In the same way, also, much was symbolical among the Indians, Chinese, Persians, Egyptians, and Greeks; but in this, however, did Judaism distinguish herself, that in her symbols for the most part fixed, if at the time not recognized intimations of the future, were involved, so that the symbols were not only copies and images, but were also types and models. And as old theologians have deviated far from the point, it is important that a firm and intelligent view of the Old Testament types be formed, which shall be able to stand the attacks of moderns. This will be accomplished by making a distinction between *idea* and *fact*—between *conscious* and *unconscious*. What I mean is this. We should inquire whether a fact of itself awakened in the Hebrews the additional idea, that a similar fact should at some time take place in the Messiah; or whether the Hebrews were made familiar with the mere knowledge of naked facts, (as the lifting of the serpent,) or of commands, (as the sin-offerings.) The last appears to be true, for nowhere do we find that Moses or his people had definite views of the coming Messiah. We cannot then assume the *consciousness* or knowledge of the types at the time; but must believe that their use was limited to the general dissemination among the people of certain, and otherwise not attainable ideas, which might be the basis of some further instruction, (as without such preparatory ideas Isaiah could not well have introduced the prophecy of his fifty-third chapter,) and thus to the preparation of the Christian economy. In this sense is applicable to the types on the whole what Lehmus has correctly spoken of the prophecies:—"All Judaism is, in a particular sense, prophecy, and individual passages of its holy books are but the highest expression of that spirit which animates the whole." Consonant with what has here been said are the texts Col. ii, 17, and Heb. x, 1:—The *shadow* is the dim and imperfect image which falls so far short of the glory and splendor of the reality, that it raises only the most indistinct ideas in reference to it. Let us hear

what a new, warm, though not always simple and clear commentator (Luecke) says on the symbol of the serpent that was lifted up in the wilderness:—"The view which Jesus appears to take of the allegory, is this, (John iii, 14:) he considers the Old Testament narrative as an unexplained symbol of the *idea of reconciliation*. And therein we clearly find the two chief elements of this idea: 1st. The quickening faith, the spiritual trust, which in the Old Testament yet needed sensual sight, but in the New is purely spiritual in the regenerated people of the Lord; 2d. The propitiatory power of death for what is sinful and corruptible,—whence in the Old Testament *figuratively*, but in the New, in *reality and truth*, death is the source of life—there *earthly* life—here *heavenly*." In this sense the lifting up of the serpent was ordained through divine Providence as a type and model of that which was to appear, that in later time faith in a *spiritual* redemption might be confirmed by the certainty of the antecedent *earthly* one.

In the symbolical treatment of the *history* of the Israelites, we refer to a sentiment in Solger's Philosophical Conversations:—"How important is it in the consideration of history to be able to recognize some great idea in every principal event?" If in *general* history great and divine ideas are to be recognized, we are led to grant that the ideas expressed in the history of the people of God are much superior to those found elsewhere. Here, however, it is not advisable to pursue this topic.

We thus see that the Scriptures of the Old Testament are worthy of respect for their antiquity, doctrine, and history; that the people of Israel are great; and that the New Testament in its doctrine, morality, and history, depends upon the Old. It is to be much desired then, that they who design to be laborers in the needy vineyard of the King of heaven, should read the books of the old covenant with that zeal and holy earnestness they deserve, that in spirit they may be prepared to act the part of Phillips in opening and explaining the Bibles which the Bible societies are nobly scattering—and that while they make clear what the Spirit spoke in dark prophecy, they may point to the morning-star which shines in a dark place. The time is past when the Bible was trodden under foot; but one has reason to take heed lest he fly away and neglect it. Approach then the Holy Scriptures, as a book to many very holy and valuable—examine with reverential earnestness, for the

proving of your own heart, whether it contains the truth. Passing by at first those difficulties at which the understanding takes offense, prove that only which concerns your heart and its corruption. If the truth in this respect be apprehended aright, there will arise a *hunger* for a Saviour and for heavenly power, without which man can never become holy and pure. And when the faith thus founded on a rock has been secured, the words of the Saviour have divine authority, all else in the Bible acquires a higher significancy, and a spirit of interpretation is found which in vain is searched for in many of our critical-philological commentaries, but which guided the fathers of the church in the first centuries,—which guided Luther, Calvin, and Melancthon, and introduces into those depths which the Spirit of God alone explores. With truth did the noble Bacon, one of those genial spirits that bowed themselves before the gospel, say, "Speculative philosophy is like the lark, which, warbling and thrilling, rises high into the air, but descends with nothing; while on the other hand practical philosophy is comparable to the falcon which lifts itself to the clouds, only that it may descend upon its prey." But where can a man of desire (and the old witness for Jesus, Amos Comenius, thanked God that from his youth he had ever been a *man of desires*—vir desideriorum) find satisfaction in the striving and struggling of our time after unfruitful speculative heights, where the heart is not full, and the spirit not warm? Every one who has experienced what presses with necessity on the human heart, will exclaim with Epicurus: "Thanks to nature who has made what is necessary, light; and what is difficult, not necessary." Moses too, says, Deut. xxx, 11–14, "For this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it."

ART. IV.—*The Philosophy of the Human Voice: embracing its Physiological History; together with a System of Principles, by which Criticism in the Art of Elocution may be rendered intelligible, and Instruction definite and comprehensive. To which is added a brief Analysis of Song and Recitative.* By JAMES RUSH, M. D. Second edition, enlarged. Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliott, 1833. 8vo., pp. 432.

No consideration is, perhaps, more humiliating to the pride of mere intellect, than that contained in the remark of Quintilian, "That an indifferent discourse, assisted by a lively and graceful action, will have greater efficacy than the finest harangue, which wants that advantage." This being the uniform sentiment of men, in all ages and in all the different stages of civilization, proves that man is a creature of feeling as well as of intellect. Though the Egyptians were the first to cultivate eloquence as an art, its origin was simultaneous with the development of the ideas of the just and the beautiful—with the development of the spirit of self-interest and ambition in human society, which rendered it necessary to animate and persuade men to the protection of their rights, or to the defense of oppressed innocence; and of that in the human mind which discriminates in sound between harmony and discord, and in speech between what is fit and proper, and what is unfit and disagreeable. It owes its birth, then, to the same age with that of poetry; and from the obscurity of its origin the fables of the poets have always ascribed it to the gods. Aristides calls eloquence the gift of Mercury; and the people of Lystra supposed Paul himself to be that god, calling him Mercurius, "because he was the chief speaker."

Reason is the gift of nature; so is the faculty of speech. But as the rules of logic are the invention of man, and have had their origin in the love of the truth and of intellectual superiority; so is the art of speaking the invention of man, and eloquence, in its widest acceptation, has sprung from that exquisite sensibility implanted in his nature, which makes the mind feel with warmth and energy the charms of what is lovely, great, and good. In the progress of this art toward its present state of perfection, it has combined with a natural perception of what is excellent in speech the aid of observation; so that the Roman critic was right when he said, "As in physic, men, by seeing that some things promote health and others destroy it, formed the art upon those observations; in like manner, by

perceiving that some things in discourse are said to advantage, and others not, they accordingly marked those things, in order to imitate the one and avoid the other: they also added some things from their own reason and judgment, which being confirmed by use, they began to teach others what they knew themselves." Thus schools were early established; and it is deserving of remark, that in them were trained all the master orators of Greece and of Rome, where we find the most perfect models, and from which sources we have derived many of our most valuable principles

The first great end to be attained by speaking is conviction; and this may often be effected simply by the reasoning power, strengthened and directed by rules and exercise. Eloquence is more frequently employed to influence the conduct of men and to persuade them to action; hence it has been called "the art of persuasion." Its nature, however, may be best understood by the remark, that its very soul and essence consist in charming the mind, moving the passions, and captivating the heart; and as this may often be done where neither conviction nor action are called for, a more perfect definition would perhaps be, that it is the power of vividly exciting in the minds of others the deep or the lively emotions which exist in the speaker's own mind, or which it is his purpose to excite. If this is a correct view of the subject, one of the most obvious deductions is, that speaking is far from always being eloquence; and another, not quite so obvious, is, that eloquence in some of its forms is suited to all subjects and to all occasions, and is as well fitted to improve the charms of conversation, to add new zest to all the sweets of society, and thus to multiply the sources of innocent pleasure, as it is to shake the senate house, or to thunder in the forum or the pulpit.

From the history of eloquence we learn, that one of the causes which have contributed to its cultivation and perfection is *civil liberty*. Where force has taken the place of persuasion, where tyranny has wrested from man his native freedom of thought and speech, or where corruption and venality have assumed the control of public affairs, there is left but a small field for the action of eloquence. Another cause is found in the *perfection of language*. Great orators have never arisen in a nation till the language of that people has attained a very good degree of perfection, nor after the language has lost its original force and power. These things being

equal, the cultivation of eloquence depends greatly on the *temperament* of a people. The Romans were dull and phlegmatic, compared with the Athenians; and hence, probably, as well as on account of their government being less democratic, with all the master pieces of Grecian eloquence before them as models, they never arrived at the perfection attained by the Grecian orators. The difference between the eloquence of the Irish and the English may also furnish an illustration of this principle.

By common consent it is admitted that eloquence, and particularly oral eloquence or oratory, has never risen to any high degree of excellence in England or in America. We are not certain that it is well understood, to what cause the failure to attain excellence in this art—an art the practice of which is allowed to possess such extraordinary attractions—is to be referred; but apprehend there is a vague impression abroad that there exists some natural impediment to its exercise. On the contrary, we have no hesitation in referring it entirely to the want of study. This is perfectly obvious, if the principles which we have deduced from the history of the art are correct. For as this cannot, especially ih our country, have its origin in a want of civil liberty, so it has not its origin in the characteristics of our language, or in the constitution of our mental character. The susceptibility of emotion exhibits itself strongly when addressed; which presents satisfactory evidence that this element of the eloquent man is not generally wanting among us. And as to our language, while it is superior in several important respects to any other modern tongue, it can scarcely be said to be deficient in any thing requisite to a strong and effective eloquence. In simplicity and copiousness it excels even the classic tongues, while in strength it is inferior only to them. Among the modern languages, its flexibility is excelled only by the Italian; and its powers of versification surpassing those of all others, prove that it cannot be wanting in harmony. An English reviewer has then well remarked,—"The English language is not so destitute of either beauty or force, that we need despair of seeing a consummate English orator."

The failure, on the part of American speakers at least, to attain excellence in the practice of this art, is then most obviously to be referred to the neglect to study it. And let him who doubts whether such neglect really exists, examine our systems of education. The

idea of *teaching eloquence* is often even ridiculed; and men of the best sense may be found who are afraid to attempt any improvement of what they call their natural elocution, lest they should spoil it. Milton, and Locke, and Sheridan have informed us that the same defect has marked the systems of education in England. For this neglect to acquire so valuable a possession, there must be some widely diffused and pervading causes, which being overcome, we may expect to be furnished with an eloquence which will be characterized by "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," accompanied with an elocution which will want neither

> "Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech,
> To stir men's blood."

These causes, so far as regards secular eloquence, are, *first*, the secluded habits of most of those who prepare themselves for the liberal professions, or who enter upon their practice. These habits give them accuracy of thought and maturity of judgment in regard to abstract matters, but cut them off from those habits of thought and feeling which must always characterize true eloquence. A *second* cause is found in the form of our government, and in those usages of society which deprive men of direct appeals to the people by oral addresses. The facilities afforded by the press of acting on the public mind are obviously tending to the neglect at least of oral eloquence; and in the recent exhibitions of *stump oratory* in states from which it has heretofore been excluded, some of our most discerning men see the dawning of a brighter day for American eloquence. A *third* cause is found in the modesty of our public speakers, in conceding to their auditors all their claims to good sense, and thus avoiding, as a piece of inexcusable arrogance, every appeal to the passions or the imagination. How strange the infatuation, that eloquence, whose very essence is truth and honesty, must be used only to misguide—that to excite the passions is but to mislead the judgment! Stranger still, that those whom nature has endowed with the rich gift of eloquence, should, in concession to this error, founded only in ignorance, bury their talent in the earth! Nature herself gives the lie to this theory of intellectual pride, when she compels men to bow down before the power of eloquence, in spite of their speculations. Whitefield, and Chatham, and Garrick, and Henry have

demonstrated the power of the orator's art, to battle down all the entrenchments of this kind, behind which a mere unfeeling stoicism can take shelter; and have equally demonstrated the truth, that cold reason—however we may assume that it ought to govern mankind—seldom does. The gestures, the expressions of the countenance, and the tones of the voice, when legitimately called forth, and chastened by art, being but the natural language of emotion, exert a power that can never fail to reach the heart, and to call forth a sympathetic response. To these causes for the neglect of the study of eloquence may be added, as regards the pleader at the bar, the necessity imposed on him of drawing his arguments from strict laws, statutes, and precedents, in opposition to the ancient usage of making the appeal to the equity and common sense of the judges.

These causes of our inattention to the claims of eloquence are not indeed obscure; but their effects force themselves on our attention. When Demosthenes was to plead, Cicero tells us, that men flocked to Athens from every part of Greece to hear him. With us, men scarcely feel themselves rewarded for the loss of a dinner by the proudest displays of our oratory; and if we turn to the stage, where alone the art of speaking is cultivated, we shall find the sentiment of the English essayist of a hundred years ago equally applicable to our own time and country:—"When old Cibber is to act, the curiosity of the public is more excited than when our prime minister is to defend himself from a motion for his removal or impeachment."

If from secular eloquence we turn our attention to the pulpit, how stands the case? Here is enjoyed a freedom of discussion and of appeal unknown at the modern bar, and the privilege of a direct oral address to the people, unknown in our halls of legislation. Here, then, we ought to find a more effective delivery; and more of that stirring eloquence which in ancient days made even the Roman governors tremble. And perhaps we should not be saying too much, were we to assert, as the universal sentiment of the judicious, both at home and abroad, that, on the whole, the eloquence of the pulpit among us is far in advance of our secular eloquence; and we might even say, that the American pulpit furnishes some examples of very finished orators, did we not fear that the remark would be considered as comprehending a greater number than is intended.

But is sacred eloquence among us what it might be? Is it what it should be?

"If any one," says the Edinburgh Review,* "were, for the first time, informed what preaching was—if, for example, one of the ancient critics had been told that the time would come when vast multitudes of persons should assemble regularly, to be addressed, in the midst of their devotions, upon the most sacred truths of a religion sublime beyond all the speculations of philosophers, yet, in all its most important points, simple, and of the easiest apprehension; that with those truths were to be mingled discussions of the whole circle of human duties, according to a system of morality singularly pure and attractive; that the more dignified and the more interesting parts of national affairs were not to be excluded from the discourse—that, in short, the most elevating, the most touching, and the most interesting of all topics, were to be the subject matter of the address, directed to persons sufficiently versed in them, and assembled only from the desire they felt to hear them handled—surely the conclusion would at once have been drawn, that such occasions must train up a race of the most consummate orators, and that the effusions to which they gave birth must needs cast all other rhetorical compositions into the shade. How, then, comes it to pass, that instances are so rare of eminent eloquence in the pulpit?"

To answer this question fully, would carry us beyond the limits prescribed in this article; and yet, to make it as practical as we intended, it cannot be passed by without at least a brief notice. And, in passing, we must express our conviction, that the habit of reading sermons in the pulpit has done more than perhaps any thing else to degrade pulpit oratory. Says Quintilian, "The richest fruit, and, as it were, the fairest reward of an orator's long and laborious course of study, is the power of speaking extempore." The wretched elocution usually employed in the reading of sermons, divests the composition, however eloquently written, of one half its power to move the auditor, while it reacts on the mind of him who reads; thus at the same time removing most of the occasion for excitement, and also the power to become excited. No practice which should leave the sacredness of the office unaffected, could tend more strongly to divest the pulpit of its ligitimate power and efficiency, even if a rival profession had devised the means for producing such a result.

But there is an all-pervading cause of this neglect to study pulpit eloquence, both oral and written, on which even this practice of reading sermons itself more or less directly depends; and which

* No. lxxxix, pp. 147, 148.

is at least co-extensive with it, as regards the bounds of its influence. This cause is, the prejudice against appeals to the passions from the pulpit, ostensibly founded on the idea that they are unworthy the dignity of the place, or are ill suited to produce the effects intended. Whichever form this objection takes, we shall call it the *infidel objection* to pulpit eloquence; because, however honestly it may now sometimes be proposed, but for the existence of a skepticism ever jealous of the success of Christianity, we believe it never would have been made. Till this objection can be removed, it will be vain to commend to him who is preparing for the sacred office, or who has entered upon it, any work which promises to improve his natural delivery.

When this objection assumes its undisguised form, and the opening of our churches on the sabbath, and the religious meetings which are held on other days, are enumerated among the causes of *insanity*,* it needs no opposition,—it refutes itself. But it sometimes puts on a more attractive guise, and presents us with appeals to the passions, as at variance with addresses to the understanding; forgetting, however, that it is a great law of our mental constitution, that no passion can be addressed, no emotion excited, but through the medium of the intellect. The sophistry is hid under the insinuation that we would excite the passions, while the judgment remains unaffected. Here are two errors; the first lies in assuming that the judgment of those who have read the Bible, and heard the gospel preached from childhood, as is the fact with most of those composing our religious assemblies, has remained unaffected; the other, in supposing, that if this were the case, we could find way to the sensibilities and the heart. All observation and philosophy pronounce both these suppositions false.

To come up directly to this subject, let us inquire, What is the use of the sensibilities, or *passions*, as sometimes called? We answer, *first*, they constitute the only medium through which we can reach the will, or produce action. Where the essential truths of the gospel are understood then, the leading object of preaching ought to be to excite the sensibilities and move the heart. But a *second* use of the sensibilities is to react on the intellect, and stimulate its operations. The minds of the most intellectual rarely act

* See "Remarks on the Influence of Mental Cultivation, and Mental Excitement upon Health. By Amariah Brigham, M. D." sect. v.

with energy, except when under the stimulus of the emotions. What then ought we to expect of others? They never examine, reason, or think closely, except when their feelings are moved; the consequence is, though their judgment is not altogether uninformed, yet if their sensibilities are aroused by some appeal to their hopes or their fears, they will learn more of religious truth by a single sermon, or by an hour's reading, than perhaps they ever before learned. By interesting the passions, you insure the recurrence of those thoughts and images which have been wont to pass away and be forgotten. *Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked with us on the way?* is the expressive account given us of His eloquence *who spake as never man spake.*

If these things are so, it appears that while direct appeals to the feelings are important in all cases, with the great majority of men they are indispensable. And why should not these appeals be allowed in the pulpit, as well as in any of the fields for the display of secular eloquence? The objects to be accomplished are the same;—to convince, to persuade, and to move,—to point out the approach of evil, or the existence of danger, and to warn men to flee from it, or to guard against it; and the laws by which the human mind is governed are the same in matters of religion as in other matters. When these appeals are made from the pulpit with the same power as in other cases, they are made with at least equal success; and here we see why it is, that those who have wielded the mightiest power in the pulpit, have studied and practiced eloquence; and also, why infidelity should deny it to the pulpit, and a cold and spiritless form of Christianity reject it. God works by means, and we believe eloquence to be among the means he employs to save men. The pulpit may refuse its aid; but it ought to be considered, that whether used to enforce truth or not, it will be used to enforce error; and whether or not it is employed to throw attractions about the exercises of the sanctuary, and to illustrate that book in which is found every ornament of style and beauty of expression, it will be employed to throw attractions about the exercises of the stage—that fountain of moral corruption and of sin—and to embellish and enforce whatever is dangerous to the best interests of man. So true is it, that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light."

The reason why we are so well satisfied with our frigid and spi-

ritless eloquence is, that we so rarely meet with any thing better. The ancients had both. There is reason to believe that the modern eloquence,—calm, elegant, and subtile, which instructs the reason, leaving the passions unmoved, and which seldom raises its tone above argument or common discourse,—is the Attic eloquence of the ancients. Such was the eloquence of Lysias among the Athenians, and of Calvus among the Romans. These were esteemed in their time; but when Demosthenes and Cicero arose, who superadded to all the excellences of these, the power to move the heart with the pathetic and the sublime, the glory of the former was eclipsed like the brightness of the midnight taper when set in the rays of the meridian sun. So, we predict, is the eloquence of our day destined to fade before the more effective mode of address which shall hereafter be adopted, and which shall break through all the arbitrary rules which infidelity, a spiritless piety, and a false taste have established.

It is intended in this discussion, at no time to lose sight of its bearing on pulpit oratory. If we have succeeded in showing, that the failure to arrive at excellence in delivery in our country is to be referred to the neglect to make it a study, and that this, in sacred eloquence particularly, is to be referred to theoretical error, we may consider our way prepared to introduce the subject of ELOCUTION, having thus bespoken it a favorable reception.

Eloquence can be predicated of a book as well as of an oration, and thus technically defined, relates mainly to the language and the thought. Oratory is a more specific term, embracing in its extension only the idea of eloquence combined with a graceful and impressive delivery; and hence it is styled *oral eloquence.* In a comparison of oratory, as thus defined, with mere graphic composition, we find the precise nature of *elocution,*—oratory being a harmonious union of the two. As a science, elocution teaches the rules for the effective delivery of what is eloquent in thought and language; as an art, it is the actual embodying in delivery of every accomplishment, whether of *voice* or of *gesture,* by which oratorical excitement is superadded to the eloquence of thought and language, and implies the cultivation of every external grace with which the delivery of language should be accompanied, whether in reading, in recitation, or in spontaneous utterance. The nature of the work under review, however, excludes from the present article the con-

sideration of *gesture*. If opportunity should offer, we may notice this part of the subject at some future time.

As regards the branch of elocution which relates to the *voice*, the first question which arises is,—Can its principles be taught? That they can be made subjects of instruction may be inferred, first, from analogy. The voice and all its modifications are the result of voluntary muscular action. Until, then, it can be shown that the muscles by which the voice is produced and modified are further removed from the control of the will, than the other voluntary muscles, it follows that this branch of elocution may be taught, as well as penmanship, or the art of wrestling. Now the anatomy of the vocal organs is well understood; and though we do not know so much of their physiology,—of the history of the various vocal functions, and the mechanisms on which they severally depend, yet it is known, as a matter of personal experience, that these functions may be subjected to the control of the will. The analogy then, between the vocal functions and the voluntary powers of other parts of the body, is neither remote nor doubtful. In support of this inference, we may refer, secondly, to the influence of a single example in a public body, or in a neighborhood. It not infrequently happens, that the vocal peculiarities of a single popular speaker give tone to the delivery of all who fall within the influence of his example,—sometimes even to that of a nation, or of the age in which he lives. Such cases could not occur, if the peculiar quality, inflections, and intonations of the voice were as inflexibly determined by nature as many suppose.

But another question arises here,—Can the principles of this branch of elocution be so taught as to become practically useful? It is generally admitted that few persons can safely rely, for the effect of their discourses, solely on a favorable combination of circumstances, or on their weight of character, or even on mere force of thought or eloquence of language. Can instruction do any thing, especially as regards the voice, to add to the effect which may be expected from these causes where they exist, or in any degree to supply their deficiency when wanting? To this interrogatory it might seem sufficient to reply, that the attractions of the stage in all ages have depended mainly on the power of elocution possessed by the actors—a power wholly acquired, and acquired too, in the only schools where, in modern times, the art of speaking has been cul-

tivated. Besides this, the two great orators of antiquity studied elocution as an art. Demosthenes, whose voice was weak, whose articulation was defective, and whose tongue stammered, after an unsuccessful effort in which he was hissed from the assembly, was persuaded, by a play-actor whom he met, to undertake the study of elocution; and by a course of training such as few have ever subjected themselves to, he demonstrated that the practical application of the principles of this art can be learned. Even his great adversary and rival in oratory, after reciting before the Rhodians, at their request, the oration of Demosthenes for Ctesiphon, replied to their expressions of admiration, "What would you have said if you had heard *him* deliver it!" With Cicero, too, elocution was an art. At the age of twenty-seven, according to Plutarch, after having arrived at some eminence as a pleader, "though his voice had a variety of inflections, it was at the same time harsh and unformed; and as in the vehemence and enthusiasm of speaking, he always rose into a loud key, there was reason to apprehend that it might injure his health." He consequently applied himself to teachers. At a subsequent period, this writer tells us, "his voice was formed; and at the same time that it was full and sonorous, had gained a sufficient sweetness, and was brought to a key which his constitution could bear." But, to show how eloquence was studied in ancient times, he stopped not here, but visited Asia and Rhodes, to listen to the greatest orators, or to receive instruction from the best teachers. And it was at the latter place, when declaiming in Greek before Apollonius, that the rhetorician, with sadness of heart at the recollection of the wasted glory of his native land, the country of Demosthenes, said, "As for you, Cicero, I praise and admire you, but I am concerned for the fate of Greece. She had nothing left her but the glory of eloquence and erudition, and you are carrying that too to Rome." The ancient orators and rhetoricians all treated of the voice as among the first objects of culture; and wherever great excellence was attained in its management, it was duly appreciated. Speaking of Trachallus, Quintilian says:—

"As to his voice, it did not, as Cicero requires, approach to that of an excellent actor, for it excelled the voice of the best actors I ever beheld. I remember, when he pleaded before the first court in the Julian Hall, while all the other courts, as was usual, were sitting, and full of pleaders speaking at their bars, he was seen and heard over

them all; nay, applauded by all the four courts, to the no small mortification of the other pleaders."

This science has also been studied by many of England's most eminent orators. Mr. Pitt learned elocution under the tuition of his noble and eloquent father; and it was of one of his speeches that even Fox could say, "The orators of antiquity would have admired, probably would have envied it;" and after listening to another, Mr. Windham says of himself, that "he walked home lost in amazement at the compass, till then unknown to him, of human eloquence." The case of Sheridan is a more striking one still. To adopt the language of Lord Brougham,—"With a position by birth and profession little suited to command the respect of the most aristocratic country in Europe—the son of an actor, the manager himself of a theatre—he came into that parliament which was enlightened by the vast and various knowledge, as well as fortified and adorned by the most choice literary fame of a Burke, and which owned the sway of consummate orators like Fox and Pitt." But he had studied the elocution of the stage—his father had been his teacher; and although he never acquired any great eminence as a statesman, yet Pitt himself at one time writhed under his eloquence. And it was at the close of his celebrated speech before the House of Commons, upon the Begum charge in the proceedings against Hastings, that the practice of cheering the speaker was first introduced; and it was on this occasion that Mr. Pitt, then prime minister of England, besought the house to adjourn the decision of the question, as being incapacitated from forming a just judgment under the influence of such powerful eloquence. Several of our distinguished American orators, also, it is asserted, are ever ready to acknowledge their indebtedness to the study of the principles of that art which is procuring for them so rich a reward of fame. And some of those who have been most admired, are far from being those for whom nature had done the most.

There is another point of view in which we wish to place the practical value of the study of the voice. We believe it is now the almost universal opinion of intelligent physiologists, that the "clergymen's disease," so called, or the *laryngitis*, which is becoming so common among the members of the clerical profession, is to be referred mainly, if not exclusively, to an artificial, monoto-

nous mode of speaking, which violates all the laws of the human voice as well as of good taste. Under the influences that are now at work, this defective elocution can never be successfully avoided but by a careful and scientific study of the vocal functions, in many cases, at least, under a teacher. We have not space to enlarge on this suggestion here; but hope that it will call forth the attention of those concerned. And while so many are retiring from the sacred office, or are filling it so inefficiently, in consequence of this affection, who does not feel himself concerned in this matter!

We scarcely need stop to answer the remark, that no knowledge of the principles of elocution is sufficient of itself to secure excellence in oratory. This we allow; but at the same time assert, that from the nature of the case it must be so with every qualification for the practice of any art or profession, where excellence does not depend on a single power. The other qualifications necessary to constitute a perfect orator are not hidden. They must have for their foundation a well-balanced mind: an intellect capable of a full development, sensibilities lively and susceptible of powerful action, and the elements of a will adequate to the control and regulation of all the powers of the mind. The possession of these must be accompanied with judicious and various exercise: the mind must be stored with knowledge, the reasoning power improved, the judgment matured and perfected, the powers of invention and memory strengthened, and the imagination cultivated and chastened; the original susceptibility of emotions must be kept alive, and a good taste grafted thereon; and the will must be trained to a perfect self-possession. If to these natural powers, thus trained, we add, a knowledge of human nature, a command of language, a sound body, and a good moral character,* little can be wanting—but a good elocution. This last, however, is to all the rest what the living lustre is to the eye, or the play of intelligence to the features of beauty. Strong as this expression may be deemed, it is but an echo of the judgment of the world. And the failure of the early

* In the pulpit orator, there must be superadded, Christian sensibility, and an expansion and elevation of soul, which can arise only from a just perception of religious truth, and from a full conviction of being moved by the Holy Ghost to stand in that sacred place. Otherwise, preaching, with every attraction that can be thrown about it, will be but "as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

efforts of the great Grecian orator of itself proves, that if the elocution is decidedly defective, it may be sufficient to annul the effect of every other possible excellence. A good speaker may be formed by nature alone; but excellence in oratory is the result only of a combination of natural and acquired powers. These natural powers, when possessed in a high degree, constitute what men call genius; and that this rich gift is bestowed in different measures, who can doubt, when one of the greatest mathematical prodigies, with all the attractions of Drury Lane for the first time before him, and Garrick on the stage, on leaving could only tell *the number of words* uttered by the actor. As genius, however, is the possession of but few—not one in an age—it cannot but be a most interesting inquiry, how far that cultivation, which, united with genius, could produce excellence, can atone for its absence, when wanting; or to what extent acquired abilities can be brought in to co-operate with those original endowments, which to most persons nature has given so sparingly. Though it is conceded that instruction alone cannot make a great orator, we can find in this no reason why it should not do what it can; and even if it is said, that it can do but little, we reply, that this furnishes no reason why that little should be withheld.

But what must be the nature of a good system of instructions for the voice? In the *first* place, the entire system, as far as possible, should be a system of principles and not of specific rules. This will make them few in number; and will effectually guard against all that constraint and stiffness, which result from a mechanical application of a set of minute technical rules. Of the effects of instruction according to such systems, we have had too many examples; "but," as has well been said, "to imbue the mind with great general principles, leaving them to operate imperceptibly upon the formation of habit, and to suggest, without distinct consciousness of their presence, the lesson which the occasion demands, is a very different thing."

A *second* important element in this system is, that these principles must be drawn from nature. By this is meant, that they must not be the result of arbitrary invention, but must be deduced from the instinct and universal taste of mankind. In the quality, and in the movements of the voice, as in the fine arts, there is a standard of taste, which can be discovered only by the most careful study of

nature, and to which every rule for their regulation must conform, or be injurious rather than useful.

A *third* characteristic of this system, and one to which we attach great importance, is, that its principles, when applied to practice, must leave the man in possession of his natural peculiarities. Their entire object must be to refine and perfect nature; not to pervert it. The greatest orators, even the most popular players, are those who have made art subservient to the development of their own native powers; and who, at least, *seem* to have been formed on no model. Here, as elsewhere, art is but the handmaid of nature.

From the results of some systems of elocution which have been promulgated, the impression has gone extensively abroad, that they are all useless, or worse than useless; and this has furnished to men in all stations and ranks in life—from the archbishop to the lecturer before the village lyceum—occasion for animadversion on all systems of elocution, which profess to teach by rules the art of delivery. Few, however, I apprehend, could object to a system which should be in strict accordance with the principles just laid down. Let us see, then, whether an effective system can be established under these restrictions; in other words, to what extent instruction in the branch of elocution under discussion can be carried, without violating or transcending these principles.

We remark, then, in the first place, that the *articulation* can be perfected. A defective articulation is to be referred mainly to bad habits; though it may arise from some defect in the organs of speech, especially as regards those sounds which are in themselves difficult of utterance. The fact that few articulate with perfect distinctness, from whatever cause it arises, is generally admitted; while a good articulation, both by the ancients and the moderns, has ever been esteemed a primary excellence in delivery. That a good articulation can be taught will not, then, be deemed a small matter, especially when it is considered, that this is one of the marked excellences of some of our most effective orators. Closely connected with this is the *enunciation*, which relates to the pronunciation as exhibited in the compounds of speech, and which can doubtless be perfected by a suitable course of training. A correct enunciation is opposed to an indistinct and feeble utterance, and also to every thing in pronunciation vulgar, dialectic, or provincial in its character. Who would

wish to have his birthplace known by the violations of any of the established usages of speech, or of the standard laws of vocal movement, of which he should be guilty? And yet, what careful observer cannot detect the local influences to which any speaker has been subjected, whose elocution has been but the acquirement of practice?

The *ear*, also, can be taught to discriminate in regard to any and all of the vocal functions. No sense is more capable of instruction than the ear; and yet there are many who commence speaking in public, and some even who subsequently acquire very considerable skill in music, who cannot distinguish between a high and a low note, or between the rising and falling inflection. Every teacher of elocution or of music knows well that this is the case.

As it is with the ear, so the *intellectual taste*, through neglect, may fail to distinguish between the tones and inflections which mark the various emotions of the mind. An individual thus destitute of taste has no knowledge as to the mode in which nature does really express herself. His own tones and inflections are a language which he himself does not understand; and hence he never perceives in his own delivery the defects which he may have early acquired by the influence of bad example,* of bad instruction, or of a false reserve, and consequently never sets himself to work to improve them. This want of delicacy of perception cuts him off from the power of selecting, from the elements within his reach, those which might be the most efficient, and, at the same time, makes him liable to be led still further astray, by any bad influence to which he may be exposed. Hence the contagious nature of

* Many of the imperfections and defects in speech which are referred to nature, it is believed are entirely the result of habits acquired under the influence of bad example. What says Quintilian on this subject?—"First of all, nurses ought to be free from all impediment and impropriety of speech. It is true, their morals ought to be the first consideration, but it is requisite that they should speak with propriety. Their speech is the first the child hears, and he lisps out an imitation of their words. By nature, we are very tenacious of what we imbibe in the dawn of life, in the same manner as new vessels retain the flavor which they first drink in. There is no recovering wool to its native whiteness after it is dyed. Even a child, therefore, ought to be used to nothing in his infancy which he must afterward be at pains to unlearn." He adds,—"As to play-fellows, and the companions of young gentlemen, I recommend the same thing as I do concerning nurses."—*Instit.*, lib. i, c. 1.

most kinds of affectation; and hence the existence of those peculiar tones, so well expressed by the word *cant*, which distinguish the clergy of every church, with but individual exceptions, from those of every other church; and all of these, with as few exceptions, from the members of the other learned professions. These are equally at variance with the true dignity of pulpit eloquence, and with the principles of an effective elocution. The intellectual taste, this important discriminating power, can be instructed and refined.

The *voice* itself can be cultivated. No speaker of improved taste, whose voice has been neglected, but has felt perfectly aware of the difficulty of executing what his taste or his feelings have directed him to perform, as suited to his subject, or the sentiments he was uttering. The cultivation of the voice, of which we speak, may consist of an increase of its power, of its compass and of its flexibility, and also of an improvement in its quality. That the voice may be improved in all these respects, is placed beyond controversy, by a reference to the universal experience of the world, wherever vocal music has been cultivated; and to satisfy ourselves that it needs improvement in this last particular, as well as in regard to the others, we need but listen to the guttural or the nasal tones which characterize not only individual speakers, but which sometimes extend to those of a state or country.

The ear, the intellectual taste, and the voice being thus improved, errors of modulation may most obviously be corrected, bad habits, so universally formed, whether they relate to the tones, the inflections, the emphases, or the cadence, may be broken up; and whatever is judged to be excellent, and the now refined taste shall approve as dictated by nature, can be incorporated into practice, and soon become as familiar to the speaker as though he had never fallen under any bad influence, and thus had never departed from these natural principles. Without, however, such a previous preparation as we have referred to, this work of improvement can never be performed successfully. To set the value of all these improvements in another, and perhaps stronger light, we need only allude to the common experience of speakers, as regards the sympathy between the feelings and the voice. How often are the tender, or even the strong emotions suppressed by the refusal of the voice to give them expression, or by a restraint laid on the

voice, which prohibits their expression! and, on the contrary, how often are they excited and kept alive by the use of the appropriate melodies of speech! He, then, who can modulate his voice at pleasure, and who understands the language of intonation, has the double advantage of being able to express what he feels, and also of being able to give direction to his feelings, by the control which he exercises over his vocal powers.

Without pretending to have enumerated all the points toward which instruction in this department of elocution can be directed in accordance with the three principles on which we conceded that all such instruction should be conducted, we may here remark, that until practical elocution, as connected with the voice, shall be carried beyond what we have here indicated, there surely need be no apprehension that it is transcending its legitimate limits.

Having now shown that that branch of elocution which relates to the voice can be taught, and that it can be so taught as to become practically useful; and having indicated some of the principles on which a system of elocution should be established,—we now propose to enter immediately upon the examination of the work whose title is placed at the head of this article, with a reference to ascertaining how far it conforms in its principles to those laid down, and how far it may be considered as adapted to become the basis of a system of practical elocution. For though not of itself a practical manual on this subject, by pointing out and describing the actual phenomena of the human voice, it does profess to furnish the basis on which such a work may be established; and this is distinctly announced by the author in the following language:—

"The preceding history will furnish most of the materials for erecting elocution into a science: and we must wait for the nice observations, comparisons, and conclusions of taste, to frame a body of rules for directing the best use of these materials. Our analysis will not only afford the means of reducing the vague and arbitrary fashion of the voice to that standard of general principles, to which the fine arts may be brought: but it opens a new field on the subject of instruction. All arts which have been separated into their elements, have been recomposed into grammatical schemes for teaching by those elements: and it now becomes us to try what may be the advantages, as to economy of time, and precision of execution, from following an elementary plan in communicating a knowledge of the nature and uses of human speech."—P. 346.

In regard to this system which professes to be established on the "philosophy of the human voice," we inquire, then, for the purpose of bringing it to the test of rules already laid down,—Is it indeed a system of principles, as contradistinguished from a system of technical rules? This point can be best determined by comparison. For this purpose we will take "Walker's Elements of Elocution."* And we will select an example which will fairly exhibit the difference between the two systems. Mr. Walker, after devoting twenty-six common duodecimo pages to introducing and explaining the "theory of inflections," proposes a "practical system of the inflections of the voice." This system he extends to the "compact sentence," and the "loose sentence." Under the former he considers the "direct period," and the "inverted period;" and under the latter, "the antithetic member," "the penultimate member," "the series," "the compound series," "the series of serieses," "the final pause, or period," "the interrogation," "the exclamation," and "the parenthesis;"—embracing, in the entire discussion, some thirty five distinct "rules," with illustrations, exceptions, and explanations, extending through more than a hundred pages. Not to inquire as to the correctness of these rules, being founded as they are entirely on the structure of the sentences, they must obviously be of the most technical character.

The course pursued by the author of the Philosophy of the Human Voice, on the contrary, is first by observation to learn what are the actual phenomena presented by these vocal movements, their number, and the extent and character of each; and then, by induction, to ascertain, as far as possible, with the expression, of what kind of emotion nature has connected each. Of this last part, however, but little more than an outline is presented,—the minute application of the principles being rather the part of a practical elocutionist, than of a philosophical analyst.

Again, we inquire,—Are these principles drawn from nature?

"In entering on this inquiry," says the author, "I determined to avoid an express reference to the productions of former writers, until the influence of nature over the ear should be so far established as to obviate the danger of adopting unquestioned errors, which the strongest effort of independence often finds it so difficult to avoid. Even a faint recollection of school instruction was not without its forbidding interference with my first endeavors to discover, by the ear alone, the hidden processes of speech.

* American edition, 1811.

"After obtaining an outline of the work of nature in the voice, sufficient to enable me to avail myself of the useful truths of other observers, and to guard againt their mistakes, I consulted all accessible treatises on tne subject, particularly the European compilations of the day, the authors of which have opportunities for selection, not enjoyed in this country. Finding, on comparison, that the following history of the voice represents its nature more extensively and definitely than any known system, I am induced to offer it to the public. Many errors may be found in it; but if the leading points of analysis, and the general method be not a copy from nature, and do not prompt others to carry the subject into practical detail, I shall for ever regret the publication.

"It becomes me, however, to remark, that as this work has not been made up from the quoted, or controverted, or accommodated opinions of authors, I shall totally disregard any decision upon its merits, which is not made by a scrutinizing comparison with nature herself."—*Introduction*, pp. xiii, xiv.

And where and how he studied nature, we may infer from a subsequent remark, touching a single subject of his examination.

"The principles on the subject of intonation have been drawn partly from the best practice of the stage; partly from the almost infinite variety of common speech; and partly from a consideration of the suitableness of the various fashions of elocution, and a selection from them, which promises to be the most effective in operation, and the most durably pleasing to a cultivated ear."—P. 403.

The third inquiry is—Would a system of elocution established on these principles tend to divest a man of his natural peculiarities? This is often judged a matter of great importance, especially by those who are already known to the public. They rightly fear an attempt to substitute an "artificial" voice and manner for that which they already have. The answer to this question is almost determined by those given to the preceding. There are but two ways of teaching elocution—one by imitation, the other by principles. The first may mislead; the latter, if the principles are drawn from nature, cannot; and can never do more than bring the scholar back to nature, if he has departed from her teachings, and develop and improve those powers which nature has imparted. The decided preference which the author under review gives to the latter mode, is seen on every page of his work; and it is this that distinguishes it so strongly from all works on elocution which preceded it. Thus he says, after having given a full analysis of the vocal functions:—

"It would be possible, even without regard to the alphabet, to teach a savage, by making him follow a master in reading current discourse.

So speakers have been taught by a similar process of imitative instruction. But I know well, and others shall know hereafter, that the analysis of words into a graphic alphabet, and the rudimental mode of teaching instituted thereupon, do not give more facility, in the discriminations of the eye on a written page, than the mode here proposed will afford to the student of elocution, who wishes to excel in all the useful and elegant purposes of speech."—Pp. 361, 362.

And of his entire reliance upon the resources of nature, as contradistinguished from what is arbitrary or conventional, he gives the following proof:—

"Perhaps I am not wrong in asserting that the art of speaking well does not consist of those accidents, which, by arbitrary use, are apt to lead to debasement. Some of the fine arts may receive the addition of ornament, properly so called; which, holding but a separable relationship to its subject or principal, leaves taste to order the degree of its application, or its total exclusion. The art of speaking is subject to no such conditions. The imbodying of sense by sound, and the coloring of feeling by its expressive modes, are fixed in their amenity by the unalterable instincts of nature, or the satisfactory decisions of convention. All addition to the numbered signs of its language is redundancy, and all misplaced utterance is affectation."—*Introduction*, pp. xxvii, xxviii.

Of the system thus formed, and the art to be established on it, he thus speaks:—

"The system represents corrected and dignified nature, under that form of severe simplicity, which is not at first alluring to him who is unaccustomed to look into the resources and effects of the arts. The art of reading, thus established, will be found to possess an excellence which must grow into sure and irreversible favor, whenever it receives that studious attention which serves to raise the pursuits of the wise above those of the vulgar. It would be too trite to tell the whole story of the great painter, who, with his mind full of fancies on the powers of Raffaelle, was disappointed at his first sight of the walls of the Vatican, and disconsolate after his last."—Pp. 403, 404.

The chapter on "the Mode of Instruction in Elocution" anticipates the inquiry as to the extent to which instruction can be carried, on the principles investigated in the body of the work; and it is there most conclusively shown that all the objects can be secured by a system of practice based on those principles, which it falls within the province of this department of elocution, as we have set them forth, to teach. Dr. Jonathan Barber, in a work entitled "A Grammar of Elocution," has still further developed these principles into an art; and many a teacher of elocution, we doubt not,

is waiting with some interest his return from Europe, to furnish a new, and perhaps improved, edition of this work,—no longer now in the market. We learn from the former publisher, that this may be expected; and when executed it will again leave us little to regret, unless it be that the accomplished author of the Philosophy of the Human Voice should not himself consent to prepare a text book for the student, imbodying the application of the functions of the voice, as set forth in his analysis to the art of speaking. We fear it will be long before any other will be found who can carry the system into practical detail so successfully, as could he who perhaps as yet is alone master of the subject.

Little remains but to set forth more specifically, though briefly, what we deem to be the leading excellences of the work under examination. And what will be considered no small excellence in a work of our own day is, that it is original—being based on no old system, and standing pledged to the support of no theory. In the history of analytical or of inductive science, nothing has been more common than the transmission of traditional errors—errors introduced through impatience, or for want of the means or the power of extensive and accurate observation, and handed down on trust, without examination. Though often attempted, the field upon which Dr. Rush entered had never in fact been explored; and it was from the hidden treasures of vocal science that lay beyond the researches of those who had preceded him, that he drew forth those elements that rendered the discoveries of others to him comparatively useless. His work is the first in which a true and comprehensive record of the vocal functions has been made; and being one of the most masterly specimens of analysis that modern times have furnished in any department in science, it is well styled *The* PHILOSOPHY *of the Human Voice.*

By resolving the functions of speech into their elements, it lays the foundaton for a system of elocution beautiful for its simplicity. A system established on these elementary principles sustains the same relation to our old systems that a written language provided with a perfect alphabet—where each elementary sound has but one character to represent it, and each character but its appropriate sound—sustains to a language like the Chinese, provided only with its unwieldy system of written signs. The advantages thus afforded to the learner are well set forth by the author:—

"When an attempt is made to teach an art without commencing with its most simple elements, combinations of elements pass with the pupil for the elements themselves, and holding them to be almost infinite, he abandons his task as hopeless. An education by the method we are here recommending reverses this disheartening duty. It reduces the seeming infinity to computable numbers; and I anticipate, with no little confidence, that one of the first comments on the foregoing analysis will refer to the unexpected simplicity of means which is there shown to be operative in the production of the unbounded permutations of speech."—P. 361.

This work also furnishes new facilities for improving the voice, as regards all its characters of excellence,—especially for giving distinctness of enunciation, power, compass, flexibility, and a musical sweetness of voice, and correctness of intonation. Among these we may mention the more careful analysis of the vocal elements, and of the vocal inflections, than any writer has before given, together with the suggestion of a new system of practice on them. A thorough course of practice on the former cannot fail of imparting precision and accuracy, as well as energy to the functions of the organs of speech; and the practice on the latter will produce a corresponding effect as regards modulation. And of the effect of these acquisitions in relieving the public speaker from fatigue, and saving him from exhaustion, he who practices the ordinary dull manner can have no conception. Indeed, when we hear the constrained, monotonous manner which prevails in so great a portion of the pulpits of our country, we wonder that the "clergyman's disease" is confined to so few; and when we chance to listen to the speakers of the bar and the senate, we wonder almost as much that it should have to bear the name it does. It is worthy of remark, in passing, that the acquisitions of which we are speaking relate as well to the reader as to the speaker. At the same time that they enable him to read with ease to himself, they enable him to read well. And, not to allude to reading as a very extensive source of personal and social pleasure, since so many on every sabbath have to listen to the reading of sermons, as well as the Scriptures, this surely is not a consideration of small moment. For if sermons must be read, they at least ought to be read in the best manner.*

* "How is it," asked a divine of a celebrated actor,—"how is it, that people listen with so much emotion to what you say, which they know to be all fictitious, besides that it would be no concern of theirs, even if true; while they

On the general subject of the susceptibility of improvement which attaches to the voice, and of the adaptation of his system to this end, our author gives us the following:—

"I have thus, here and elsewhere, enumerated the elements that constitute, as far as I know, the whole of speech. The only question upon the mode of instruction to be employed, is, whether we should aim to acquire a full power over these constituents, from their assemblage in current discourse, or from a separate and repeated practice on their individual forms.

"I need not propose arguments in favor of the analytic and elementary system to those, who, from the habit of acquiring the sciences, have formed for themselves economical and effective plans of education. It is well for all others to take opinion in this matter, for a while at least, upon faith; and to know that the only reason why elocutionists have never employed this mode, is because they have been ignorant of the subdivided functions of speech. There are too many examples in science of the useful application of the result of analysis to the purpose of rudimental instruction, to suppose that the same means would not have been adopted in elocution, if they had been within reach of the master.

"I look for no more, from a well-devised practical system of elocution, than we are every day receiving from established arts. All men speak and reason; for these acts, as far as we know, are as natural as passion; but the arts of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, teach us to do these things in the best manner. In short, doing them in the best manner is signified by the name of these arts.

"The subject of elementary instruction, here in view, may be regarded under another aspect.

"There is in man a will; with a system of muscles which the common calls of exercise render obedient to that will, and which thereby produces motion in every direction, not forbidden by the nature of the joints. Now, there is scarcely a boy of any physical activity or enterprise, who does not, on seeing a circus rider, desire to imitate him; to catch and keep the centre of gravity through all the varieties of balance and motion. Yet this will not prevent his fall, on a first trial, however natural the tie between his will and all his muscles may

hear with comparative apathy from us, truths the most sublime, and the most important to them?" The answer was,—"Because we utter fictions as if they were realities; you utter realities as if they were fictions."

We believe there are many third or fourth rate actors, who, if they were to read the Scriptures from our pulpits, would do it with far more effect, than they are read by many of our most distinguished divines. Surely these things ought not to be. The faculty of speech is the gift of God, not less than is the grace necessary to make the minister; and is one of the talents for the improvement of which the Christian minister will be held responsible. How full of meaning is that expression of our Lord, "These things ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone!"

be. The truth is, that without long experience, he knows not what is to be done; or, if he knows, he is unable to effect it. With some analogy to this case, there are many persons, not destitute of feeling or passion, who have a free command of the voice, on the common occasions of life, but who betray a faltering tongue if they attempt to imitate the varied power of the long-practiced speaker. When the voice is prepared by elementary trial, the feeling which prompts the expression will find the pliant and strengthened organs ready to furnish a satisfactory and elegant accomplishment of its designs. The organs of speech are capable of a certain range of exertion, and to fulfil all the demands of a complete elocution, they should be carried to the full extent of that capability. Those persons who possess both active and delicate feelings, and who exercise themselves in recitation, are always approximating toward this utmost play of power in the voice by the ordinary mode of instruction; and do, in a course of years, effect nearly all that the organs are susceptible of. But the elementary mode here proposed, being founded on an analysis of speech, at once points out to the pupil what is to be attained, and thus invites him to the accomplishment of every vocal possibility."—Pp. 358–360.

In this work, likewise, there are subjected to analytical investigation many of the most important functions of the voice and of speech, which have never before received special attention. As one most striking example, we may mention the entire subject of intonation, which has been styled the language of the passions, as words are the language of the intellect. This subject—as developed in the discussion of the "waves," with the more simple inflections of the voice, in the various forms of the cadence, and of the emphasis, and in the "phrases of melody"—is one of transcendant interest to him who would become an accomplished speaker. To this we may add, as a few from among the other most important practical matters, the distinction between the functions of speech and of song, the different kinds of stress, the doctrine of "syllabication," the "grouping of speech," and the more full development of the "rhythmus of speech," which subject was first introduced by Mr. Steele."* When the student of elocution shall have made himself master of this science, then will he be prepared to appreciate the service rendered by these investigations; and we have no hesitation in adopting the language of our author, "that in the future history of elocution, as it now is with song, the masters of

* In "An Essay toward establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech, to be expressed and perpetuated by peculiar Symbols," by Joshua Steele, London, 1775.

its practice must always be masters of the science." For where has ever genius or industry raised a man to the rank of a master in any of the fine arts, who has not applied his genius and his industry to the study of its principles?

The classifications of this work are more perfect than have usually characterized works on elocution. This is because nature has been taken as their basis. One example must suffice, where many might be given. Walker classes the "monotone" with the inflections. Now, the inflections—the rising, the falling, and the circumflex—are all given on a single syllable, while the monotone, if given in the same way, ceases at once to be a function of speech, and becomes a function of song. Designating, then, as it does, not the movement of the voice in the pronunciation of a single syllable, but of several, it is here classed, where it most obviously belongs, among the "phrases of melody."

On a very perfect analysis, and a very beautiful classification, our author has constructed for this science a nomenclature, such that all the functions of speech and of vocal movement admit of an accurate verbal description. This excellence cannot but be appreciated, when we refer to the indefiniteness of the terms heretofore used. Let us, for a single illustration must suffice, refer to those used to indicate the various modulations of the voice. Walker, in his chapter on "The Passions," says, that in *raillery*, "the tone of the voice is sprightly," and in *sneer*, that it is "sly, arch, and satirical." And he goes on speaking of "sweetness of voice," "compassionate tenderness of voice," of a "mild tone of voice," a "benevolent tone of voice," and "a tone chiding, unequal, surly, and vehement;" of a "voice which has the softness of love, intermixed with the firmness of courage," and of a "voice plaintive and inclining to eagerness," &c., &c. All these are expressions which have never been defined, and which consequently have no fixed meaning. They will vary with every one's conception; and especially will they fail to communicate any definite idea when brought down through an age, or carried to another country. They are a circulating medium with no fixed standard of value. And this is but a common defect in all the old attempts at a description of the vocal functions. Wesley* speaks of a "full and lofty accent," an

* "Particular Rules for varying the Voice."—*Works*, vol. vii, p. 490, *et seq.*, New-York, 1833.

"accent lively and cheerful," "slow and mournful," or "warm and passionate." Again, he designates the "voice" as "soft, smooth, and melting," as "sharp and sullen," as "full and overflowing," as "soft and submissive," or as "lively and cheerful." When he uses the word "tone," it is with the same indefiniteness,—speaking of a "dull, languishing tone," a "sharp and impetuous tone," and again, of "such a tone as expresses horror and detestation." After alluding to some equally ineffectual attempts at description in this branch of elocution, our author uses the following language:—

"Those who know what constitutes the accuracy of terms, must confess that these, and similar attempts to name the signs of expression, have no more claims to the title of clear elemental description, than belongs to the rambling signification of vulgar nomenclature. We are not aware that no describable perceptions are associated with these phrases, until required to illustrate them by some definite discrimination of vocal sounds. 'Grandeur of feeling,' says a writer, 'should be expressed with pomp and magnificence of tone;' and we may presume, that if he had been asked how pomp and magnificence of feeling should be expressed, he would have said, by grandeur of tone. These are words, not explanations. Nor can any weight of authority give them the power of description: since the terms 'sorrowful expression' and 'tone of solemn dignity' in the precepts of an accomplished elocutionist, have no more precision of meaning, as to pitch, time, and force of sound, than those of 'fine turned cadence' and 'chaste modulation,' in the idle criticism of a daily gazette."—*Introduction*, pp. xix, xx.

This nomenclature has been taken from that of music, so far as its terms could be applied to the functions of speech. This will suggest, that one who is familiar with the scientific terms employed in music will find little difficulty in mastering this system; which, when fully introduced into our works on practical elocution, will afford facilities for communicating instruction and correcting errors,*

* "Even the faults of speakers," says Dr. Rush, "though almost infinite in variety, consist of no unnamed elements. It seems as if nature had assumed, in her adjusted system of signs, all the practicable functions of the voice. The corrupting art of the tongue in deforming her works, makes no addition to their constituents, but performs its part in human error by misplacing them."—P. 379.

And William Russell, Esq., of Massachusetts, a practical teacher of elocution, bears a testimony which is conclusive on this point:—"So far as it is in my own power to speak, from long critical observation, and many years' practice in instruction, I can freely declare, that there is no quality of voice, used in the most poetic passages of recitation, and in the most delicate and ethereal utterance ever occurring, even in these, that may not be distinctly and exactly presented to the eye, or to the mind, by means of the characters and the nomen-

such as can never attach to any system heretofore promulgated. It will almost create a new department of criticism—furnishing to the critic in elocution the principles of his art, as well as the implements for its practice; and it will furnish the means by which the hitherto mysterious functions of speech can be accurately described, and any peculiar style of eloquence be handed down to all succeeding ages. And what would not the orator of our day give could he read, in a language which he could not misunderstand, a full description of the living, breathing intonations which infused life and energy into the speeches of the Grecian and Roman masters? or the Christian minister, could he *hear* the voice of the apostles or the reformers, as he can read their thoughts, or perchance see their features? The graphic art can catch and transmit to us the fleeting thought, the painter or the sculptor can sketch all the lineaments of the face and the form; but hitherto we have had no means of seizing upon and preserving the modulations of the living voice. The tones of that eloquence which first proclaimed a free salvation to our fathers, and even of that which stirred them up to fight the battles of freedom, are fast dying away; and when a few more shall pass from among us, no record of them will remain among the living. The specific merits and defects of future speakers of eminence shall go down to posterity along with their fame.

The author's mode of illustrating this subject by diagrams and by the aid of the musical scale, is also singularly perfect. The simplicity and great excellence of this element in the work we cannot here present; but our admiration of it has been greatly heightened by comparing it with the other attempts to illustrate the functions of speech, by figures presented to the eye, which have fallen under our notice. Whoever will carefully examine Walker's illustrations of the Inflections, and compare them with those of our author, will settle down on the conclusion, that while the latter is an exact illustration of nature, as hourly presented to the ear, the former illustrates perfectly none of the vocal movements of the American speaker.

We feel now prepared to suggest, finally, as a crowning excellence of Dr. Rush's Philosophy of the Human Voice, that it fur-

clature exhibited in the *Philosophy of the Human Voice.*"—*Lectures before the American Institute of Instruction*, 1837, p. 248.

nishes the basis of a system of elocution which tends directly to the development of original genius. We can conceive that a system of artificial, or even of minute and technical rules, may serve but to cramp and embarrass the action of genius; but this system puts the elements into the hands of the scholar, with some general principles to direct their application, while it leaves him to make for himself this application to the improvement and exercise of his various natural powers, which constitute his genius, so far as he may be its possessor. As we use the term genius in these remarks in the sense in which it is used by our author, we will let him define it:—

"Finally, I would recommend this analysis, and the practical inferences which have been drawn from it, to those who declare with contradistinguishing ascription, that elocution cannot be taught, but must be the work of genius alone. Such persons look upon the powers of the mind as a kind of sleight: the ways and means of which are unknown and immeasurable. But genius, as far as it appears from its works, is only an aptitude for that deep, wide, and exclusive attention which perceives and accomplishes more than is done without it; and, therefore, is not altogether removed beyond the reach of rules; though in its course of instruction, genius is oftenest the pupil of itself.

"Let those who are deluded by this mystic notion of genius turn their eyes from impostors who cannot define an attribute which they do not comprehend; let them look to the great sachems of mankind, and learn from the real possessors of it, how much of its manner may be described. They will tell us that genius, in its high meaning, is always enthusiastic: always characterized by passionate perseverance; by the love of an object in its means as well as its ends; by that unshaken confidence in its own powers, which converts the evils of discouragement into the benefits of success; which cares not to be alone, and is too much engrossed with its own truths to be disturbed by the opinions of others: with a disentangling spirit, to see things as they might be; and an economy of purpose to execute them as they ought to be; soaring above that musty policy which, in its wary tact of the expedient, would with a world-serving quietude preserve them always as they are: having the power to accomplish great and useful works, only because it wastes no time on small and selfish ones, and passing a life of warfare in detecting the impostures and follies of its own age, that the next, like the consulted oracle of Delphi, may pronounce it the chief in wisdom and in virtue."—P. 407.

As an act of justice to the author, as well as to the future reader of the Philosophy of the Human Voice, it ought perhaps to be more distinctly stated, that it is the work of a physiologist, and not of a rhetorician or an elocutionist. As such, by him who has little

knowledge of the language or the practice of music, and who perhaps has taken little notice of the vocal functions in speech, this work can be studied only with great labor, except by the aid of a teacher. With the aid of the diagrams, however, and the well-defined vocabulary of terms, the musician, or he who is in any way versed in the science of the voice, with but a tithe of the perseverance that produced the work, will find in its study, even without the aid of a teacher, a rich reward. In regard to this view of the subject, the author discourses thus:—

"When the ingenuous reader reviews the preceding history, I must beg him to bear in mind its object. The purpose was to analyze the functions of speech, without a strict limitation of the search to those points which might be readily cognizable in ordinary utterance, or practically important in oratorical instruction. I have recorded no phenomenon, the discovery of which has not been the result of patient observation and experiment. There are many parts of the detail that will at once be recognized by the competent critic: others will be afterward received into the growing familiarity of his inquiry: while some of the descriptions, even if admitted to be true, will still be considered as niceties of disputable application, and beyond the assigning power of rule. As a physiologist, I conceive I have done no more than my duty in this record, however presently useless some of its minutiæ may be. Much of the accumulated wealth of science is not at interest; but the borrowers may one day come.

"In thus opening the way for a change of elocution from an imitative art, with its inherent defects, to a science with all its constituent usefulness and beauty, it was necessary to set forth every existing function: that the materials might thereby be furnished toward the future establishment of a system of instruction, for those who have the rare aim in scholarship of seeking high accomplishment, through the abundant encompassing of principles, and the condensing economy of systematic means. That the inquiry into this subject has produced much that will be imperceptible to the first scrutinies of the general ear, I must be convinced from the past history of human improvement. The work of vocal mystery has been at all times so despairingly abandoned, as beyond the reach of analytic perception, that this supposed impossibility alone will form a heavier argument against its admission than the real but surmountable difficulty of encountering nature in new fields of sensation. Many who in fine organization of ear, and a capability of delicate analysis, possess the means of successful investigation, will, too probably, shrink from the labors of experiment, and seek to justify infirmity of resolution by defensively assuming the hopelessness of trial."—Pp. 315. 316.

It seems but proper, in conclusion, to allude to the spirit with which Dr. Rush has prosecuted and presented to the public these

laborious investigations, which are so imperfectly set forth in this article:—

"The reception," says he, "which may await the following work, can be of no important interest to me. By taking care to antedate the season of its rewards and punishments, I have already found them in the varied pleasure and perplexity of its accomplishment. I leave it, therefore, for the service of him who may in future desire to read the history of his voice. The system here exhibited will satisfy much of his curiosity: for I feel assured, by the result of the rigid mode of observation employed throughout the inquiry, that if science should ever come to one consent on this point, it will not differ essentially from the ensuing record. The world has long asked for light on this subject. It may not choose to accept it now; but having idly suffered its own opportunity for discovery to go by, it must, under any capricious postponement, at last receive it here.

"Sir Joshua Reynolds has a pretty thought on the labors of ambition and the choice of fame. I do not remember his words exactly; but he figures the present age and posterity as rivals—and those who receive the favor of the one, as being outcasts from the other. This condition, while it allows a full but transient satisfaction to the zeal which works only for a present reward, does not exclude all prospect from those who are contented in the anticipation of deferred success. Truth, whose first steps should be always vigorous and alone, is often obliged to lean for support and progress on the arm of time; who then only, when supporting her, seems to have laid aside his wings."—*Introduction*, pp. xxix, xxx.

It is about fourteen years since the Philosophy of the Human Voice was first published; and by about that time is its author in advance of his age. The work has passed through but two editions; of which the publication of the first was declined "by the foremost publishing patron of American works," on the express ground that it was *not suited to this country*. But never has truth leaned more securely for support and progress on the arm of time, as another age will show, than she has done in the present case. While this work shall secure to its author an enduring fame, it will reflect honor on the country and the age that has produced it.

Dickinson College, March 22, 1841.

ART. V.—*Democracy in America.* Part II. *The Social Influence of Democracy.* By ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, Member of the Institute of France and of the Chamber of Deputies, &c., &c. Translated by HENRY REEVE, Esq. With an Original Preface by JOHN C. SPENCER, Counsellor at Law. New-York: J. & H. G. Langley, 57 Chatham-street.

THE existence of a government like that of the United States, continued, as it has been, through more than half a century without material change, and controlling a territory nearly equal to two-thirds of the entire continent of Europe, with a rapidly increasing population, which has already reached about seventeen millions of souls, prosperous, enterprising, and happy, presents, to the nations of the old world, a problem, at once so novel and so difficult of solution as to have made it a study of no ordinary interest. Hence the great variety of books on America, descriptive, abusive, and philosophical, which have teemed from the press, and the greedy avidity with which every thing on this topic has been received by our transatlantic brethren.

Nor is this at all surprising. A democracy like that under which we live is an anomaly in the history of the world. Such a degree of human liberty as we enjoy seems never to have entered into the conceptions of the most enlightened political philosopher, much less to have been ingrafted on any particular form of government. From the days of Adam downward, political freedom has been no part of the policy of nations; although it has gradually been gaining a foothold as light and knowledge have been diffused among the masses of mankind, and the gloomy superstition of past ages has been lost in the beams of that glorious reformation in which we live.

The empires of Alexander and of the Cesars were a vast improvement on the grand and gloomy despotisms of China and Egypt; and the rude tribes of the north who despoiled the great Roman empire, and parceled out its walled cities and cultivated fields among their warrior chiefs, unconsciously adopted into their feudal governments those elements, which, like the leaven "hid in the three measures of meal," have ever since been silently working the melioration of our race, and have carried on the great reform: but still the cause of human rights, as it pursued its "course of empire" from the ancient despotisms of the East toward the setting

sun, paused not in its career of glory until it found a genial resting place amid the sublime forests and mighty prairies of the new world.

It must not, however, be forgotten, that, for a long time, the general tendency of events throughout the world had favored this consummation. The feudal barons of Europe, who had inherited with the soil the reins of government, and who exacted from their vassals the most servile obedience, had, at an early day, adopted the Christian faith, and as the clergy opened its ranks to all classes, when the church arose into power, a way was prepared by which the degraded serf could take his seat among the proudest of the nobles—the wars of the Crusades divided the possessions of the aristocracy, and caused the lower orders to feel their strength—the invention of fire-arms destroyed the supremacy of the privileged orders on the field of battle—the art of printing cheapened the researches of wisdom, and carried the same information to the door of the cottage and the palace—the growing taste for literature opened chances of success to learning and talent—the enactment of civil laws made room for judges and advocates, and the wealth acquired by commerce gave importance to skill and enterprise.

Thus it was that the serfs and menials of the feudal ages grew gradually into importance until in most European kingdoms they have acquired a representation in the deliberative bodies, limited, it is true, but still beyond all price. "The value attached to the privileges of birth," says M. de Tocqueville, in his introduction, "decreased in the exact proportion in which new paths were struck out to advancement. In the eleventh century nobility was beyond *all price;* in the thirteenth it might be *purchased;* it was *conferred*, for the first time, in 1270: and equality was thus introduced into the government by the aristocracy itself."

But notwithstanding these general tendencies in favor of the emancipation of man—notwithstanding all that had been gained by the people in their oft-repeated struggles, the democratic principle was not permitted fully to prevail in the old world; nay, we may safely affirm, that there it is neither appreciated nor understood: and although its progress is evidently onward, and it is destined ere long to undermine the tottering thrones of those sovereigns who hold their power by *divine right*, and to level still further the artificial distinctions of European society; yet is its course as silent as

the smooth waters of some mighty river whose restless current sweeps from before it all the feeble impediments of man.

But this principle, which has thus been struggling for a feeble existence in feudal Europe, is indigenous to America. It dwells in the fastnesses of her hills—it riots unrestrained in her deep and gloomy forests—its altar is found wherever the free air braces the nerves of her hardy sons. The little company of forty-one pilgrims, who formed themselves into a republic on board the Mayflower, in Plymouth harbor, more than two hundred years ago, adopted, as the basis of their compact, *the sovereignty of the people*, and from that time to the present, neither the ties of consanguinity, nor the reverence entertained by the children for their father-land, nor the presence of hostile armies sent to awe them into submission, has had power to swerve the inhabitants of the new world from their deep devotion to democratic freedom.

"In the bosoms of this people there was burning, kindled at different furnaces, but all furnaces of affliction, one clear, steady flame of liberty." The democratic principle was here suffered to separate itself from all those influences which had repressed its growth in the old world. It struck deep into the soil, it was mingled with the atmosphere which the emigrants inhaled, and its consequences are written on the whole outline of American society. They are to be seen in the perfect freedom of our institutions—in the equality recognized by our laws—in the energy and enterprise of our citizens—in the high tone of our morals, and the general education and intelligence of our people.

It is not, then, we repeat, a matter of surprise that America, directed by influences so totally different from those which still cling to the ancient aristocracies of Europe, should continue to be an interesting study to the political philosopher, and that a book which discloses some of the hidden springs of our success—which, in the spirit of candor and fairness, seeks to investigate all the great bearings of that wonderful principle which lies at the foundation of our institutions, and which thus leaves its impress on every thing American, should have awakened the curiosity of Europe, and produced a sensation throughout the civilized world.

The first part of Democracy in America has been a long time before the public. The author, M. de Tocqueville, was one of two commissioners (the other being M. de Beaumont) sent to

America some years ago, by the French government, to examine our prisons and penitentiaries. On their return to France they made such a report as produced an entire change in the prison discipline of France. Each of them, soon after, brought out a book on America, and that of M. de Tocqueville has, within a few months, been succeeded by a second. The value of these books may be estimated from the rank which they have already acquired in the literature of the age. It is said that M. Thiers, while prime minister of France, and after the publication of the first volume of "Democracy in America," expressed himself publicly in his place in the chamber of deputies as happy to have lived in the same age that produced this book. Sir Robert Peel, and other English authorities, have expressed equal admiration of M. de Tocqueville's labors; and Mr. Spencer, the secretary of state for New-York, in announcing the second part, tells us, in his preface, that "in Europe it has taken its stand with Montesquieu, Bacon, Milton, and Locke." This is high praise—much too high, certainly—but it will serve to show the interest which M. de Tocqueville's labors have excited.

What adds particularly to the value of these books is the fact that they have not been written for America, but for Europe. In his preface to the first book, M. de Tocqueville, says, —"It was not, then, merely to satisfy a legitimate curiosity that I have examined America. My wish has been to find instruction by which we might ourselves profit." And again:—"I sought the image of democracy itself, with its inclinations, its character, its prejudices, and its passions, in order to learn what WE have to hope and fear from its progress." And having adverted to some of the causes which have been at work in Europe, and to which we have already alluded, showing that the democratic principle is developing itself more and more, and that a silent revolution is going forward in the old world, he says:—

"The Christian nations of our age seem to me to present a most alarming spectacle; the impulse which is bearing them along is so strong that it cannot be stopped, but it is not yet so rapid that it cannot be guided; their fate is in their hands; yet, a little while, and it may be so no longer." He then proceeds to point out the duty which this fact seems to enjoin:—"The duty," he continues, "which is at this time imposed upon those who direct our affairs,

is to *educate* the democracy; to warm its faith, if that be possible; to purify its morals; to direct its energies; to substitute a knowledge of business for its inexperience, and an acquaintance with its true interests for its blind propensities; to adapt its government to time and place, and to modify it in compliance with the occurrences and the actors of the age."

In his second book he seems equally anxious that the nations of Europe should profit by the secret revolution which is everywhere going on in favor of democratic equality. At the close of the volume he sums up the advantages and disadvantages which must attend such a revolution, and ends with these words:—"The nations of our time cannot prevent the conditions of men from becoming equal: but it depends upon themselves whether the principle of equality is to lead them to servitude or freedom, to knowledge or barbarism, to prosperity or wretchedness." It is clear from these passages, as well as from the whole tenor of the work, that the author's chief object was to produce an impression in his own country and in western Europe generally.

"Democracy in America" is written in a most attractive style, rather diffuse and florid, perhaps too much so for the definiteness which the subject required. A little more precision, method, and accuracy, would have added value to these volumes, though they would scarcely have increased their interest. But apart from the mere choice of language and form of expression, the author has, throughout, maintained a seriousness, dignity, and good faith which is above all commendation, and which contrasts so admirably with the flippancy and vulgarity which are so common in foreign books on America, as at once to insure the confidence of the reader. He has certainly fallen into errors, some of which are important, but his volumes, nevertheless, contain no faults which are not entirely consistent with the most upright intentions, while they evince great reach of thought, strong powers of observation, and a freedom from prejudice which, more than any thing else, commands our admiration.

The first part of his work has, in America, passed through four editions. It has, of course, been extensively read and commented on. Nearly half of it is devoted to an account of the political institutions of this country, federal, state, and municipal, which is given with great accuracy and fidelity, and is probably the best condensed

description of the machinery of our government before the public. The remainder is more speculative, and consists of a series of essays, not particularly dependent on each other, in which he investigates the tendency of various influences at work in our system of government, and traces their effects. In this part he treats of the sovereignty of the people—the character of parties—the liberty of the press—the government of the democracy—the advantages resulting from the government of the democracy—the omnipotence of majorities—the causes which tend to maintain a democratic government—and the probable future condition of the three races by which our country is peopled.

We have recounted some of the most important subjects discussed, that the reader who has not found leisure to peruse the volume may understand something of the grave matters which the author undertakes to handle. It contains several errors, which, in this country, are generally regarded as important, and which have been pretty fully noticed by the public press. These have probably resulted from the limited observation which a year's residence afforded, and although they are to be regretted, yet they by no means destroy the interest of the volume. As it has been a long time before the public, it is not our purpose to bring its contents under revision.

The second part of "Democracy in America" has but lately issued from the press in this country, and is a continuation of the subject. The first part was occupied in tracing the influence of democracy on our *political institutions:* the second part traces the same cause in its operation on our *social relations.* It is divided into four books, possessing all the ease and elegance, the ingenuity and vivacity, of the former volume: and those who followed the author with pleasure through the labyrinth of his speculations on our *political* condition, will be equally delighted with his views of the tastes, feelings, habits, and manners of American *society.*

His first division treats of the influence of democracy on public opinion, thought, religious belief, the cultivation of the arts, literature, and language. The second is devoted to the influence of democracy on our feelings; its tendency to produce association, to foster a disposition for thrift, to make us dissatisfied, restless, and enterprising. In the third he examines the influence of democracy on our manners; explains how it renders our intercourse simple

and easy; how it affects the education of women, and their course of conduct as wives and mothers; how it diminishes the distance between masters and servants, and produces a healthful action on the morals of society. In the fourth he discusses the influence of democratic opinions and sentiments on political society, the subjects of which are more connected with those treated of in his first volume.

It will be seen by this outline that M. de Tocqueville has undertaken to trace the influence of democracy through all the ramifications of society, and his object seems to be to discover in what manner, and to what extent, it has changed the usages of former times, and what is to be the final result of that great democratic revolution which he beholds progressing so rapidly around him. His tone is, on the whole, decidedly favorable to the cause of democracy, though there are many instances in which he throws the advantage on the other side. His work is a philosophical inquiry after political and moral truth, and he sets down the result as he finds it, without regard either to his own individual preferences, or those of the reader.

We have spoken elsewhere of the vast difference between M. de Tocqueville and the common herd of tourists who visit America, and one feature of this difference, we think, has been pointed out by a contemporary. It is, that when he speaks of the principles of government *he knows what he is talking about.* He does not expect to find in a country, whose government is based on the sovereignty of the people, the same distinctions, the same tastes, the same quiet ease and dignity, which he sees where the affairs of the state are guided by the privileged few; but he is not reluctant to acknowledge that although we lose in some things, yet we gain in more.

The democratic principle of government is so far removed from the aristocratic that no man in his senses can expect it to produce the same effects on society. When we cast our eye backward on the splendid despotisms of antiquity, we behold with wonder the grand results which they have accomplished. The gorgeous tombs, the gigantic statuary, the spacious temples, the lofty pyramids which are so profusely scattered through the valley of the Nile, and whose solid and massive structure has caused them to outlive their own history, strike us with amazement, and call forth

all our admiration for the wonderful people who could have erected such vast monuments to their own glory. But when we reflect that these magnificent works could have been constructed only under the most perfect despotism—that to accomplish them, required a nation of slaves, controlled by the will of an absolute master, we fall back with pleasure on the general freedom of modern ages, and are quite content to part with the grandeur of Egypt for the comforts diffused through society by the milder sway of equal laws.

It is impossible that any one government should combine the advantages of all. As the inclination of the earth's axis to the ecliptic causes a variety of climates, each of which favors a particular kind of production, so do the various forms of government develop their own peculiar results. In a country where every man is at liberty to appropriate his own labors, an air of thrift and comfort is diffused through every part of the community, and the desire of well-being actuates every bosom—in a country where these labors are plundered by the state, or diverted to the support of aristocratic pride, a privileged few may live in the splendors of royalty, but the mass of the people will be chained to squalid penury and servile degradation.

This is too plain a proposition to have escaped the observing mind of such a man as M. de Tocqueville. "I find," says he, "that a great number of my contemporaries undertake to make a certain selection from among the institutions, the opinions and the ideas which originated in the aristocratic constitution of society as it was: a portion of these elements they would willingly relinquish, but they would keep the remainder and transplant them into their new world. I apprehend that such men are wasting their time and their strength in virtuous but unprofitable efforts. The object is not to obtain the peculiar advantages which the inequality of conditions bestows upon mankind, but to secure the *new* benefits which equality may supply. We have not to seek to make ourselves like our progenitors, but to strive to work out that species of greatness and happiness which is our own."

This is the philosophy which should direct modern nations, and which has particularly prevailed in the structure of our own government. Here the democratic principle, by which we mean the principle of vesting in the mass of the people the free direction of

the civil government, has been suffered to take an almost unlimited control of the state. "There is a country in the world," says M. de Tocqueville in the preface to his first volume, "where the great revolution which I am speaking of seems nearly to have reached its natural limits." Nearly, but not wholly. The framers of our constitution thought fit to introduce into the government a variety of checks and balances in order to guard against what they conceived to be the tendency in democracies to sudden and violent changes; but with this qualification the democratic principle prevails to its fullest extent, and its results are recorded in our rapidly increasing population, in the productive energy of our country, in the happiness and prosperity of our citizens.

There is a part of the volume before us which will be read with peculiar pleasure. We mean those chapters which treat of the influence of democracy on kindred, female education, and domestic morals. M. de Tocqueville has studied the character of our domestic relations with peculiar care, and very happily traces out the changes which democracy has introduced into the family circle. He sees that the principle of equality which has so modified our political institutions, has also diminished the distance between father and son, wife and husband, master and servant, causing a closer connection and a more easy familiarity between them, and preserving the level in the domestic circle as perfectly as he has shown it to exist in the political. He speaks in a high tone of eulogy of American women—sketches the difference between their education and that of other nations—and shows the influence which this education exerts on their lives. His observations on this subject are to the point, and worthy of public attention. He also contends that there is more equality between the sexes in America than elsewhere, and in his chapter on this subject has placed the relative standing of the sexes on its true and natural grounds.

The elevation of women has of late been a fruitful topic of discussion. There are those who, unmindful of the characteristic distinctions of the sexes, would make the man and woman not only equal, but alike. "They would give to both the same functions, impose on both the same duties, and grant to both the same rights: they would mix them in all things—their occupations, their pleasures, their business." We cannot but think that such an equality thus gained by setting at naught the clearest indications of the

Creator's will, and by distorting that beautiful harmony which has been diffused through all the works of the great Architect, instead of elevating the character of the one sex, degrades them both, producing "weak men, and disorderly women."

We are rejoiced to see, that although such doctrines have frequently been advocated in this country, the French philosopher regards us as particularly free from their influence. "In no country," he says, "has such constant care been taken as in America to trace two clearly distinct lines of action for the two sexes, and to make them keep pace one with another, but in two pathways which are always different. American women never manage the outward concerns of the family, or conduct a business, or take a part in political life; nor are they, on the other hand, ever compelled to perform the rough labor of the fields, or to make any of those laborious exertions which demand a great outlay of physical strength. Hence it is that the women of America, who often exhibit a masculine strength of understanding and a manly energy, generally preserve great delicacy of personal appearance, and always retain the manners of women, although they sometimes show that they have the hearts and minds of men.

"Thus the Americans do not think that man and woman have either the duty or the right to perform the same offices, but they show an equal regard for both their respective parts; and though their lot is different, they consider both of them as being of equal value. They do not give to the courage of woman the same form or the same direction as to that of man; but they never doubt her courage: and if they hold that man and his partner ought not always to exercise their intellect and understanding in the same manner, they at least believe the understanding of the one to be as sound as that of the other, and her intellect to be as clear. As for myself," he continues, "I do not hesitate to avow, that, although the women of the United States are confined within the narrow circle of domestic life, and their situation is, in some respects, one of extreme dependence, I have nowhere seen women occupying a loftier position; and if I were asked, now that I am drawing to the close of this work, in which I have spoken of so many important things done by the Americans, to what the singular prosperity and growing strength of that people ought mainly to be attributed, I should reply—*To the superiority of their women.*"

We confess that this view of the subject, by one who has proved himself to be so accurate an observer of society, has afforded us the highest satisfaction. It places the equality of the sexes in a view so natural and easy, as to put to shame those political philosophers, who, acting on the false supposition that women are degraded, because they are not permitted by the usages of society to mount the rostrum, to exercise the elective franchise, and to figure in the halls of legislation, are clamoring for their elevation. We are not among those who contend for the intellectual inferiority of women: but there is a beautiful fitness in all the works of God, and it does not require the eye of a philosopher to discover that her empire is not amid the tumult and strife of the great and stormy world,—that to maintain her equality with her lord, it is not necessary to measure swords with him on the field of battle, nor to force the gentle tones of her voice into the masculine strain of bold debate in the senate. She is his equal in another and a better sense, and we rejoice that M. de Tocqueville has not found in the influences of democracy a power to lure her from the true sphere of her glory, or to destroy the beautiful harmony of that law which the Deity impressed upon our natures, when he said, "It is not good for man to be alone: I will make him a *help meet for him.*"

It has long been an observation of foreigners, which has generally been conceded as true, here, that the higher sciences have made much less progress in the United States than in the civilized nations of Europe; and that celebrated writers, and great poets, artists, &c., are proportionally rare. Many persons, struck by these facts, have regarded them as the legitimate results of democracy, and have supposed that if similar systems of government were generally to prevail, "the human mind would gradually find its beacon lights grow dim," and society relapse into its pristine barbarism. M. de Tocqueville combats this idea, and contends that there is nothing in democracy incompatible with the loftiest pursuits of science. He regards the result in America as having risen from causes purely accidental.

In treating of this subject he dwells on the peculiar relation between the United States and the old world, a circumstance which has not been sufficiently attended to. We have generally been regarded as a young people, just sprung, as it were, into existence, and liable to be molded into any form which the course of events

may impress upon us. Nothing can be more incorrect. We are a branch lopped off from an old and highly cultivated nation. The artists, scholars, poets, and philosophers of Great Britain are all ours. We have had the same origin with that nation, speak the same language, and have perpetuated the same general opinions, manners, customs, and pursuits. Our country has, however, been mostly filled up by adventurers in pursuit of gain, and such has been the bountiful returns which it has yielded to industry, that the struggle for wealth has hitherto been so much the leading idea of American society, that all other pursuits have obtained but a secondary place. "I cannot," says M. de Tocqueville, "consent to separate America from Europe, in spite of the ocean that intervenes. I consider the people of the United States as that portion of the English people which is commissioned to explore the wilds of the new world; while the rest of the nation, enjoying more leisure, and less harassed by the drudgery of life, may devote its energies to thought, and enlarge, in all directions, the empire of the mind."

This view of the case will generally be acknowledged as correct. The Americans, with the store-house of English arts and letters open to them, could not fail to be a cultivated people, although they have not distinguished themselves in literature or the fine arts. But whoever has watched the progress of society here, will have discovered that as capital accumulates, and the pursuits of men admit of greater leisure, the taste for the fine arts has gradually improved, and men who make literature and science the business of their lives are becoming less and less rare. Within the last few years Anthon, Wayland, Upham, Stuart, Day, Bancroft, Sparks, Prescott, and others, have given to the world works of that standard and sterling character which will go far to prove that the temper of democracy is not unfriendly to the cultivation of letters. At the same time it is true that in America, and probably, to a greater or less extent, in all democratic countries, the people are naturally disposed to practical rather than theoretical science. The general equality of conditions, and the ease with which men rise from one position in society to another, prove a constant stimulant to exertion and enterprise. The people are therefore restless, ambitious, and constantly seeking some shorter road to wealth and fame. Every machine which spares labor, every instrument which diminishes

the cost of production, every invention which promises in any way to be useful, and every discovery that promotes the well being of man, possesses a peculiar value. Hence all the powers of the mind are brought to bear on practical results. "These very Americans," says de Tocqueville, "who have not discovered one of the general laws of mechanics, have introduced into navigation an engine which *changes the aspect of the world.*"

It is also this everlasting struggle for something higher and better, resulting from a feeling that actuates every bosom, but which in America is brought out into the foreground by the freedom of our condition, which produces that perpetual disquiet—that inordinate love of excitement—that peculiar "unrest" which has so frequently attracted the notice of foreigners. "A native of the United States," says the French tourist, "clings to this world's goods as if he were certain never to die; and he is so hasty at grasping at all within his reach, that one would suppose he was constantly afraid of not living long enough to enjoy them. He clutches every thing, he holds nothing fast, but soon loosens his grasp to pursue fresh gratifications. A man builds a house to spend his latter years in, and sells it before the roof is on: he plants a garden, and lets it just as the trees are coming into bearing: he brings a field into tillage, and leaves other men to gather the crops: he embraces a profession, and gives it up: he settles in a place which he soon after leaves to carry his changeable longings elsewhere. If his private affairs leave him any leisure, he instantly plunges into the vortex of politics: and if at the end of a year of unremitting labor he finds he has a few days' vacation, his eager curiosity whirls him over the vast extent of the United States, and he will travel fifteen hundred miles in a few days to shake off his happiness. Death at length overtakes him, but it is before he is weary of his bootless chase of that complete felicity which is ever on the wing."

M. de Tocqueville justly observes, that this spectacle is not in itself a novelty, but that the novelty consists in the fact of a *whole nation* being actuated by the same unconquerable restlessness at the same time, which doubtless results from the great freedom of our condition, and the part which every man takes in public affairs. Here every thing must necessarily be in motion. Public opinion is the basis of all public action, and to direct it every effort is put into requisition. Eloquence, argument, association, the pulpit, the

press, all do their part. The Dutch smoke over every thing, the Americans talk over every thing. Here the people are met to decide on the building of a church; there they are canvassing for the next election; a little further on they are discussing some public improvement; and in another direction they are passing censures on the government. Schools, colleges, roads, canals, morals, and almost every thing else are patronized here by the public, as they are abroad by the nobility. This feature alone gives an air of bustle to the country, which, however, is greatly increased by the rich reward which is sure to follow energy and enterprise.

The disposition to associate for the accomplishment of any great object, though not peculiar to America, is, in the nature of things, carried to a much greater extent here than in Europe, and for reasons similar to those which have been assigned above. This circumstance could not fail to attract the attention of so acute an observer as de Tocqueville. "The most democratic country on the face of the earth," he observes, "is that in which men have, in our time, carried to the highest perfection the art of pursuing, in common, the object of their common desires, and have applied this new science to the greatest number of purposes. Is this the result of accident? or is there in reality any necessary connection between the principle of association and that of equality?"

The conclusion to which he arrives is, that it is a natural result of democratic society. Here individuals, being less powerful than in aristocratic countries, find it more necessary to combine their strength: and hence the accomplishment of those gigantic works which are everywhere going on around us, and which without such combination could never be effected. "Wherever," he says, "at the head of some new undertaking, you see the government, in France, or a man of rank, in England, in the United States you are sure to find an association." The associations for moral and intellectual cultivation seem particularly to have attracted his attention, and he speaks frequently of their importance and influence. "The first time," says he, "I heard in the United States that a hundred thousand men had bound themselves publicly to abstain from spirituous liquors, it appeared to me more like a joke than a serious engagement; and I did not at once perceive why these temperate citizens could not content themselves with drinking water by their own firesides. I at last understood that these hundred thou-

sand Americans, alarmed by the progress of drunkenness around them, had made up their minds to patronize temperance. They acted just in the same way as a man of high rank who should dress very plainly in order to inspire the humbler orders with a contempt for luxury."

The great propensity for speech-making in our representative assemblies is very appropriately noticed by M. de Tocqueville, and the causes which produce it pointed out. "In America," he says, "it generally happens that a representative becomes somebody from his position in the assembly. He is therefore perpetually haunted by a craving to acquire importance there, and he feels a petulant desire to be constantly obtruding his opinions on the house. His own vanity is not the only stimulant which urges him on in this course, but that of his constituents, and the continual necessity of propitiating them."

This idea is followed through several pages, and the author undertakes to show, what is probably clear enough to the reader, that the more intimate and immediate the dependence between the representative and his constituents, the more will this disposition be encouraged. In all democratic countries eloquence must necessarily be one of the great levers by which society is moved, as it is more apt to inspire admiration among the masses than any other quality, unless it may be personal courage. Public speaking is, therefore, the shortest road to fame, and it is consequently crowded with votaries. But as the spirit of our institutions causes a constant change in our representative bodies, it follows that a multitude of persons must always find their way to our legislative halls who, while they have the disposition to distinguish themselves by a *speech*, are little skilled in the graces of oratory. It is some consolation, however, to know that what we thus lose in dignity, we gain in honest intentions and purity of purpose. A frequent change of representation is a strong safeguard against corruption.

We had purposed to devote a portion of this article to an examination of those parts of M. de Tocqueville's work which we hold to be erroneous: his doctrine of the tyranny of majorities—his views of the instability of our laws—his chapter on the aversion of democracies to revolutions—the legal profession, and other things which have occurred to us in the course of our reading. Some of these topics are mainly discussed in the first part of Democracy in Ame-

rica, but as they are reiterated in the volume before us, they very properly come within the scope of this article. But we have already occupied so much space as to prevent the fulfilment of this design, and we shall only advert in brief terms to that strange position assumed by the French tourist, that democracies are averse to revolutions, because the mass of the people hold property, and all revolutions threaten the tenure of property. We are the more surprised at this position because de Tocqueville, in the main, seems to understand us, and for the further reason, that the real cause why great revolutions so seldom take place in democratic governments is so very apparent.

Since the final separation of this country from Great Britain, a period of some sixty-five years, we have never had what in Europe would be regarded as a revolution. It is true that we have, during that time, changed our form of government, but this has never been regarded either in Europe or America as a *revolution*, and produced not half the commotion which has sometimes been exhibited in the election of a president. If we turn to France, the country in which de Tocqueville resides, during the same time, we shall find quite a different state of things. When Mr. Jefferson wrote the immortal Declaration of Independence, Louis XVI. had just ascended the throne of France. Scarcely had the independence of America been acknowledged by the different powers of Europe, when we behold the monarch deposed, tried, condemned, and beheaded. A succession of great revolutions followed each other with astonishing rapidity. The different constitutions of the national assembly, the convention, the directory—the usurpations of Napoleon, the consulate for ten years, the consulate for life, the empire—then the restoration—then again another mighty revolution caused by the appearance of Napoleon from Elba—the hundred days—the second restoration—then, after a longer period of quiet, the three days—and, finally, the accession of Louis Philippe. But this fearful catalogue of revolutions bears no proportion to the unsuccessful attempts at violent changes which have interrupted the short intervals of tranquility between the chief acts of the drama. For the last few years there has scarcely been an arrival from the "land of corn and wine," without bringing us some account of infernal machines or trials for high treason.

Such a contrast could scarcely have escaped the observations

of De Tocqueville, and yet, with all his sagacity, he can discover no other reason for the greater permanency of things in America, than that the mass of the people hold property, and, therefore, dread a change. This is the more singular, because our only revolution, that which separated us from Great Britain, originated among the property holders and was sustained by them, and our wars have, also, always been chiefly sustained by the same class. Has it never occurred to the French tourist, that in democracies, where all power is vested in the people, and they are at liberty to change their government just as often as they please, no violent revolutions can ever take place? Violent revolutions and bloody civil wars occur in the kingdoms of Europe, because one power in the state is arrayed against another; the king against the people, or the people against the king: but in pure democracies there can be only a single power in the state, viz., *the power of the people.* When Charles the First, of England, and Louis the Sixteenth, of France, came to the block, it was because they set up the power of the throne in opposition to the will of the subject: and the revolutions of France, in the time of Napoleon, were produced by the army, a power altogether distinct from that of the people.

These elements of revolution cannot exist in a democracy. All power is diffused through the ranks of the people, who put in, and thrust out, and change at their pleasure. So long as this democratic principle prevails—so long as the mass of the people have every thing according to their own wishes—there is no motive for violent revolutions, and the government jogs on, apparently without change, while, in fact, it is undergoing constant and essential changes all the time. The ascendency of the Jefferson party in 1801 was, doubtless, the greatest revolution which this country has ever experienced since its independence, and yet we glided into it with less physical disturbance than frequently attends the review of a troop in the old world.

Such, then, is the simple reading of this proverb, so difficult to be understood by those who have been nurtured in the school of aristocracy. It must be acknowledged, however, that even *we* are not entirely free from the danger of revolutions, although such danger results from causes altogether different from those which produce the same effects in Europe. The two most prominent that occur to us are, the clashing interests of individual states and

sections of the Union, and the question of domestic slavery. We have, however, but little apprehension, even from these causes, and hitherto, public opinion alone, with a few trifling exceptions, has been sufficient to control the occasional excitement to which they have given rise.

On the whole, we see no reason to doubt the permanency of our admirable form of government, and firmly believe that the course of our country is upward and onward, and that she will long continue to run that career of glory which she has so brilliantly commenced. Her free institutions continue day by day to develop new resources of enterprise, to devise new modes of improvement, to seek out new channels of enjoyment. Since the adoption of the federal constitution we have continued steadily to advance in wealth and population, and our country has thrown out its arms to embrace a nation of freemen then unborn. From the margin of the Atlantic, where the colonies were first planted, we have spread deep into the western wilds, and great states have sprung up in the very heart of the wilderness. The number of the states has doubled, and the population has quadrupled, but our form of government is more firmly fixed in the affections of the people the further we advance, and there is much less prospect of internal disturbances or a dissolution of the Union at this moment, than at any former period.

Ours is indeed a wonderful country. Vast in extent—vast in resources—vast in its mighty rivers and lofty mountains, but still more wonderful in that freedom of thought and action, which arises from its beautiful system of government. When the members of our great national congress assemble at the capitol in Washington, the free representatives of the sovereigns at home: from what distances do they come? Through what a variety of climates? Along what majestic rivers? But although they are gathered from Maine and from Florida, and from Wisconsin and Missouri, yet do they speak the same language, feel the same patriotism, the same love of the constitution. Although they meet from such distant portions of this great continent, yet we venture to say, that not one out of the two hundred and forty-two representatives and fifty-two senators harbors a thought of revolution or change, further than the mere administration of the government is concerned; and that of the twenty-six independent nations, who convene in one united congress, there is not one which is not proud of its attachment to the Union.

ART. VI.—*Magnalia Christi Americana: A Review of* COTTON MATHER'S *Account of Witchcraft in New-England.*

UNDER the general denomination of *witchcraft* may be comprehended whatever relates to *divination*, *astrology*, *necromancy*, and *omination*. These all may claim a kindred relation, for they evidently have a family resemblance, and are manifestly derived from the same source, namely, an inherent propensity in the human mind to pry into futurity, and a desire to achieve that which is naturally beyond human power to effect.

There is, indeed, in the human heart a natural fondness for the marvelous, a desire to astonish others with wonderful achievements, with bold and daring deeds. Hence the many stories which have been manufactured by cunning and artful men, recited by old nurses in the hearing of unsophisticated children, and believed by the credulous of all classes and in all ages. That this thirst for gaining dominion over the minds of others, which seems to be an inherent principle of human nature, has prompted men to fabricate and trumpet forth for truth those stories of marvelous adventures which are calculated to excite the wonder and admiration of their auditors, and thereby to elevate themselves in the estimation of a credulous multitude, is abundantly verified in the history of our race, particularly in the many vicious novels which have teemed from the press, and the easy belief which is given to the many idle stories concerning the achievements of wizards and witches.

We are not unaware that we may run the risk of forfeiting the favorable opinion of those who seem to think that a belief in divine revelation is inseparably connected with faith in the arts of necromancy, witchcraft, and in all those ghostly stories with which the annals of mankind have been incumbered. We must beg of all such, however, to suspend their judgment until they have carefully heard and weighed what we have to say on this subject. And lest they should be shocked in advance by what they may consider a bold and unwarrantable attack upon a favorite theory, we wish to apprise them beforehand, that we have no doubt that both wizards and witches have existed; and we hope to furnish good and substantial reasons why the Almighty doomed them to such severe punishments for the manner in which they practiced their wily and

wicked arts; and also, that though they hid themselves from the scrutinizing eye of philosophical inquiry for a season, their diabolical arts have been, and may be detected and exposed.

But while we make this avowal, we are equally free to confess our unbelief in the reality of those things which have been generally ascribed to a secret league which human beings have held with invisible spirits, by which they have been enabled to inflict pain and misery upon their fellow men.

That witchery, in some form, has existed, even from the earliest periods, is not denied. As before said, there seems to be in the human heart a strong propensity to believe in the marvelous, to pry into the secrets of futurity, and to ascertain, by some means, whatever relates to ourselves and our friends or enemies. Hence the various arts of cunning and designing men, to impose upon the credulous disposition of an ignorant multitude, by attempting to lift the veil which hides futurity from human view, and to disclose that which God has wisely hidden in the secrets of his own mind. This propensity has developed itself among all nations, not excepting the most learned and philosophical, entwining itself into all systems of religion, whether pagan, Jewish, or Christian. The oracles of Greece and Rome, as well as the sorcerers of Egypt, and the false prophets in the land of Israel, all attest the existence of this propensity, and show the necessity of guarding against its mischievous influence. The history of Rome declares that no people were more addicted to this superstition than the ancient Romans. On almost all great occasions, the people, and even the senate, sought to ascertain a knowledge of future events by the flight of birds, and the entrails of beasts, as well as by the auguries of the priests. These *omens*, as they were called, were relied on by the wisest men of the nation, as sure indications of what was to happen, either of a calamitous or prosperous character, and they seldom entered upon any great enterprise without resorting to those omens as premonitions of the issue of every such enterprise.

The responses of the oracles, generally adapted by the cunning artifices of those who were behind the screen to the prejudices and wishes of those who consulted them, were received with respectful deference, and quoted as a defense against the censures consequent upon a failure in an enterprise. And that bribery was often resorted to for the purpose of eliciting such a response as suited

the inclination of the inquirer, is known to all who are acquainted with their history.

Let us, however, turn our attention to the origin and character of the several classes of arts by which so many have been debased and deluded. They have been by some comprehended under the general name of "occult science," because the secret artifices by which their abettors have carried on their nefarious designs have been carefully hidden, as far as possible, from human view. Under this veil the adepts of the science have concocted their plans, prepared the wires by which their mysterious machinery might be moved, and purposely imposed upon the senses and understandings of their deluded followers.

There can be, we think, little doubt, that these crafts originated in that prevailing desire we have already noticed to become acquainted with the wonders of the invisible world, and to pry into the secrets of futurity. This led to an effort to imitate the prophets of the true God. These were holy men, to whom God revealed his will. They, therefore, "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." They foretold future events, and in the name of God wrought miracles, and denounced his judgments upon the wicked, and promised his blessings to the righteous. In consequence of these things they became famous, were patronized by kings and potentates, and generally venerated by the truly pious as servants of the Most High God. These things excited the jealousy and envy of their enemies. They were hence provoked to an effort to imitate them in their predictions, and, consequently, to pretend to a knowledge of secret things, and of future events. Hence the "lying oracles" were but deceptive imitators of the "oracles of God," and the "false prophets" hypocritical mimics of the true prophets, while the various omens in the heavens and the earth were substitutes for those symbols of the divine presence by which God proclaimed himself unto his chosen people.

The messages of these panderers to the corrupt desires of depraved men were delivered with that pomp and show which excited popular belief and applause. To keep up their credit among the ignorant multitude they must have some semblance of authority for what they said and did, and this they pretended to derive from invisible spirits. To elude detection, however, by inquisitive minds, their "cunningly devised fables" were concocted and per-

fected in secret—"in the secret chambers of imagery"—hence this "science, falsely so called," has been properly denominated *occult*, being, as was alleged, beyond the reach of ordinary minds, and unknown to all who were not initiated into their dark and diabolical mysteries. Does not the apostle allude to these things, when he speaks of the "unfruitful works of darkness," and says, "It is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret?"

The magicians of Egypt, the soothsayers of Chaldea, the astrologers of Persia, and the wizards and witches which have infested all lands, less or more, all come under the same general class of "lying impostors." These all have, at times, gained such dominion over the minds of their bewildered followers, as to be considered some "great ones." The veneration which was thus excited for them, shows the extent and sort of influence which they exerted. Nor does it require any great stretch of intellect to perceive how these jugglers succeeded in playing off their tricks upon an ignorant populace, who understood none of the laws of nature, and were, therefore, in the habit of considering every phenomenon as the production of supernatural influence.

But that we may have a more distinct view of this curious subject, let us classify the several sorts of deceptions by which those who inveigled the people were nominally distinguished.

1. Those who prognosticated future events by *omens*—hence their art is called *omination*. None were more addicted to this superstitious practice than the ancient Romans. On all important occasions, as before said, they were in the habit of consulting the appearance of the heavens, the flight of birds, the entrails of beasts, as well as the augury of the priests and priestesses.

The *secrecy* of this artful imposture invested it with all its importance; for had its real character been known to the people, it would have been stripped of all its sacredness, and exposed to its merited contempt. So also the signs which the augurs professed to discover in the aspect of the heavens, in the flight of birds, or on the entrails of beasts, were understood only by those who affected a knowledge of the science, and the ominous appearances were announced to the people as oracular, the *secret* of the craft being known only to the initiated. It is on this account that this branch of the art of deceiving the multitude is classed among the *occult* or

hidden sciences. All its charm consisted in its dark and unexplained mysteries, and the pomp with which its ceremonies were conducted.

2. Those who foretold future events by *divining*—hence the art has been called *divination*. This comprehends the art of interpreting dreams, of fortune telling by various external signs in the heavens, in the atmosphere, lines in the hand, or prominent features in the countenance, the position of some star in the heavens when one is born, and various other means which the ingenuity of men has invented. This is a very ancient custom. It prevailed all over the eastern country, infected all the land of Egypt, and has been handed down, in some shape or form, to most, if indeed not all of the European nations. It prevails extensively in England and Scotland to this day. The *divining rod*, used for the discovery of mines and fountains of water, is but a relic of this old superstition.

But the most common form of divination among the ancients was by means of the *cup*, to which reference is made in Gen. xliv, 2–12. From the manner in which Joseph speaks of this cup, it is apparent that the practice of divining by the cup was recognized as a very common thing. It would appear that the practice originated among the Persians, and was thence diffused among the several Asiatic nations, and no doubt prevailed much among the Egyptians, with whom Joseph then resided as the second man in the kingdom. This cup, it is said, filled with the elixir of immortality, was found when digging for the foundation of Persepolis, and is said to be of such a structure as to exhibit the universe, and hence the conceit, that by its means those who understood its use came to a knowledge of all events—past, present, and to come.

From Acts xvi, 15–19, it appears that this was not the only method by which the art of divination was practiced. Here we have an account of a "certain damsel, possessed of a spirit of divination," who followed Paul, and said, "These are the servants of the Most High God, which show unto us the way of salvation." It is no part of the present inquiry by what means, or for what purposes this testimony was given to the character of Paul and his companions, nor in what sense the damsel was possessed of this spirit. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that she was under diabolical influence, and that "her masters," those who employed her, were induced to do it on account of the "much gain" which

flowed into their coffers, by her artful incantations. Hence the malice with which they excited the multitude and the magistrates against Paul, after he had silenced the artful pythoness, from whose deceitful tricks they had received so much profit. That both she and they knew that they imposed upon the ignorant credulity of the multitude, who paid them for her incantations, is inferable from the fact, that they were justly condemnable for their conduct, and were compelled to yield up both their arts and gains at the command of a higher power. It seems, indeed, highly probable, that this divination partook much of the character of modern witchcraft, and was equally condemnable with it, for the gross and wicked manner in which it deluded the people.

3. *Astrology.* This science was highly cultivated in ancient times, and was much relied upon by the Persians and Chaldeans, as an index to the fates of individuals and communities. As its name imports, the science teaches the effects and influences which the stars have upon human destinies, and how to foretell future events by their position in the heavens, and the different aspects they may assume. Hence war, pestilence, and famine, as well as peace and prosperity, were predicted by the astrologers, from the varied appearances of the heavenly bodies; and the fate of individuals was determined by ascertaining under what particular star they were born. A relic of this superstition is still retained among us by an exhibition in all our almanacs of the twelve signs of the zodiac, pointing to the different parts of the human body, as if the person were more or less affected by the star of his destiny. What a pity that this heathenish practice should be patronized by Christians, as though they believed themselves and their offspring were under the influence of the stars, instead of being governed by those laws, as free agents, which emanate from eternal wisdom, truth, and goodness! It shows the strong hold which heathen superstition, because sanctioned by antiquity, has upon the human mind, and the necessity of its being eradicated by the power of Christian truth.

These astrologers were the harbingers of good or evil to the people, and from the confidence reposed in their prognostications, could inflict misery or convey pleasure to their minds, almost at will. Hence they were called *wise men;* and the eastern *magi*, whence we have the word *magician*, were *star-gazers*, or astrologers, be-

cause they professed to foretell future events from the position and aspects of the starry heavens. As it is probable that these magi originated in Persia, where fire was worshiped either as a god or as a symbol of the Deity, the very name by which they were distinguished is explained by a Persian author as signifying a worshiper of fire. These were the *wise men of the east*, who, being directed by an uncommon star, or meteor in the heavens, came to pay their homage to Jesus Christ, and these *magi* having associated much with the Jews, and no doubt familiarized themselves with the Hebrew Scriptures, might have been led to the inference that this luminous appearance in the heavens was a fulfilment of the prophecy of Balaam. Num. xxiv, 17. Being passionately fond of contemplating the starry heavens, and considering them as a brilliant symbol and splendid residence of the Deity, they were wont to infer that some extraordinary event was indicated by any uncommon appearance and movement in the visible heavens.

But that all predictions of astrologers respecting future events, and the destinies of individuals, were merely conjectural, and, therefore, impositions on the people, is manifest from the numerous instances in which they were confounded when called upon to interpret dreams, and to decipher other omens which appeared in the heavens and the earth. Thus when the magicians, and all the wise men of Egypt, were called upon to show the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream, they were utterly confounded, and stood rebuked for their folly in the presence of both the royal dreamer and his humble and persecuted interpreter. Had there been any infallibility in the science of these astrologers, they had not suffered themselves to be put to confusion on an occasion so important as this—an occasion which, could they have relied upon their art, would have established their reputation for ever.

The same occurrence took place in the days of Daniel, as is related in the second chapter of his book. The dream of Nebuchadnezzar was a perfect enigma to those astrologers, sorcerers, and magicians, notwithstanding all their pretensions to a knowledge of the secrets of nature, or the ominous appearance of the heavens. What stronger proof do we need of the perfect nullity of this pretended science! And hence the deception practiced upon the people must have been known to those who were under its influence. Nor could they escape from a detection of their artful im-

posture on the two important and notorious occasions to which reference has been made. In the case of Nebuchadnezzar especially, his conversion to an acknowledgment of the true God followed the interpretation of his dream by Daniel, and the confirmation of its truth, by the coming to pass of the events which he had predicted. Daniel and his God were exalted, while the astrologers and their science fell into contempt.

4. *Necromancy* and *witchcraft* may very well be classed together, as they involve each other, and imply an art of deception which has been more generally practiced than any of the deceptive machinations we have already mentioned. Necromancy pretends to reveal future events by holding intercourse with the dead, or by a familiar commerce with departed spirits. By means of the agency thus secured, witches, wizards, or necromancers, or by whatever name they may be distinguished, profess to have power over the living, to torment them at pleasure, to frighten them by raising ghosts and hobgoblins before their eyes, who may reveal to them the secrets of the invisible world. This artful imposture appears to be of Egyptian origin, from whom the Israelites learned it, on account of which the practitioners of this diabolical art were denounced in the severest terms by the prophets of God.

But it has not been confined to Egypt, nor to the land of Canaan; it has spread through all nations and ages, not excepting the most Christian and civilized countries. Our ancestors appear to have been infected with this vile imposture as fully as were the ancient Israelites themselves, and its belief has been productive of untold mischief. Indeed, such was the prevalent opinion respecting the reality of this art, that many an innocent person has suffered even the penalty of death for his supposed league with the devil, and for carrying on a commerce with invisible spirits—for evoking their aid in inflicting bodily and mental suffering upon their fellow mortals. It is therefore well worthy of inquiry, whether there be in reality any just ground to believe that such intercourse has been and is now held with the manes of the dead, as this theory seems to imply.

That such beings existed, and that they practiced their diabolical arts for the deception of mankind, cannot be denied. Understanding the laws of nature, they were able, by chimical analysis and combinations, to produce such phenomena before the eyes of the

uninformed multitude as to inveigle their senses, and make them believe that they were, like Simon Magus, the noted sorcerer, some "wonderful persons," to whom the power of controlling the elements of nature had been given, by a league with invisible spirits. They were not unlike the rope-dancers, fire-eaters, ventriloquists, and other cunning craftsmen, of modern days; and if the people generally were as ignorant now as then, these men might as easily pass themselves off for some wise ones, who are assisted by invisible spirits, as did the necromancers of ancient times. Nay, those chimists who have learned the art of separating and combining the elements of nature, so as to produce those phenomena at which some gaze with so much astonishment, were they surrounded with an ignorant multitude, who knew nothing of their arts or the means by which they produced such effects, would be considered as wizards, or as persons aided by infernal spirits. How easily could a skilful ventriloquist impose upon the uninformed mass, by making them believe that he carried on a conversation with invisible spirits, that he could evoke them at pleasure, and make them serve his purposes whenever he chose to command them! These are the wizards of modern days. But happily for the people, there is now too much light upon these subjects to permit them to assume, even if they would, any other character than that which belongs to them. Impostors they are not, because they pretend to nothing more than they are, and every body knows by what means they perform their miraculous feats.

That there have been wonderful effects produced by what is called sleight of hand, we are not disposed to question. But that they were produced by supernatural agencies or ghostly influence, we do not believe. However inexplicable they may have been, or may be, we must have more evidence than any we have yet seen, before we can credit the marvelous adventures with which the page of history has been burdened, or which may have been handed down in oral tales from father to son, from nurse to child, respecting the influence which ghosts and hobgoblins, witches and wizards, have had over the actions and destinies of others. The credulity of the age in which these things are said to have occurred, may account for the facility with which they were believed. Such was the general bias of the public mind in favor of these hobgoblin stories, that every unusual appearance in a neighborhood was im-

mediately, and without any thorough and impartial investigation, ascribed to the power of witchcraft, and the person suspected of the criminal commerce with an infernal spirit, was, by common consent, doomed to suffer the penalty of his or her offences.

Without going back to olden times to verify the truth of these remarks, we will quote a few of the stories recorded by the Rev. *Cotton Mather*, in his "Magnalia Christi Americana."

It is well known that Dr. Mather was an eminent Congregational minister settled in North Boston, at an early period of our colonial history, and that he was famous for his industry in collecting and recording facts which accompanied the early settlement of the country. Among other interesting matters which he records, he very minutely describes a number of instances of witchcraft that took place in Boston, Salem, and other towns, greatly to the annoyance of the inhabitants, and the disgrace of those more immediately implicated in those nefarious transactions. In chapter vii, of his second volume, he adduces no less than *fourteen* examples, all of which are recorded with all the gravity and particularity of a historian who fully believes what he writes, and yet with a minuteness of detail and flourish of arguments in their favor which indicate a conviction that their natural incredibility would occasion much hesitancy in the reader respecting their reality. They are too long to recite in full. The subjects of the painful visitations were suddenly seized with *fits*—uttered strange and unintelligible *language*—sometimes *laughing*, then *crying*—at other times skipping about the house, "yelling and howling, and looking hideously."

One is represented as uttering "words from her throat, sometimes when her mouth was wholly shut, and sometimes when her mouth was wide open; but no organs of speech were used therein." These words consisted chiefly in "horrid railings against the godly ministers of the town; but sometimes he" (the supposed *demon*, of which she was said to be possessed, and who spoke through her in this strange way) "likewise belched out most nefandous blasphemies against the God of heaven."

At another time, in a house which was said to be haunted: "*Bricks*, *sticks*, and *stones*, by some invisible hand, were thrown at the house;" a "long staff would dance up and down in the chimney"—"boxes, boards, shoes," and various other articles,

would be thrown about the house, to the no small disturbance of the family, and the amazement of all who beheld these pranks played off by this invisible hand, this malicious foe to human happiness.

Some would complain that they were struck by an invisible hand, that pins perforated their flesh, while their bodies were writhed and twisted into horrible contortions. The children that were afflicted would cry out with anguish, and when at length they were able "to discern the shapes of the spectres" from whom they received the strokes with which they were bruised, "a blow at the place where they saw the spectres was always felt by the boy himself, in that part of his body that answered what might be stricken at." "The calamities of these children went on till they barked at one another like dogs, and then *purred* like so many cats. They would complain that they were in a *red hot oven*, and sweat and pant as much as if they had been really so. Anon they would say that cold water was thrown on them, at which they would shiver very much." These, and the like complaints of the bewitched children, filled the spectators with wonderment, and excited the sympathy of the whole community in their behalf, and finally led to the condign punishment of some of the perpetrators of the mischiefs and miseries. For those who became suspected, by the wily accusations of such as were the subjects of these strange exercises, as the guilty authors of these calamities, were arrested by the magistrates, before whom many confessions were extorted, confirmatory of the accusations brought against them, and finally condemned and executed. Among others was "Goody F., who said that she, with two others, one of whom acknowledged the same, rode from Andover to the same village witch meeting, upon a stick above the ground, and that in the way the stick broke, and gave the said F. a fall, *whereby*, said she, *I got a fall of which I am still sore.*"

Various methods were used to exorcise the demons, as well as to detect the cunning and malicious authors of all this misery. After giving an account of one of these afflicted persons, about whose innocent neck "an unseen rope, with a cruel noose, was put, whereby she was shocked until she was black in the face," the author gives the following curious facts respecting the trials which were made to allay the phrensy under which she labored:—

"A *Quaker book*" (the Quakers were held in utter abhorrence

by the pilgrim fathers, as they disturbed their equanimity nearly as much as the reputed witches themselves) "being brought her, she would quietly read whole pages of it; only the name of GOD and CHRIST she still skipped over, being unable to pronounce it, except sometimes, stammering a minute or two, or more upon it; and when we urged her to tell what the word was that she missed, she would say, *I must not speak it: they say I must not.* You know what it is: 'tis G, and O, and D. But a book against Quakerism—*they*" (meaning the witches, under whose influence she was supposed to act and speak) "would not allow her to meddle with," (being, as was pretended, too holy to permit such profane eyes to look upon.) "Such books as might have been profitable and edifying for her to read, and especially her catechisms, if she did but offer to read a line in them, she would be cast into hideous convulsions, and be tossed about the house like a foot ball: but books of jests being shown her, she could read them well enough, and have cunning descants upon them. *Popish books they*" (that is, her tormentors) "would not hinder her from reading; but (*they*) would from reading books against popery. A book that pretends to prove *that there are no witches*, was easily read by her; only the name *devils* and *witches* might not be uttered. A book which proves *that there are witches*, being exhibited to her, she might not read it."

"Divers of these tricks were made by many witnesses: but I, considering that there might be a snare in it, put a seasonable stop to this fanciful business. Only I could not but be amazed at one thing: a certain prayer book being brought her, she not only could read it very well, but she also did read a large part of it over, calling it her *Bible*, and putting a more than ordinary respect upon it. If she were going into her tortures, at the tender of this book, she would recover herself to read it: only when she came to the Lord's Prayer, now and then occurring in that book, she would have her eyes put out, so that she must turn over a new leaf, and then she would read again. Whereas, also, there are *scriptures* in that book, she could read them there; but if any showed her the very same scriptures in the *Bible* itself, she should sooner die than read them. And she was likewise made unable to read the *Psalms* in an ancient metre, which this prayer book had in the same volume with it."

After a minute account of the fantastic tricks by which this same modern pythoness imposed upon the credulity of the people who beheld her exploits, the historian adds, with all the gravity imaginable,—

"Besides these, there was another inexplicable thing in her condition: every now and then an invisible horse would be brought unto her by those whom she early called (*them*) and (*her company*," still alluding to those who had bewitched her, as she pretended,) "upon the approach of which her eyes would still be closed up: 'for,' said she, '*they say I am a tell-tale; and, therefore, they will not let me see them.*' Hereupon she would give a spring, as one mounting a horse, and setting herself in a riding posture, she would in her chair be agitated, as one sometimes ambling, sometimes trotting, and sometimes galloping very furiously. In these motions we could not *perceive* that she was moved by the stress of her *feet* upon the ground, for often she touched it not. When she had rode a minute or two, she would seem to be at a *rendezvous* with (*them*) that were (*her company,*) and then she would maintain a discourse with them, asking them many questions concerning herself, [we gave her none of ours,] and have answers from them, which, indeed, none but herself perceived. Then would she return and inform us, *How* (they) *did intend to handle her for a day or two afterward*, and some other things that she inquired. Her horse would sometimes throw her with much violence; especially if any one stabbed or cut the air under her. But she would briskly mount again, and perform her fantastic journeys, mostly in her chair; but sometimes, also, she would be carried from her chair, out of one room into another, very oddly, in the postures of a riding woman. At length, she *pretended* that her horse could ride up the stairs; and unto admiration she rode (that is, was tossed as one that rode) up the stairs. There then stood the study of one belonging to the family: into which entering, she stood immediately on her feet, and cried out, '*They are gone! They are gone! They say that they cannot—God can't let 'em come here.*' Adding a reason for it, which the owner of the study thought more *kind* than *true*. And she *presently* and *perfectly* came to herself, so that her whole discourse and carriage was altered unto the greatest *measure of sobriety*."

While she remained in this study, it seems that her tormentors

had no power over her; but no sooner was she removed from it than they fell upon her with all their unrestrained fury, hurrying her into acts for which she was deeply commiserated by the pious part of the community.

But the most remarkable instances of these enchantments came to pass in the town of *Salem* in 1692. Quite a number of persons, chiefly females and youth, were so affected, that they were declared, even by their physicians, to be "bewitched." The persons suspected as the guilty instruments of these afflictions, were, as usual in such cases, arrested, and, on their examination, confessed that they had sold themselves to the devil; and then these, in turn, accused others of tormenting them for their perfidy in exposing the craft, as it was concocted and carried on at their "witch meetings." So bewildered were they with this delusion that children would bear testimony against their mothers, sisters against their sisters, and servants against themselves.

Among those who were tried and condemned, *nineteen* were executed, all of whom died protesting their innocence of the crime laid to their charge. At length the magistrates, and the more sober and thinking part of the community, became alarmed at these proceedings. And well they might—for about *one hundred* were already accused as being concerned in this wicked conspiracy against the peace and happiness of individuals and society, among whom were persons eminent for their piety, for the blamelessness of their lives, and respectability of their character. To sacrifice these persons at the shrine of such a system of witchcraft, so artfully contrived and conducted, was too much, even in that credulous age. The legal proceedings were therefore stopped, and the land had rest.

Now mark the consequence of staying the prosecutions. The historian informs us, that "when this prosecution ceased, the *Lord so chained up Satan* that the afflicted grew presently well: the accused are generally quiet; and for five years since, we have no such molestation by them." On recording this, the writer, Mr. John Hales, makes the following ingenuous confession:—

"It sways much with me, which I have since heard and read, of the like mistakes in other places. As in Suffolk, in England, about the year 1645, was such a prosecution, until they saw that unless they put a stop, it would bring all into blood and confusion.

The like hath been in France, until nine hundred were put to death. And in some other places the like. So that New-England is not the only place circumvented by the *wiles of the wicked and wily serpent* in this kind."

It would seem, therefore, that even those who had been for some time imposed upon by the wily arts of these bewitched women and children, were at length convinced of their error, and very wisely hasted to correct their mistake, and thereby to retrieve, as far as practicable, the character of those who had been implicated in these perplexing affairs. And though it was but a poor consolation to know that they were the deluded imitators of others who had been involved in the like difficulties, yet it is an evidence of their sincerity that they at last yielded to conviction, and did all they could to arrest the progress of such an artful imposture.

Now, though we do not pretend to be able to account for all the phenomena which accompanied these strange proceedings, yet we must be permitted to demur at these things, and to assign some reasons for our dissent from the theory advocated by the believers in these witchcraft stories. We remark, however, by way of concession,—

1. That we have no doubts respecting the existence of evil spirits, and of one prime leader of them all, called, by way of distinction, THE *Devil*. Nothing, indeed, is more plainly and unequivocally revealed in the Holy Scriptures than this.

2. It is equally plain, that "he now worketh in the children of disobedience"—that "Satan goeth about," as he did in the days of Job, "as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour"—and that all his wily and diabolical arts are directed against the happiness of man, and more especially against the saints of the Most High God, tempting them, by every stratagem his "hellish malice" can invent, to commit sin, to withdraw their allegiance from the "King of kings," and to pay their homage to him.

3. Nor is it less certain that he co-operates with the corrupt passions and appetites of sinful men, who become inveigled by the many motives which he may suggest to their minds to induce them to continue in a course of disobedience to the laws of God. Hence they are said to be his servants.

4. And how far he may fall in with the "cunning craftiness" of men, and assist them in their cunning devices to deceive them-

selves and others, we pretend not to determine. But if, as St. John affirms, "the whole world lieth in the wicked one"—if sinners are led "captive by the devil at his will"—there is nothing incredible in the supposition that those who give themselves up to "work wickedness with greediness" are greatly influenced by this *wicked one* in their evil machinations—nor that they should be able to perform those exploits which may astonish the beholder, and especially him who is not deeply versed in human nature, and in the laws which govern the moral and physical world.

5. But beyond this we do not believe Satan has power to go. Man is a free agent. Satan, therefore, cannot compel him to sin against God, no more than he can have power over his soul and body through the medium of his fellow men. In respect to the righteous, *God is their protector*. And though he may, for wise purposes, permit this enemy of all righteousness to afflict them with cruel temptations, yet he cannot surrender his control over them to Satan, nor suffer them to be deluded by his artful wiles. Much less are we to suppose that those men, who profess to be in league with Satan, can have the rule and government of God's people. Satan may, indeed, be permitted to afflict their bodies and to harass their minds for a season, but in the midst of all they shall have an inward consciousness of God's presence, and an unshaken confidence in his protection.

With these Scriptural truths before us, let us see if we cannot account for some of those strange appearances which we have recounted, without supposing that they were purely the effect of *witchcraft*, in the popular acceptation of that word.

Let it be remembered, then,—

1. That a belief in witches was very generally prevalent at that time, not in New-England only, but also in almost every part of the world. Among the "doctrine of devils"—or of *demons*, as the word *devils* should be more properly rendered—said to have been invented by the corrupt Church of Rome, was this concerning the existence of infernal spirits and their influence over the souls and bodies of men. This, no doubt, was borrowed, among other absurdities, from the "heathen round about them," and was retained as a relic of that superstition with which the minds of the ignorant were so easily deluded. In transferring to the Christian church the idols of heathenism, under the more winning names of St. Mary, St.

Peter, St. Paul, and a host of other saints, by which the worship of Christians was assimilated to the mythological reveries of polytheism, the doctrine concerning their subtile demons easily slipped in, and became a bewitching part of a corrupted form of Christianity. This accounts for its general prevalence throughout the Christian world, Protestant as well as Catholic, in those days.

2. Allowing that Satan and his aids now work in the hearts of the children of disobedience, who can tell to what lengths of deception he may enable them to go? And whoever will carefully and impartially examine the instances recited in the preceding pages, with a little acquaintance with human nature, together with the laws which govern our physical and moral being, will, it is believed, satisfy himself that nothing more was necessary than a little cunning artifice, mixed with a suitable degree of moral delinquency, and a delight in the marvelous, to enable them to perform all these wonderful feats: that fondness to excite the wonder and admiration of others, so predominant in the human breast, especially in those unrenewed by divine grace, no doubt was a strong propelling motive to those who were the unhappy subjects of these delusions, and operated as a powerful stimulant to keep up the excitement which was produced by these marvelous exploits.

3. But in the next place, the most of these strange things rested, for their truth and reality, on the testimony of the subjects of these afflictions themselves. The hand that smote them was *invisible*—the pins stuck in their flesh, the horse upon which the bewitched rode, were not seen by the bystanders, but the persons on whom the supposed witches practiced their cruel arts said that these things were so. Take as an instance of this the person who "rode from Andover upon a stick above ground, and that on the way the stick broke, and gave the said F. a fall, '*whereby*,' said she, '*I got a fall and hurt, of which I am still sore.*'" Here it will be observed, that the grave narrator of this wonderful journey through the air had nothing but the bare word of the said F. for the truth of this aerial voyage. The whole, too, was performed in the invisible world. And yet "the stick broke," and she, of course, fell to the earth! But to confirm her testimony and to clear herself, she artfully contrives to accuse two others, who were already in prison on suspicion of being witches, as the guilty instruments of her affliction. How plausible was all this! And yet how easily,

had not the minds of the people been bewildered with a previous belief in these absurd stories, might the deceit have been detected!

4. Let us, however, select one case as a fair sample of the whole, namely, that of the *horse rider*.

Though she rode upon a horse, she did not go out of the house, notwithstanding she sometimes "ambled," sometimes "trotted," and at other times "galloped very furiously." All this took place in the room. How far, think you, did she *amble*, and *trot*, and *gallop*, without going out of a common-sized room? They could not, indeed, "*perceive* that she moved by the stress of her feet upon the ground, for often she touched it not." Sometimes, and indeed, most of the time, it seems she *did touch the ground*, for "oftentimes" only she did not. The reader will observe, moreover, that all this time she was sitting in her chair, for, says the historian, "she would in her *chair* be agitated," when "she would give a spring as one mounting a horse, and setting herself" (that is, still in the chair) "in a riding posture."

Now it appears to us that it required no great skill in the arts of legerdemain to play off these antic tricks so as to mimic a riding mistress, even while seated in a chair. Had the pythoness actually risen from the floor, with or without her chair, and sailed through the air, either in an ambling, trotting, or galloping motion, and then descended from her airy flight, and lighted on the ground in sight of the spectators, there had been some foundation for the belief that she was indeed assisted by an invisible person. But nothing of this. Seated in her chair, she suddenly exerts her muscular energies as if mounting upon a horse, and then not unlike some of our more modern proficients in "animal magnetism," is suddenly agitated with violent motions, into which every artful impostor might throw herself, in imitation of a person on horseback, ambling, trotting, or galloping through the air, though all this time she is snugly seated in her chair. Hence she is truly bewitched!

But "her horse," says the historian, "would sometimes throw her off with much *violence*, especially if any one stabbed or cut the air under her." How did the spectators know this? All these things were carried on in the invisible world. They neither saw nor felt the horse. Her bare word was all the warrant they had that such an

animal was there. And having so far imposed upon their credulity as to induce a belief in her veracity, how easily could she lead them on in the delusion, by throwing herself violently upon the floor whenever they sundered the elastic foundation upon which the horse trode, by *stabbing or cutting the air!* She sees the fearful stroke of the sword about to sever the sightless floor upon which her horse trotted, and then throws herself with violence upon the ground, charging the whole mischief upon an absent person by whom she is bewitched, or upon malicious spirits who had conspired against her happiness.

Yet there is one exploit not so easily accounted for. "At length," says the narrator, "she *pretended* that her horse could ride up the stairs; and unto admiration she rode (that is, was tossed as one that rode) up the stairs." No doubt she cut a strange figure in thus mimicing the riding woman, while the invisible horse was striding with its load up these stairs! Here, however, the spirits were confounded. Entering the study of the good man, "she stood immovably upon her feet, and cried out, *They are gone! They are gone! They say they cannot—God won't let 'em come here.*"

Here the cunning craftiness of the damsel was most strikingly manifested. She knew, doubtless, that her pastor was in high reputation for the sanctity of his character. And therefore to profess such a reverence even for the study of the holy man of God, as not to allow the evil spirits themselves, with all their bold malevolence, to desecrate it by their presence, was a master stroke of policy to gain credit for her sincerity among all the pious part of the community. These infernal beings had not half the courage their master possessed, who had the audacity to assail the Son of God himself for forty days in the wilderness, and then to take him upon the pinnacle of the holy temple, whence he tempted him to cast himself down, urging as a motive, that for such a presumptuous act, "God shall give his angels charge concerning thee, and in their hands shall they bear thee up." Nor yet so much as Satan had when he entered paradise and approached even the holy mother of the human race with the subtilety of his lies against God; for surely this pious man's study was not more holy than paradise, nor its owner than were Adam and Eve. And yet, while the latter were approached by the serpent, and that most successfully too,

the study of the former was so holy as to suspend the power of these infernal spirits, and the possessed was instantly restored to her right mind! Such was the magical influence of the study!

There is yet another instance of the foresight of this afflicted maid, and an evidence too that she was by no means destitute of common sense, however destitute she might have been of common honesty. A *Quaker book*, a *popish book*, and a *prayer book*, she could read with the same composedness that she could a book of jests and plays. How exactly did she suit herself to the vulgar prejudices of the age! She knew perfectly well that the Quakers were held in as much abhorrence by these, our Puritan fathers, as were the witches themselves, because they had been treated with the same severity. How perfectly adapted, therefore, was this conduct to win the favor of the people, by making them believe that a *Quaker book* was so agreeable to these nefarious complotters against the peace and happiness of community, that they were quite willing their servants should read it, only when they came to the Scriptural terms *God* and *Christ*, they must be passed over. The same prejudices also existed against *popish books* and the *prayer book*, which the girl could read by the permission of her infernal prompters. This, she knew perfectly well, was humoring the prejudices of her admirers, and would, therefore, tend much to conciliate their favor.

If it be said that these were mere human compositions, and therefore might be read, though she could not read the Holy Scriptures; it is answered, that her *catechism*, which she was forbidden to read, was also a human composition; but this catechism was considered orthodox, while Quaker books, the prayer book, and popish books, all of which she could read composedly, were considered heterodox, and therefore favored the cause of antichrist, which the evil spirits were anxious to establish.

5. These considerations clearly establish, in our mind, one thing, and that is, that all these feats may be accounted for without resorting to the intervention of invisible agencies, any further than Satan, by his wily arts, may work upon the minds of those who are beguiled from the simplicity of truth and honesty, to induce them to act the hypocrite for base and selfish purposes. To what lengths the human mind may go in the arts of deception, influenced only by the common impulses of a wicked heart, and led on

by the temptations of the arch adversary, who can tell? We are told, indeed, of "lying wonders," of the "deceivableness of all unrighteousness." And when once a person has given himself up to work wickedness, he may turn himself into a thousand shapes, invent a thousand ways to carry on his recondite plans of deception, so as to elude detection, and among others, may artfully contrive to make his easy dupes believe that others have bewitched him, or that he is tormented by an invisible hand.

6. That this was so in the present cases, we have evidence from one of the relators of these marvelous stories, who seems not to have been so easily gulled as some others. Dr. *Mather*, indeed, indorses the narrative, and tells us that he took it from the manuscript of the author; but the credulity of Mather was proverbial, especially in every thing which tended to throw discredit upon his antagonists, and to blazon forth the fame of his own denomination. We do not, indeed, question the honesty of his purpose, his piety, or his learning; but that he too easily fell in with the prejudices of the age, and fostered a strong sectarian feeling, is manifest from all his writings, and in none more strikingly than in his remarks about the Quaker and popish books, the prayer book, and those written in favor of or against witches. Some of his contemporaries, however, were much less credulous. It would seem, therefore, that the more thinking part of the community began to be suspicious that all was not right, and hence they were led to adopt measures to detect, if possible, and expose the character of the witchcraft with which they had been deluded, to arrest proceedings, and to suppress the accumulating evils, which evidently flowed from those transactions. That the reader may see for himself how these things were brought about, we will give him the author's own relation of the facts. He remarks as follows:—

"By these things you may see how this matter was carried on, *viz.*, chiefly by the complaints and accusations of the afflicted (bewitched ones, as it was supposed) and then by the confessions of the *accused* condemning themselves and others. Yet experience showed, that the more there were apprehended, the more were still afflicted by Satan; and the number of confessors increasing, did but increase the number of the *accused*; and the executing of some, made way for the apprehending of others: for still the afflicted complained of being tormented by new objects, as the former were removed. So that those that were concerned, grew amazed at the number and quality of the persons accused and feared that Satan by his wiles had enwrapped innocent

persons under the imputation of that crime. And at last, it was evidently seen, that there must be a stop put, or the generation of the children of God would fall under that condemnation. Henceforth therefore the juries generally acquitted such as were tried, fearing they had gone too far before. And Sir *William Phips*, the governor, reprieved all that were condemned, even the confessors as well as others. And the confessors generally fell off from their confessions, some saying, *they remembered nothing what they had said*; others said, *they had belied themselves and others*. Some broke prison and ran away, and were not strictly searched after. Some acquitted, some dismissed, and, one way or other, all that had been accused were set or left at liberty. And, although had the times been calm, the condition of the confessors might have called for a *melius enquirendum*; yet, considering the combustion and confusion this matter had brought us unto, it was thought safer to underdo than overdo, especially in matters capital, where what is once completed cannot be retrieved; but what is left at one time may be corrected at another, upon a review and clearer discovery of the state of the case. Thus this matter issued somewhat abruptly.

"It may be queried, How doth it appear that there was a going too far in this *affair?*

"By the numbers of the persons accused, which at length increased to about a hundred; and it cannot be imagined that in a place of so much knowledge, so many, in so small a compass of land, should so abominably leap into the devil's lap all at once.

"The quality of several of the accused was such, as did bespeak *better things, and things that accompany salvation*; persons whose blameless and holy lives before did testify for them; persons that had taken great pains to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; such as we had charity for, as for our own souls: and charity is a Christian duty commended to us.

"The number of the afflicted daily increased, until about fifty persons were thus vexed by the devil. This gave just ground to suspect some mistake, which gave advantage to the *accuser of the brethren* to make a breach upon us.

"It was considerable, that *nineteen* were executed, and all denied the crime to the death, and some of them were knowing persons, and had before this been accounted blameless *livers*. And it is not to be imagined, but that if all had been guilty, some would have had so much tenderness, as to seek mercy for their souls, in the way of confession and sorrow for such a sin. And as for the *condemned confessors* at the bar, (they being reprieved,) we had no experience whether they would stand to their self-condemning confessions when they came to die.

"When this prosecution ceased, the Lord so *chained up Satan*, that the afflicted grew presently well: the accused are generally quiet; and for five years since, we have no such molestation by them."

It was certainly a mark of wisdom and benevolence for them to stay their proceedings, and the effects which followed are a proof

that a fanatical delusion had seized the minds of all concerned in these unhappy affairs.

To all that has been said upon this subject, it may be objected, that the sacred Scriptures give their sanction to the existence of witchcraft. That witches did exist in the land of Israel is not disputed. But that they were what they pretended to be, is denied. That they did, by their "cunning craftiness," impose upon the minds of others, by making them believe in their supernatural powers, that they derived assistance from invisible agents, to enable them to perform their wonderful exploits, is a truth amply supported both by profane and sacred history. But that they were hypocrites, and therefore used their arts of necromancy for the vile purpose of deceiving the people, is equally evident. To be convinced of this, let us examine some of the instances of witchery and necromancy left on record in the sacred Scriptures.

The character and conduct of those people are well described in Isa. xxix, 4, "And thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be, as of one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust." Here those who professed to have a "familiar spirit," that is, who pretended to be under the influence of invisible ghosts, who had risen from the dead, uttered their words in a low, sepulchral tone of voice, which they feigned for the purpose of deceiving their hearers, making them believe it was the voice of the ghost instead of their own. It is said that they had a method of uttering their words as if they proceeded from the chest, and not from the natural organs of speech, and could so impose upon the hearer as to induce a belief that the sound came from beneath the ground, from a great distance, and even from an opposite direction from what it did in reality. And does not every body know that our modern *ventriloquists* possess this art in the highest perfection—that they can imitate a variety of human voices, high, low, shrill, or hoarse, sepulchral or otherwise, and make you imagine that they are holding conversation with another at a distance, and by the modulations of the voice bring him apparently nearer and nearer, until an actual contact terminates in a violent collision between the interlocutors? Nay, that they will imitate the purrings of the cat, the barking of the dog, the squealing of the pig, or the gruntings of the hog, or

even the throttlings of a dying animal, as well as the gurglings of water swiftly poured from a bottle. These pranks, which are played off with so much dexterity, are but imitations of the ancient witches and necromancers, who infested the land of Israel, and who spread themselves through all lands, but especially the land of New-England in the days of Cotton Mather.

It was doubtless on account of the crafty manner in which they imposed upon the ignorant multitude, who were so easily beguiled by their bewitching enchantments, that God said unto his chosen people, "Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards, to be defiled by them," Lev. xix, 31. And in Exod. xxii, 18, it is said, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Why this strict prohibition, and this severe penalty? Doubtless because it was well known that the wizards and witches, pretending, as their name indicates, to be uncommonly wise, sported with the credulity of the uninformed multitude, gulled them out of their time and money by performing their antic trickeries, under the guise of supernatural agencies. This was their crime and their shame. They were in fact guilty of blasphemy against the true God; for in pretending to a knowledge of invisible things, and a foresight into futurity, they impiously assumed the prerogatives of the Most High, and daringly usurped a place in his government of the world. It was indeed for being so deeply involved in these wicked practices, together with other acts of idolatry, injustice, and licentiousness, that God caused the Canaanites to be destroyed, as is manifest from the following words, Deut. xviii, 10–14, "There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times," (one that pretends to foretell future events from the aspects of the heavens, the position of the stars, &c., like the astrologers of Egypt and Chaldea,) "or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination to the Lord: and because of their abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out before thee. Thou shalt be perfect with the Lord thy God. For these nations, which thou shalt possess, hearkened unto observers of times, and unto diviners: but as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee so to do." And if the Israelites were forbidden to pollute themselves with these abomin-

able idolators, and to familiarize themselves with these wicked enchanters, witches, and necromancers, how much more should Christians deprecate any connection with such vile pretenders to a knowledge of invisible things and of future events—a knowledge professedly derived from such a corrupt source, even from the infernal spirits of the invisible world!

Perhaps one of the most difficult instances to be accounted for, is that concerning Saul the fallen king of Israel and the *witch of Endor*, as it stands recorded in 1 Sam. xxviii, 6–25. The woman of whom this fallen and troubled king inquired concerning his fate was one who "had a familiar spirit," or who professed to have intercourse with an invisible demon, over whom she had such influence that she could evoke it at her pleasure. Now, it is certain that this vile woman was deceived herself, that the spirit on whom she called did not come forth, and therefore *Samuel* did not show himself at *her* command, but at the command of a higher power. That she was deceived in her expectation of evoking her familiar spirit, is evident from what is said in verse 12: "And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice: and the woman said, Thou hast deceived me! for thou art Saul." It moreover appears, from verse 14, that this pythoness did not know Samuel, for instead of calling him by name, she said, "An old man cometh up; and he is covered with a mantle." It was Saul, not the woman, who "perceived that it was Samuel." From the whole account, therefore, it appears undeniable that whatever power this enchantress might have had over another spirit, she had none over Samuel, for, contrary to her expectations, *he* came forth, doubtless at the command of God, while all her enchantments failed of their effect. Hence it is right to conclude that, however much she might have imposed upon the senses of her deluded followers under other circumstances, she utterly failed here, and all her machinations were confounded by the interposition of a higher and holier power.

The wickedness of this woman's character is clearly depicted in the horror which she felt when the identity of King Saul was disclosed to her, and when the witchery with which she pretended to work her miracles was discomfited. Of the fearful consequence resulting to her in case she hearkened to the proposal of the disguised monarch, she was fully aware, when he came to inquire of her, "for the woman said unto him, Behold, thou knowest what

Saul hath done, how he hath cut off those that have familiar spirits, and the wizards out of the land. Wherefore thou layest a snare for my life, to cause me to die." And when she found herself deceived by this unhappy king, and that her incantations had no effect in evoking from the invisible world the spirit with which she professed to be "familiar," she uttered a cry of fear and astonishment, and claimed the fulfilment of his promise to her, that her life should not be forfeited for complying with his request. See ver. 21.

That Samuel actually appeared to Saul, rebuked him for his folly and wickedness, and predicted his overthrow and death, is undeniable, and therefore we have an evidence here, that God has permitted and commanded disembodied spirits, for wise and benevolent purposes, to visit the earth, and to converse with men. So Moses and Elias appeared to our blessed Saviour on Mount Tabor, and conversed with him, probably assuming for the occasion a visible vehicle for the purpose of making themselves known to the disciples who were in company with their divine Master, during the splendid exhibition of his glory. But these were very important and most extraordinary events, sufficient to justify, even in the eye of reason, such miraculous interpositions of the divine Hand, and do not furnish any precedents for those every-day appearances of ghosts with which the wild imaginations of the credulous seem to be filled and bewildered.

Allowing therefore that God has done this, and may do the like again, it furnishes no just ground for believing in those incredible stories respecting the diabolical influence which infernal spirits empower a human being, who professes to be in league with the devil, to have over other human beings, so as to torment them with pains, to transport them from one place to another, and to force their bodies into horrible writhings and contortions.

Upon a candid review of this whole subject, we are led to the conclusion, that the popular belief in witchcraft, necromancy, and fortune telling, has its foundation in an ignorant superstition* on the

* A poet, describing a person living in great ignorance, very aptly says of him,—

"————His judgment so untaught,
That what at evening played along the swamps,
Fantastic, clad in robes of fiery hue,
He thought the devil in disguise, and fled
With quivering heart, and winged footsteps home."

one hand, and in the cunning craftiness of hypocritical pretenders to an insight into futurity on the other. These jugglers, understanding something of those physical laws known to chimists, taking advantage of the ignorant credulity of the uninformed multitude, and of the natural bias of the human mind to a superstitious reverence for all marvelous appearances, have exerted their skill in separating and combining the elements of nature, or of controlling its laws, and of changing and modifying their own voices, so as to impose upon the understandings and inveigle the senses of their fellow men. Let any man who is unacquainted with the causes which produce the various phenomena that at times appear in the heavens, witness an eclipse of the sun or moon, the shooting of stars, the sudden appearance and falling of meteors, or the coruscations of light in the northern hemisphere, and it would be easy to make him believe that those appearances indicated the approach of some extraordinary event, and were produced by supernatural agencies—while the philosophical inquirer knows full well that they are but the effects of natural causes, always, however, under the control of His hand who rules the universe.

What but a superstitious veneration for these natural phenomena has caused the untaught barbarian to suppose that every uncommon appearance on the surface of the earth, in caves and mountain chasms, in the unusual swelling of the tides, in earthquakes, burning fountains of water, and volcanic eruptions, are either indications of supernatural interpositions or symbols of invisible spirits, which ought, therefore, to be worshiped?

And if one of these untaught sons of nature were to enter the laboratory of the skilful chimist, and behold the exhibitions of his art, in the analysis and combination of the various substances of nature, by which their qualities, colors, and powers are changed —were he to witness the expansive power of the gases, or the electric shock, or even to see the power of steam propelling a boat through the water at the rate of sixteen or twenty miles an hour, without masts or sails, he would be struck with astonishment, and could easily be made to believe that the chimist was a wizard, and that the steamboat was forced through the water by an invisible hand. All these phenomena, though produced by the art of man, by his skilful control of the elements of nature, would be as mysterious and as incomprehensible to his untutored mind as were the pranks of the

New-England witches to the mind of Cotton Mather, or as would be the appearance of the meteors in the heavens to an uninstructed Hottentot, and as unaccountable as an eclipse of the sun to an American savage. Nor would the multitudinous stories respecting haunted castles, bewitched men, women, and children, were they investigated with the keenness of candid, enlightened criticism, remain any more mysterious and unaccountable, it is believed, than the marvelous adventure of the French minister of state who followed the pretended ghost into his cell, and there found him converted into a companion of a den of robbers. Many of these strange appearances are no doubt the mere effects of a frighted imagination, others the illusions of the senses, and not a few the productions of cunning and designing men, who have managed their feats of legerdemain so dextrously as to elude detection, while they succeeded in deluding their willing dupes into a belief of their supernatural powers. All these combined, have, at times, exerted an influence as unhallowed in its character as it has been mischievous in its consequences.

The apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, classes *witchcraft* among the "works of the flesh," and affirms that "they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts." That this sort of witchcraft exists and prevails extensively, we have no doubt. All those who are under the dominion of merely fleshly appetites, or are "beguiled from the simplicity of Christ," by the fascinating charms of human eloquence, the pompous show of worldly grandeur, or the more debasing sorceries of a corrupted form of Christianity, are as much bewitched as were the Galatians by the false teachers who came among them. Nor are the "works of the flesh" in modern days, as exemplified by the gallantries of voluptuous men and women, who refuse to be governed by the restraints of religion and morality, any the less worthy of being denominated *witchcraft*, than were those who deserved that reproach in the days of the apostle Paul.

This inspired apostle contrasts these *works of the flesh* with the *fruit of the Spirit;* and as he considers the former as evidence of a species of *witchcraft*, so he distinguishes the latter as an evidence of Christian character, declaring that those who bring forth this fruit, and who "walk in the Spirit," are no longer subject to those bewitching sorceries which beguile the soul from the purity

of gospel truth and holiness. And although he asks them, in the language of strong rebuke, "Who hath *bewitched you*, that ye should not obey the truth?" he manifestly teaches them that all those who are under the government of Jesus Christ are no longer infatuated by those bewitching errors, nor insnared by those alluring vices, which distinguish and debase the characters of apostates from the truth.

This suggests the remedy for all these evils. With whatever pertinacity some may plead for the existence of witchcraft, in the popular acceptation of that word, it is manifest that, in the opinion of St. Paul, all who had "put on Christ," who "walked in newness of life," and were therefore really and truly Christians, were in no danger, so long as they resisted the "works of the flesh" and "lived by faith in Jesus Christ," of being led away by *this* "error of the wicked." Let, then, Christianity prevail in all its purity and renovating power, and all wizards and witches, necromancers and sorcerers, of whatever class, shall be banished from human society. Their books shall be burned, their wily arts confounded, and their fascinating charms shall have lost their bewitching allurements, and the entire craft, with all its means of deception, shall be utterly annihilated.

Saul went not to the witch of Endor until the Lord had departed from him. And this is a lamentable instance of the changeability of human nature. He who once denounced witchcraft in the boldest terms, and placed its abettors under the ban of his empire, punishing them with the penalty of death for all such treasonable offenses, now, that God had forsaken him, threw himself into the arms of this artful pythoness, and invoked in his behalf a power which heretofore he had derided and condemned! Such is the fate of those who forsake the true God!

Hence no one who is "filled with the Spirit" of God, will feel any inclination to resort to these deceitful oracles to ascertain his own fate, or the fate of others. He has "a more sure word of prophecy, unto which he does well to take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place;" and so long as he follows this light, he will not only shun the darkness occasioned by these dense clouds of error and superstition, but he shall have "the light of life," and it will shine upon him, both on his understanding and conscience, "more and more unto the perfect day."

Here, then, is the sovereign remedy. Christianity can have no

concord with this demon of darkness. Its light, its power, its purity, disdain an alliance with the prince of darkness, weakness, and impurity, and, therefore, they cannot both hold dominion in the same heart at the same time. The "strong man, who keepeth his goods in peace," and has bewildered the understanding, and corrupted the imagination of his deluded followers, "when a stronger than he is come," must submit to be bound, to have his goods spoiled, and to be cast out, and dispossessed of his usurped dominion.

That the illuminations of Christian truths, beaming forth through the medium of a refined and cultivated intellect, will banish the darkness, not only of heathen idolatry, but also of all the trickeries of witchcraft, who can doubt? The only effectual way, therefore, to banish this doctrine of demons, and those works of the flesh, which are its legitimate fruits, from the face of the earth, is to secure by a holy life, and by an active benevolence, the complete triumph of Christianity all over the inhabited globe. While "God is" *thus* "in his holy temple, all the earth shall keep silence before him."

How can it be otherwise? If he take possession of his temple, can the usurper hold his court there? But Christians "are the temples of the living God." If he, therefore, become enthroned in their hearts, shall he not put down all thrones and dominions which exalt themselves against him? And has he not denounced *war and death* against all witches, wizards, necromancers, and sorcerers, as blasphemers of his name, as workers of treason against his throne and kingdom, and as complotters with all his other enemies against his holy and peaceful reign upon earth? Who, then, that has sworn allegiance to this high and holy King, will seek to these enchanters in preference to confiding their interests to the Lord of hosts?

Let, therefore, this religion prevail. Let Christianity lift up its banners, and let its sons and daughters fight under the Captain of their salvation, and they need not fear *all* the powers of darkness. Neither wizards nor witches shall invade their habitation, nor have power to "hurt or destroy in all God's holy mountain," so long as they are guarded, protected, and supplied by the King of Zion.

Wesleyan University, 1841.

ART. VII.—*The Life and Poems of Rev. George Crabbe, LL.B.*

IN 1834, Rev. George Crabbe, A. M., furnished the public with a memoir of his venerable and talented father, then lately deceased. Very seldom has a "Life" been written which was so peculiarly appropriate, in the style of its literary execution, to the character portrayed, and certainly none wherein the writer has more thoroughly revealed his own character in the act of exhibiting that of another person. From this production, and the few, very few, biographical notices of this poet, with which the public has been favored by the magazines, we shall endeavor to present a short outline of his literary career, and a brief analysis of his poetical works.

GEORGE CRABBE, "the poet of the poor," was the eldest son of the salt master of Aldborough, Suffolk, England. His father was a man of vigorous mind and strong passions, and famous, in his own neighborhood, for his facility in mathematical calculations. The village in which the poet was born, at the period of his birth, was a poor, miserable, straggling town, lying between a cliff and the ocean's beach. "It consisted of two parallel and unpaved streets, running between mean and scrambling houses, the abodes of sea-faring men, pilots, and fishers. The range of houses nearest the sea had suffered so much from repeated invasions of the waves, that only a few scattered tenements appeared erect among the desolation." The beach was covered with loose shingles, and the remnants of the fishing boats which had gone to pieces, sometimes covered with fishermen preparing for departure, or sharing the spoils; "and nearer the gloomy old town-hall (the only indication of municipal dignity) a few groups of mariners, chiefly pilots, taking their quick, short walk backward and forward, every eye watchful of a signal from the offing."

The neighboring landscape consisted of "open commons and sterile farms, the soil poor and sandy, the herbage bare and rushy, the trees 'few and far between,' and withered and stunted by the bleak breezes of the sea." Here, where nature had forgotten to drop beauties, among men whose manners were never familiar with cultivation, and whose passions were never the obedient subjects of moral restraints, he spent the first days of his life.

His father, in the earliest period of the poet's life, was of a

domestic habit; and although more devoted to mathematical calculation than to any other intellectual pursuit, he was accustomed "occasionally to read aloud to his family in the evenings, passages from Milton, Young, or some other of the graver classics, with, as his son thought long afterward, remarkable judgment, and with powerful effect."

Though Crabbe was born so near the water, he "had few of the qualifications of a sailor," and on their little fishing excursions his father would frequently lose his patience at beholding the awkwardness of George, and exclaim, "That boy must be a fool! John, and Bob, and Will, are all of some use about a boat; but what will that *thing* ever be good for?" The memoir informs us that this was a mere temporary ebullition of anger, for Mr. Crabbe did not fail to perceive indications of more than ordinary talents in his eldest boy, and did all that he possibly could to furnish him with a good education. The poet's first reading, like that of most boys of lively minds, led him principally to romance; and when that came in the charming dress of verse it was doubly acceptable. His father received a periodical publication called, "Martin's Philosophical Magazine," each number of which contained a sheet of poetry; and at the end of the year, when he sent the work to the binder's, he cut out these sheets, which "became the property of his son George, who read their contents until he had most of them by heart." He became famed throughout the neighborhood for his fondness for books, and, of course, was considered quite a prodigy. One day as he was passing through the village, he happened to displease one of his companions, who immediately exhibited signs of inflicting a chastisement; but another boy interfered in behalf of "the studious George." "You must not meddle with *him*," said he, "let *him* alone, for he ha' got larning."

Our poet's first stanza was addressed to a fair little lady who attended the same school with himself, cautioning her not to be "too much elevated about a new set of blue ribands to her straw bonnet." When he arrived at his fourteenth year his father determined to apprentice him to a surgeon; and, consequently, he was removed from school. No situation could be immediately found, and George, meanwhile, was employed as an assistant to his father in the warehouse, and engaged in drudgeries which he most thoroughly detested. He soon found a situation, and was appren-

ticed to a surgeon near Bury St. Edmund. This master not only gave George instruction in his own business, but, very gratuitously indeed, furnished him with sundry opportunities to engage in agricultural pursuits on his own farm; which, together with the manner in which he was fed and lodged, was not so very agreeable to him: and he consequently, after having remained about three years here, went to a Mr. Page, at Woodbridge, near Aldborough, where he concluded his apprenticeship.

While at Woodbridge he became acquainted with Miss Sarah Elmy, the niece of a wealthy farmer in the neighborhood of Parham, for whom he cherished an ardent affection for twelve long, painful years, and to whom he was finally married. Shortly after this, when he was in his eighteenth or nineteenth year, he contended for a prize on the subject of *hope*, in one of the minor literary magazines of the day, and tells us himself, that "he had the *misfortune* to gain it." Only the conclusion of that poem has been preserved in a note in the memoir.

Before he left Woodbridge, he published at Ipswich a short poem, entitled "Inebriety." His memoir tells us that it was rude and unfinished, and exhibited a marked devotion to the style of Pope. In it he took more than one occasion of "girding at" the cloth, as his son expresses it. He has these two lines,—

> "Champagne the courtier drinks, the spleen to chase,
> The colonel Burgundy, and Port his grace."

To these lines his biographer very appropriately subjoins the following remark: "He was not yet a ducal chaplain." There are one or two other extracts which, if our article were not limited, we would copy. They paint a faithless priest, betraying the cause of his Master by joining in the unholy indulgence of a bacchanalian revel. They were written in our author's twentieth year, before he attached himself to the church, and, we may add, before the commencement of the temperance reformation. This poem was unsuccessful.

In 1775 he concluded his apprenticeship and returned to Aldborough, hoping to be able to visit London, and to complete his professional education there. His father's affairs being somewhat deranged, he found his hopes, in this respect, blasted. He had now quite as much leisure as he could possibly desire, and he devoted himself to the study of botany, for which he ever maintained

a great fondness. After considerable time spent in Aldborough, his father found means to send him to the metropolis, in order to make some improvement in the knowledge of his profession. Here he remained eight months, but his funds were so limited that when his money was spent and he returned to Suffolk, he was "but little the better for the desultory sort of instruction which had alone been within his reach."

Shortly after his return to Aldborough, he was induced to "set up for himself," but with very little success indeed. He was obviously not fitted for the calling he had embraced. "The sense of a new responsibility pressed sorely and continually on his mind; and he never awoke without shuddering at the thought that some real difficulty might be thrown in his way before night. Ready sharpness of mind, and mechanical cleverness of hand, are the first essentials in a surgeon; and he wanted them both, and knew his deficiences better than any one else did." Hope seemed revived in him at one period. The Warwickshire militia being quartered in the town, he had the practice among them, which somewhat increased his emoluments. He was fortunate in making the acquaintance of some of their officers, especially of Colonel Conway, (who afterward became a celebrated field marshal,) who presented him with several Latin works on his favorite subject, botany. This led him to the study of Latin, and his acquirements in that language opened the works of Horace to him. In the mean time he carefully perused the British poets, and filled his desk with his own productions. This business, however, scarcely afforded him the means of subsistence; and now he began to "indulge the dreams of a young poet."

"One gloomy day, toward the close of the year 1779, he had strolled to a bleak and cheerless part of the cliff, above Aldborough, called the Marsh Hill, brooding, as he went, over the humiliating necessities of his condition. He stopped opposite a shallow, muddy piece of water, as desolate and gloomy as his own mind, called the Leech Pond, and 'it was while gazing on it,' he remarked to his son, *one happy morning*, 'that I determined to go to London and venture all.'"

Some time before Mr. Crabbe's death an article appeared in the New Monthly Magazine, which then bore the strongest indications of being an auto-biography. We are now assured in his memoir

that it was actually such. In that sketch, he thus alludes to the period of his history at which we have arrived:—

"With the best verses he could write, and with very little more, he quitted the place of his birth; not without the most serious apprehensions of the consequence of such a step—apprehensions which were conquered, and barely conquered, by the more certain evil of the prospect before him, should he remain where he was. When he thus fled from a gloomy prospect to one as uncertain, he had not heard of a youthful adventurer, whose fate, it is probable, would, in some degree, have affected his spirits, if it had not caused an alteration in his purpose. Of Chatterton, his extraordinary abilities, his enterprising spirit, his writing in periodical publications, his daring project, and his melancholy fate, he had yet learned nothing; otherwise it may be supposed that a warning of such a kind would have had no small influence upon a mind rather vexed with the present than expecting much from the future, and not sufficiently happy and at ease to draw consolation from vanity—much less from a comparison in which vanity would have found no small mortification."

However, he had determined to go: it only remained to obtain possession of the wherewithal. Of himself he had no resources—his relatives were all poor. He applied to Mr. Dudley North, whom his father had served at some elections, and his letter was so extraordinary for so youthful an author, that Mr. North did not hesitate a moment. The sum he requested, *five pounds*, was immediately advanced; George started for the metropolis, and landed in London, the "master of a box of clothes, a small case of surgical instruments, and *three pounds* in money."

And now that we have accompanied the poet to London, we are with him at the most interesting period of his life. With all the great obstacles which he had to encounter, he went to town at a time not unfavorable to a new candidate in poetry. The opening of the third chapter of his memoir, by his son, is so very descriptive of the state of the literary world at that period that we cannot forbear inserting it:—

"The giants, Swift and Pope, had passed away, leaving each in his department examples never to be excelled; but the style of each had been so long imitated by inferior persons, that the world was not unlikely to welcome some one who should strike into a newer path. The strong and powerful satirist, Churchill, the classic Gray, and the inimitable Goldsmith, had also departed; and, more recently still, Chatterton had paid the bitter penalty of his imprudence, under circumstances which must surely have rather disposed the patrons of talent to watch the next opportunity that might offer itself of encou-

raging genius 'by poverty depressed.' The stupendous Johnson, unrivaled in general literature, had, from an early period, withdrawn himself from poetry. Cowper, destined to fill so large a space in the public eye, somewhat later, had not yet appeared as an author; and as for Burns, he was still unknown beyond the obscure circle of his fellow-villagers."

When he arrived in London he had but one acquaintance, Mrs. Burcham, a particular friend of his lady-love, and the wife of a linen-draper, in Cornhill. They invited him to make their house his home, but he declined doing so, (he was quite as proud as poor!) yet took lodgings near them, with a Mr. Vickery, a very respectable hair-dresser. In this lodging he spent more than a year, endeavoring to improve himself in versification, and in the study of human nature. He formed an acquaintance with three talented young men, then as poor and obscure as himself, but who afterward arose to high stations in society; Mr. Dalby, late Professor of Mathematics at Marlow, Mr. Reuben Burrow, who died in a high civil office in Bengal, and Mr. Bonnycastle, for many years the master of the Military Academy at Woolwich.

As soon as he had completed some short pieces in verse he offered them for publication, but they were rejected. He attributed this to lack of merit, and devoted himself more assiduously to his studies. "While he was preparing a more favorable piece for the inspection of a gentleman whom he had then in view, he hazarded the publication of an anonymous performance, and had the satisfaction of hearing, in due time, that something (not much, indeed—but a something was much) would arise from it." His publisher, however, failed; and profit and fame were still only prospective. The production alluded to was called, "The Candidate, a Poetical Epistle to the Authors of the Monthly Review," and was published in 1780. The failure of his publisher threw him into considerable embarrassment, and now he was reduced to an extreme. He wrote to the premier, Lord North; to Lord Shelburne; and to the chancellor Thurlow, but without success.

The most interesting part of Mr. Crabbe's memoir is the journal which he kept during three months of the miserable year he spent in London. It is dedicated to his "Mira," a name under which he chose to celebrate Miss Elmy. We shall give detached passages, showing the melancholy position in which he was placed.

"*April* 28, 1780. I thank Heaven my spirits are not at all affected by Dodsley's refusal. I have not been able to get the poem ready for Mr. Becket to-day, but will take some pains with it. I find myself under the disagreeable necessity of vending or pawning some of my more useless articles; accordingly, have put into a paper such as cost about two or three guineas, and, being silver, have not greatly lessened in their value. The conscientious pawn-broker allowed me—'he *thought* he *might*'—half a guinea for them. I took it very readily, being determined to call for them very soon, and then, if I afterward wanted, carry them to some less voracious animal of the kind.

"*May* 10. Mr. Becket said just what Mr. Dodsley wrote, 'twas a very pretty thing, 'but, sir, these little pieces the town do not regard: it has merit—perhaps some other may.' It will be offered to no other, sir. 'Well, sir, I am obliged to you, but,' &c., and so these little affairs have their end. * * * I don't think there's a man in London worth but *fourpence-halfpenny*—for I've this moment sent seven farthings for a pint of porter—who is so resigned to his poverty.

"*May* 16. O! my dear Mira, how you distress me! You inquire into my affairs, and love not to be denied—yet you must. To what purpose should I tell you the particulars of my gloomy situation; that I have parted with my money, sold my wardrobe, pawned my watch, am in debt to my landlord, and, finally, at some loss how to eat a week longer? Yet you say, Tell me all. Ah, my dear Sally, do not desire it; you must not be told these things. Appearance is what distresses me: I *must* have dress, and am horribly fearful I shall accompany fashion with fasting; but a fortnight more will tell me of a certainty.

"*May* 18. A day of bustle—twenty shillings to pay a tailor, when the stock amounted to thirteen and threepence. Well; there were instruments to part with, that fetched no less than eight shillings more; but twenty-one shillings and threepence would yet be so poor a superfluity, that the muse would never visit till the purse was recruited; for, say men what they will, she does not love empty pockets nor poor living. Now, you must know, my watch was mortgaged for less than it ought, so I redeemed and repledged it, which has made me—the tailor paid, and the day's expenses—at this instant worth (let me count my cash) ten shillings—a rare case, and most bountiful provision of fortune!

"*May* 20. The cash, by a sad temptation, greatly reduced. An unlucky book-stall presented to the eyes three volumes of Dryden's Works, octavo, five shillings. Prudence, however, got the better of the devil, when she whispered me to bid three shillings and sixpence: after some hesitation, that prevailed with the woman, and I carried reluctantly home, I believe, a fair bargain, but a very ill-judged one.

"It's the vilest thing in the world to have but one coat. My only one has happened with a mischance, and how to manage it is some difficulty. A confounded stove's modish ornament caught its elbow, and rent it half away. Pinioned to the side it came home, and I ran deploring to my loft. In the dilemma, it occurred to me to turn tailor myself; but how to get materials to work with puzzled me. At last I went running down in a hurry, with three or four sheets of paper

in my hand, and begged for a needle, &c., to sew them together. This finished my job, and but that it is somewhat thicker, the elbow is a good one yet.

"These are foolish things, Mira, to write or speak, and we may laugh at them; but I'll be bound to say they are much more likely to make a man cry where they *happen*—though I was too much of a philosopher for *that*, however not one of those who preferred a ragged coat to a whole one."

These are a few of the passages which make up the "Poet's Journal," with the addition of scraps of poetry, sketches of sermons, and very devout prayers. He was now reduced to the greatest straits, without friends, without money, starvation and a prison staring him in the face, with no earthly resources but those to which honesty forbad him to stoop. He looked around him for a friend and a guide, and finally "he fixed, impelled by some propitious influence, in some happy moment, upon EDMUND BURKE." His letter to this honorable gentleman, in which he presents him with a short sketch of his career, and an account of his circumstances, is a most masterly performance, and but for its length we should be pleased to insert it entire. The immense burden of duty which pressed upon the statesman at this period did not prevent him from giving immediate attention to this letter and its writer. He sent for Crabbe, "and the short interview that ensued, entirely and for ever changed the nature of his worldly prospects. He was, in the common phrase, 'a made man' from that hour. He went into Mr. Burke's room a poor young adventurer, spurned by the opulent, and rejected by the publishers, his last shilling gone, and all but his last hope with it: he came out virtually secure of almost all the good fortune that, by successive steps, afterward fell to his lot." Had this assistance been withheld another week, or another month, the names of Chatterton and Crabbe might have been written in one epitaph. This generous act will throw a halo around *Edmund Burke's* name when his mighty achievements upon the political arena will be comparatively forgotten. He took the young poet to his own house, introduced him to his principal friends, among whom were Mr. Fox, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Dr. Samuel Johnson. He submitted to Mr. Burke a mass of miscellaneous poems, from which those called "The Library," and "The Village," were selected for publication. Mr. Burke's patronage, doubtless, had some influence in producing the favorable notices

of these poems which appeared in the magazines at the time. Success now attended his efforts, and hope rewarmed his heart. The great began to pay some attention to him, and Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who had neglected two of his letters, now invited him to breakfast, and, at parting, presented him with a letter which, when he opened upon his return to his lodgings, he found to be a bank note for *a hundred pounds*.

It was soon discovered that Mr. Crabbe's inclination led him to the church, and no sooner was it known than it was favored, and after an examination by the bishop of Norwich, he was admitted to deacon's orders, in London, December 21, 1781, and ordained priest in the following August. Immediately upon his admission to deacon's orders he repaired to Aldborough, to officiate as curate to the rector of that church. The place, however, was no longer a home for him. His former equals envied his success, his mother was no more, his father had contracted an imprudent matrimonial alliance; and after experiencing all the neglect a prophet finds in his own country, he accepted the invitation so condescendingly given by the duke of Rutland to become his domestic chaplain. This appointment was secured to Mr. Crabbe by the kindness of his great patron, Mr. Burke. At Belvoir Castle our poet was surrounded by much that would tend to make him happy. He was honored by the duke and his noble lady, and there formed an acquaintance with the duke of Queensberry, the marquis of Lothian, Dr. Watson, the celebrated bishop of Llandaff, and Dr. Glynn. These gentlemen were foremost in showing him attention.

While at Belvoir Castle he completed for the press his poem, entitled "The Village," a production for which he procured the revision and commendation of Dr. Johnson. It was published in May, 1783. Its success was wonderful; it was praised by the magazines, sold rapidly and extensively, and secured the author's reputation. It was about this time that he obtained the degree of LL.B. from the archbishop of Canterbury. In 1784 the duke of Rutland went to Ireland as lord lieutenant, but Mr. Crabbe preferred to remain. The duke offered him his castle as a home while he was gone, and promised to place him in an eligible situation upon his return. That event, however, never took place, as the duke's demise occurred shortly after his settlement in Ireland.

In December, 1783, Mr. Crabbe was married to Miss Elmy, so

long the object of his love. Shortly after this he removed from Belvoir Castle to the obscure parsonage of Strathorn, where he resided *four* successive years. In 1785 he published "The Newspaper," a poem which fully sustained the poetical reputation he had acquired. From the publication of this poem, for the long space of *twenty-two* years, Mr. Crabbe retired from public life, devoting himself to his studies and the duties of a parish priest. In the meanwhile he engaged himself busily in writing. Most of the productions, however, were never presented to the public eye. His son records one instance of his making a bonfire of his manuscripts in the open air, in which all the children assisted in bringing out the literary fuel and stirring up the fire. Among these was a valuable essay on his favorite subject, botany, which was destroyed because a pedantic university acquaintance condemned it *in toto*, as it was not written in Latin! Besides that, he wrote two or three novels, some characters of which his son thought were drawn with extraordinary power; but which were destroyed soon after having been finished. We need not dwell on the minutiæ of his life while in this long seclusion; suffice it to say, that he was expanding his mind, acquiring power for other and higher poetical efforts, and blessing his fellow men by the discharge of the nobly useful, yet unobtrusive duties of a country clergyman. As we merely wish to present a sketch of his literary career, it is not necessary to dwell on these points.

In September, 1807, Mr. Crabbe broke from his seclusion, and made his reappearance as an author. He presented the public with a new edition of his former poems, to which were added "The Parish Register," "Sir Eustace Grey," "The Birth of Flattery," and other minor pieces. The success of this work was unprecedented. The Edinburgh Review, that severe dispenser of critical *dicta*, contained a very flattering notice of the poems, and two days after its appearance the whole impression was disposed of. In his "Parish Register," Mr. Crabbe exhibited his powers to their full extent for the first time, gave the most palpable presentation of his mental peculiarities, and assumed his appropriate place among the British poets. Complimentary letters now flocked in upon him, from former friends, from men high in literary reputation and occupying exalted places in the state.

In 1810 "The Borough" made its appearance, and in six years

passed through six editions. The reviewers, almost unanimously, pronounced it an improvement upon his last effort, "containing greater beauties and greater defects than its predecessor." We shall speak more fully of it when we come to an analysis of his works. As early as 1812 his "Tales in Verse" made their appearance, and found a more cordial welcome from the public than any of his preceding poems. They were distinct narratives, without any of the slight connection between the parts which was attempted in "The Borough." The following year his family and himself were visited with a heavy domestic calamity, the demise of his wife. Not long after this he received, from the hands and the kindness of the duke of Rutland, the living of Trowbridge, in Wiltshire. This was a more eligible situation in many respects than the one which he formerly occupied.

In this new residence he was placed near a brother poet, Rev. W. L. Bowles; and, being in the vicinity of Bath, he was often thrown into London society. This succeeded in drawing him from his retreat to the metropolis, which he visited in the summer of 1817. At the house of Mr. Bowles he first became acquainted with the poet Rogers, whose pressing invitations to visit London he finally accepted. When he arrived in town he took lodgings near that gentleman's residence, to whose entire circle of friends he was presented, and who received him with a sincere and cordial welcome. The position Mr. Rogers held in society commanded for him the acquaintance of "almost every one distinguished in politics, fashion, science, literature, and art;" and in this brilliant constellation our poet was considered a star of no mean magnitude. His association in early life with such men as Burke and Johnson, his literary reputation, his dignified, gentlemanly bearing—which bore no vestige of his humble origin—and, above all, his warm and gentle heart, endeared him to all who had the felicity to acquire his acquaintance. These visits he repeated several successive years, always finding an increasingly cordial welcome. The *journals* which he kept during these visits contain many valuable remarks upon all the principal personages of the time, for there were few public men with whom he had not become acquainted. The poet Moore remarks, that "they much resemble the journalizing style of Byron." Our limits do not permit us to insert any extracts from them. They modestly show how the man was valued, and the poet

caressed; the literary of all ranks extended to him the right hand of fellowship, and he was considered a welcome visitor at the houses of the first nobility. His modesty is beautifully and strongly exhibited in the fact, that upon his return from these visits he would resume his usual clerical duties as if nothing had occurred to interrupt their regularity; and his own children had no idea how much attention was paid to him until these journals came to light after his decease.

In June, 1819, the "Tales of the Hall" were published. The original name which the poet intended for this production was, "Remembrances." For the "Tales of the Hall," and the copyright of all his previous poems, the celebrated London publisher, Mr. Murray, gave him the generous sum of three thousand pounds.

From 1822, to his death in 1831, the *tic-doloreux*, a disease which had been for some time previously very troublesome to him, increased in the frequency of its visits and the pain it produced. But Crabbe's old age was not one of peevishness; he was no burden to his friends. The sweetness of his disposition seemed to exhibit itself more plainly as his life's sun descended, and the unanimous record of all who saw him in his green, fresh old age, is, that the remembrance of him is the picture of a sage's wisdom, sweetly blending with childhood's innocent simplicity. With his children around him, having discharged his ministerial obligations to the church; having inscribed his name in a prominent place in fame's temple; having enjoyed the respect of the world, and the love of a large circle of friends, leaving behind him the sweet savor of an industrious and pious life, with the strong confidence of a Christian's hope, he glided into eternity on the 3d of February, 1832, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

This, then, was the career of the "poet of the poor;" his birth was humble and obscure; his boyhood studious, yet unpromising; his youth gloomy and miserable; his manhood dignified and happy; his old age honored and loved: his life was active, his death was peaceful.

[To be concluded in the next number.]

Art. VIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Memorials of South Africa.* By Barnabas Shaw, Wesleyan Missionary, resident in the country nearly twenty years. 12mo., pp. 317. New-York: published by G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1841.

This volume is itself an argument in favor of missionary efforts which cannot be successfully controverted. It contains a history of the beginning and the progress of the efforts of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in Southern Africa; and as a collection of interesting incidents, exceeds any thing we have met with for a long time. Mr. Shaw in general speaks of what came under his own personal observation. His story is concerned with facts and not fiction, and with us this circumstance does not diminish the interest of the details. There is much in the work that is instructive, some things which are amusing; but, as a whole, it is an exhibition of the power of the gospel to tame and reclaim barbarous men, and to restore the most degraded human beings to the practice of pure religion and the enjoyment of its blessed hopes. There is in the style of the writer an elegant simplicity and a suitableness to the subject upon which he writes, which is an exhibition of great judgment and a good literary taste. We cannot attempt an adequate description of the work, but would most earnestly recommend the reader to procure and read it for himself, being certain that he will consider himself amply rewarded for his pains.

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2. *Scripture Views of the Heavenly World.* By J. Edmondson, A. M., 18mo., pp. 251. New-York: published by G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1841.

This manual is upon a subject at all times most welcome to the heart of the pious. This world is not our home, and the good rejoice that it is not: they "would not live always" here. Yet they are compelled to take a part in the interests of the present world while they live in it, and they engage in many interesting duties, and form very pleasant associations. Sometimes we are in danger of making too much of the world, and at others of falling into uncomfortable vexations from its changes and disappointments. Under these circumstances, especially, it is important that our minds should be directed to our eternal rest. How many, just now, stand in need of a remembrancer to direct their attention and affections to the heavenly world. They may be too deeply in love with earth. The most excellent work which we have before us will admonish them not to rest here, but to act as pilgrims seeking a city out of sight. They may be embarrassed

in their temporal circumstances; here they will be pointed to a sovereign remedy. Heaven is a treasure that never fails. Let them lay up their interest there, and it will be for ever secure. Earthly joys are, at best, imperfect, and mixed with sorrow, but the bliss of heaven is without alloy. Heaven is a place of perfect *holiness*. O, to be absorbed in God! what a glorious consummation! There is no sorrow, no night, no war, no death in heaven! O glorious place! the home of the wanderer—of the banished! How worthy of our constant and devout meditation!

This blessed subject is discussed in the volume we now commend to the attention of our readers in a clear and interesting manner. The writer has evidently thought much upon the subject, and become baptized with its spirit. For those who may wish to form a correct estimate of the comparative value of earth and heaven, or may desire to have their affections elevated to that blessed world, or may wish for comfort under bereavements, this little volume will constitute a most agreeable and profitable companion.

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3. *A Treatise on the Scriptural Doctrine of Justification.* By the Rev. Edward Hare. 18mo., pp. 253. New-York: published by G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1841.

The doctrine of *justification by faith alone* is a fundamental doctrine of the gospel. And, hence, without a clear understanding of its nature there can be no adequate notions of the plan of salvation instituted by Christ. Important and essential to salvation as this doctrine is, and clearly as it is set forth in the New Testament, especially by St. Paul, partial and erroneous views of it have been entertained and propagated by professed Christians in all ages of the church. The school of St. Augustine and Calvin hold to justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, or by making over to the sinner Christ's active obedience: the Oxford Tractarians, after the Romanists, maintain that the sinner is justified because he is first made inherently righteous or holy: and the Socinian thinks men entitled to be considered righteous because, in fact, they were never otherwise! But the true Scripture doctrine is at an equal distance from all these erroneous dogmas. This doctrine is, that the *sinner* is justified through the atoning merits of Christ, and by *faith alone*, without the works of the law. Amidst the grief inflicted by the tide of error upon this great doctrine, which has recently been flooding Great Britain and this country, it is refreshing to meet with such a book as the one before us. Here every thing is plain, and exactly suited to our wants. Mr. Hare stands at an infinite

distance from all *mysticism* and *legalism*. The great excellence of his work is, that it rests upon Scripture. The author does not first give us a theory, and then labor to make the Bible prove it; but he gives us numerous passages, at length, which treat, of set purpose, upon this specific doctrine, and then gives us the results of a common sense exposition and comparison of these passages. This is indeed the only way to arrive at truth in the discussion of any Christian doctrine. And if theologians had more generally adhered to this course, it had been better for the church and the world. The inquiry should always be, "What saith the Scriptures?" and not what *ought* they to say.

The style of the writer is pure, perspicuous, and forcible. His definitions are short and yet sufficiently full. His reasoning is always to the point, and never either tame or vague and inconclusive. His deductions come right home to our common sense and our enlightened faith, and are to the mind of an unbiased, unsophisticated Christian, entirely satisfactory.

We cannot doubt but this little manual comes from our press just at this time most appropriately, and we believe it will do much good should it meet with an extensive circulation. We commend the work especially to young Christians, and young ministers.

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4. *An Inquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church, that flourished within the first three hundred Years after Christ. Faithfully collected out of the extant Writings of those Ages.* By Sir Peter King, Lord High Chancellor of England. With a Preface by the Editor. 12mo., pp. 300. New-York: published by G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1841.

The work now presented to the public in a new dress has been considered by many of the most learned divines not only as a rare exhibition of patient and impartial investigation, but, in its leading facts, a true representation of the government and usages of *the primitive church*. But it is rendered especially interesting to the Methodists as the instrument of breaking down the high church prejudices of Mr. John Wesley, and so of preparing the way for the distinct organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.

In his Journal for January 20, 1746, Mr. Wesley says, "I set out for Bristol. On the road I read over Lord King's account of the primitive church. In spite of the vehement prejudice of my education, I was ready to believe that his was a fair and impartial draught; but if so, it would follow that bishops and presbyters are (essentially) of

one order; and that, originally, every Christian congregation was a church independent on all others."

Thirty-eight years after the above was written, in his letter "to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and the brethren in North America," dated Bristol, September 10, 1784, Mr. Wesley says, "Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me, many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned from time to time to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our traveling preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, but because I was determined, as little as possible, to violate the established order of the national Church to which I belonged."

Our venerated founder was thoroughly read in the history and monuments of the primitive church, and perfectly intimate with the writings of the fathers, upon which the conclusions of Lord King are founded. And that such a mind—one so well stored with classical learning and the records of antiquity—should be so affected by a perusal of this book, is certainly not a little in favor both of its facts and reasoning.

It must however be borne in mind, that Mr. Wesley called no man father upon earth; and, in several instances, in the organization of the connection, he departed from what Lord King supposes the primitive practice. In one point, (and that is a very important one,) Mr. Wesley's system is more strictly *apostolic* than the draught of the "Primitive Church" by our author. We refer to the *connectional* principle, acting through a general *itinerant superintendency*. Upon this point our author is not so satisfactory, and incautious readers need to be put on their guard.

When he asserts that there was "but one bishop in a church," his meaning must be restricted to those *primitive* churches or congregations in populous places which assembled in "one place." These churches expanded until it became necessary to divide and subdivide them, and so the appropriate officers were multiplied to meet the emergency. There were certainly several *επισκοποι*, *bishops*, in the church of Ephesus in the apostles days. (See Acts xx, 17, 28.) Bishops in primitive times were properly *pastors;* and as their age or eminent holiness entitled them to more than ordinary respect, for the edification of the body, they were by general consent invested with a jurisdiction over the ordinary pastors and their flocks; but this did not constitute them a different *order* from that of presbyter.

In the present edition the original is strictly followed, except in the orthography of some words, and a sketch of the author's life is given from a late London edition. All the original references are retained, and thus the excellences of several previous editions are preserved with-

out their defects. This, we believe is the first American edition of this work, and as it throws much light upon subjects which at present are considerably agitated in this country, we presume the publisher, and the book committee who recommended its republication, will have the thanks of an enlightened public for putting it into their hands in its present form.

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5. *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By N. BANGS, D. D. Vol. IV. From 1828 to 1840. 12mo., pp. 400. New-York: published by G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1841.

THIS volume brings down Dr. Bangs' history to the present time. The preceding volumes have been before the public so long that their character and merits are generally understood; and it may be presumed that it will be a sufficient recommendation to the one now noticed to say, that there is no falling off, either in the interest of its facts or its execution. The world, but more particularly the Methodist Episcopal Church, have great cause to be grateful to the author for rescuing from oblivion the material facts connected with our history as a church. It would be marvelous indeed if there should be found in these volumes nothing to correct, as the facts they detail are so numerous, and are gathered from such a mass of undigested materials. But there can be no doubt but these volumes will be highly estimated and read with interest long after their author shall have gone to his reward.

Lee's History of the Methodists, long since out of print, is now sought as high authority upon many points, merely because the author wrote of his own times, and recorded many important events which came under his own observation. It will not be long before the same reason will give additional interest to the history before us.

Few are acquainted with the difficulty of executing a work of this character. Considering the number of books and records which he has been obliged to read, and thoroughly examine, it is indeed marvelous that the author, with all his characteristic industry, has succeeded in bringing his work to such a state of perfection. Every Methodist, and especially every Methodist preacher, should give this work a place in his library.

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6. *The Life of the Rev. John Emory, D. D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By his eldest Son. 8vo., pp. 380. New-York: published by George Lane. 1841.

IN the department of biography we, in America, have, so far, fallen much behind our British brethren. With the Wesleyans, over the

water, the lives of their holy men are gathered up and transmitted to posterity for their instruction. But we often suffer ours to be lost to the world for want of a faithful record of their great virtues and eminent usefulness. Whatever may be the cause of this apparent neglect, whether the difficulty of the task of collecting materials, or the want of suitable encouragement, we are certain it is not for the want of respect for the memory of our departed fathers and brethren.

We are happy, however, to see indications of an improvement in this respect. The Life of Bishop Emory is a cheering specimen of what can be done in this department by persevering industry. If we shall have, as we confidently hope, following this most interesting biography, a life of Bishop Asbury, one of Bishop M'Kendree, and one of Dr. Fisk, executed in a manner worthy of these eminent servants of God, we may then begin to look up, and congratulate ourselves that we have done much toward wiping away a reproach which has, up to this time, rested upon this branch of our literature.

Dr. Johnson says, every life has enough in it of interest to be worth preserving from oblivion. If this be true, what a mine of precious materials have we in the lives of our holy and self-sacrificing fathers and brethren! Now, shall these materials be wrought out and made permanently tangible and useful, or shall they be consigned to oblivion?

It is not necessary for us to say any thing to excite high expectations in relation to the work here noticed. The subject was one of our first and best; and the author is favorably known to the public. The high expectations already raised in the public mind, we have no doubt will be fully realized. The selection and arrangement of the facts, the style of the composition, and the elaborate discussion of many deeply interesting and difficult topics connected with the history and government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, all show a grade of literary taste, a power of discrimination, and a comprehensiveness of view every way worthy of the *son of Bishop Emory*.

It will be seen and felt by all that the author had a very delicate task to execute. He had to present the character of his revered and much-loved *father*. How he could divest himself of undue partialities for the subject of his narrative, is a question of difficult solution. We knew the bishop well, and, perhaps, we might say, *intimately*; and the graphic and striking picture here presented of his shining qualities it is presumed will not, by those who were best acquainted with him, be considered as too highly coloured. But we must, after this brief notice, leave the reader to judge for himself. We have no doubt but the Life of Bishop Emory will take a high rank among works of the class.

7. *Delineation of Roman Catholicism, drawn from the authentic and acknowledged Standards of the Church of Rome; namely, her Creeds, Catechisms, Decisions of Councils, Papal Bulls, Roman Catholic Writers, the Records of History, etc., etc.: in which the Peculiar Doctrines, Morals, Government, and Usages of the Church of Rome are stated, treated at large, and confuted.* By Rev. CHARLES ELLIOTT, D. D. Vol. I, 8vo., pp. 492. New-York: published by George Lane. 1841.

ROMANISM is at the present time a subject of deep interest to this country. It is so natural and almost necessary for this species of heresy to hold a *political bearing*, that the politician is compelled to notice its movements and leading positions in relation to great political questions. Whatever are the professions of Romanists, the designs of their priesthood most obviously are to work themselves into power, and to exercise an undue influence in civil matters. As men, we would respect them according to their individual, intellectual, and moral worth; as strangers and foreigners, (for such most of them are,) we would treat them with kindness; but as politicians and Christians, we should administer to them a wholesome rebuke whenever we conceive it necessary for their correction or the public safety. Their influence we should not consider as materially dangerous to our institutions, were it not that the mass always move together, and move in obedience to the will of the priesthood. But under existing circumstances we can but regard their increasing strength and influence, whether through emigration or proselytism, as eminently dangerous to our free institutions.

But will this view suggest any persecuting or proscriptive measures? Not at all. Nothing is necessary but to look to their movements, and investigate the features and bearings of their system. This is all we can do—all we *ought* to do. If, as we suppose, they are in error, does this alienate their claims upon our justice and our sympathies? In no wise. They are still our brethren, and are entitled to be treated as such. But when they come forward and tell us, as the bishop of this city has done, that they cannot *conscientiously* participate in the public provisions for the education of the rising generation, until we shall *give them the control of the books and the course of instruction*, in our public schools, or at least shall *exclude the Holy Scriptures*, it is time for us to pause.

But we must not go into this argument in a mere notice of a book. The volume, whose title is at the head of this article, is a discussion of the *history* and *theology* of Romanism—its consistency with the Scriptures, with common sense, and with itself. Weighed in these balances the system is "found wanting." To avoid this test the Romanists repudiate reason, conceal from the popular eye the book of divine revelation, and endeavor to elude scrutiny. But our author follows them in all their lurking places, and tears off the veil from the mystery of iniquity.

The work is one of vast labor and of diligent research. Dr. Elliott

has spent upon it the toil of years, and has gone to the original sources of information. We here see what Romanism is, how it is defended by its advocates, and how it conflicts with truth and the best interests of man. Among the many modern works upon this subject which have come under our notice, we have seen none which exhibits an equal amount of deep and original investigation.

The style of this work will often be found defective in point of euphony, and sometimes as to grammatical construction and arrangement, but seldom, if ever, in point of perspicuity and force.

The references to antiquated and rare works which are brought into the margin, will be valuable, particularly to such as wish to go into an original investigation of the subject and have not the works at hand upon which our author has levied his contributions. Another great excellence of this work is, its copious index. Here in a few minutes the reader can take a consecutive view of the whole work, and he can never be at a loss as to the page where any particular topic or authority is to be found. We crave for this work a fair and impartial reading.

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8. *A Classical Dictionary, containing an Account of the principal Proper Names mentioned in Ancient Authors, and intended to elucidate all the important Points connected with the Geography, History, Biography, Mythology, and Fine Arts of the Greeks and Romans, together with an Account of Coins, Weights, and Measures, with Tabular Values of the same.* By CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D. New-York: Harper and Brothers, pp. 1423.

WE have experienced great satisfaction in the examination of Dr. Anthon's new Classical Dictionary, and had intended to notice it at some length in our present number; but this we are obliged, by the prior claims of other matter, to postpone until our next. At present, therefore, we can only state generally, and in a very few words, what are our impressions in regard to this important work. Of its great superiority to the dictionary of Lempriere, not excepting the latest and most improved editions of the latter, there can, we think, be no doubt. Its articles are both more numerous and more fully treated, its criticisms more learned and exact, its authorities more complete, and its style more uniformly correct and finished. Entire purity of thought and language pervades the work, and nothing is met with that can offend the most sensitive delicacy. Our knowledge in regard to ancient geography, &c., has been greatly enlarged by the researches of modern travelers, and the learned author has enriched his pages with a vast amount of most interesting and valuable information obtained from these sources. From his familiarity, also, with the language and literature of Germany, he has been enabled to consult, with great advantage, the best authors of that country. In short, he has spared no pains to render his work complete. We are much gratified to learn that the publishers are about issuing a second edition.

9. *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries.* By HENRY HALLAM, F.R.S.A. 2 vols., 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

WE are gratified to see this very interesting and able work made accessible to the American reader. The high encomiums bestowed upon it by the English press, and the character of its distinguished author's previous publications, had prepared us to expect a rich intellectual treat; nor have we been disappointed. As a polished writer Mr. Hallam has few equals; but it is not the beauties of his style, striking as they are, that we so much regard, as the value of his facts, and the depth and originality of thought so conspicuous in his productions, giving evidence not only of a great mind, but of patient and laborious research, which, in these times of action rather than of study, even great minds too much neglect.

The author's object in this work is to give such an account of the rise and progress of modern learning, that the reader may have presented before him a connected view of all that is most interesting in relation to it—the various circumstances and events, whether of a social, political, or religious nature, that were favorable or unfavorable to its advance; the influence of the cultivation of letters in meliorating the condition of society; the distinguished men who, by their intellectual labors in the different departments of literature and science, have most largely contributed to their improvement; the most remarkable literary and scientific productions, and, in short, all such matters as directly belong to, or remotely bear upon, this interesting and important subject. The period embraced in Mr. Hallam's history is in its religious as well as literary aspects the most important in the annals of mankind. It is the period of the Protestant Reformation—that great revolution which effected the downfall of superstition, corruption, and error, and restored to the human mind its liberty, to conscience its rights, and to religion its pristine simplicity and purity.

The progress of learning in these centuries was so identified with that of the Reformation, that the two must necessarily be considered in their connection with each other. Hence Mr. Hallam's volumes should be studied by all who feel a united interest in the spread of pure Christianity and of sound learning; and to no class of readers will they prove more valuable than to ministers.

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10. *A Compendius Ecclesiastical History from the earliest period to the present time.* By the Rev. WILLIAM PALMER, A. M., of Worcester College, Oxford, author of Origines Liturgicæ, &c., &c. With a Preface and Notes, by an American Editor. 12mo., pp. 232. New-York: Swords, Stanford, & Co. 1841.

THE department of ecclesiastical history is likely still to be vexed by partizan writers. It is indeed to be lamented, that a historian of the church cannot make such citations from the mass of facts, which has

survived the ravages of time, as to leave a correct general impression. But when men undertake these investigations for the purpose of finding in the primitive church the type of their own peculiar creed and form of discipline, their views are necessarily partial, and the general results at which they arrive doubtful.

The American editor of the work before us (understood to be the bishop of the diocese of Maryland) gives us what he conceives the real character and the best recommendation of the work in these words:—

"The Scriptural catalogue of 'fruits of the Spirit,' is his test of that Spirit's presence, not any human scheme of doctrine. The bond of union, by which he traces Christian faith and holiness up to their source in Christ, is a real and tangible bond of ordinances and institutions, not the figmentary connection of agreement in certain arbitrary views."

This "real tangible bond of ordinances and institutions," is what the author has principally labored to bring out from the rubbish. He first provides, as matter of course, for a regular and undoubted *succession* of diocesan bishops from Peter and Paul. Then (A. D. 178–250) he lets us know (with as much confidence as he could had he lived in those times) of "god fathers." Next he finds "confirmation," though anciently it "was generally administered soon after baptism." He presently finds "creeds" and "liturgies." And anon he tells us that "those who committed great sins in secret were recommended to disclose their guilt to discreet and judicious ministers of God, and receive from them directions for the course of private penitence which they ought to pursue." It is no marvel that he next finds his "fruits of the Spirit" in the "ascetics and sacred virgins." Here he expatiates upon the "character of ascetic religion in the early church;" and gives us ample illustrations of the subject from the lives and self-denial of "St. Anthony," "St. Martin," &c., &c. Through what is commonly called "the dark ages," he can find in the "monasteries" an abundance of the true "fruits of the Spirit," and brings down "the succession" in all its beauty and freshness to the period of the Reformation.

Some of the reformers, perhaps on account of their ultra-protestantism, get from our author rather faint praise. Wickliffe, Jerome of Prague, and John Huss, he dispatches in a few lines. They had indeed "declared against the popes, and against several abuses," "but their opinions were mingled with much that was exceptionable." But we have not space to enlarge. The "American editor" has fairly shown his doctrinal tendencies in his "preface and notes," and what is the "tangible bond of ordinances and institutions," which he considers essential to the existence and integrity of *the true church*. The object of this work is no doubt to illuminate the *popular mind* upon "the Scriptural catalogue" and the "tangible bond of ordinances," according to Oxfordism, alias *Romanism*. But he does, in fact, exhibit an *unscriptural catalogue* of *carnal ordinances*, which have never had any other effect than to mar the beautiful features of Christianity, and to destroy its legitimate effects.

11. *The Antiquities of the Christian Church. Translated and compiled from the Works of Augusti, with numerous Additions from Rhienwald, Siegal, and others.* By Rev. Lyman Coleman. 8 vo., pp. 557. Andover: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. New-York. 1841.

The antiquities of the church constitute a deeply interesting and important subject of investigation. But the Holy Scriptures being the only criterion of the divine right of positive institutions, we can, of course, bind upon no man's conscience any institution or usage not clearly presented in the Bible. Still, the usages of the primitive church, which are not in opposition to the general provisions of the New Testament, are worthy the serious consideration of the church in all ages.

This subject is at present studied with deep interest and great diligence, especially in Europe. And the influence it has upon the Romish and high church controversy, gives it a high degree of importance in this country. Those gentlemen who "defer to tradition," must be met upon their own ground. And if it shall appear, as upon the most thorough and impartial investigation it certainly will, that they are not supported by the example of the church in its earliest and purest ages, to what will they flee next? If they come down to later ages, they then labor under the disadvantages of diminished authority and diversity of practice, not to insist that superstition and corruption had changed many of the original features of the church.

The usages of the church, through several successive centuries, are carefully and diligently collected, and clearly exhibited in the volume now upon our table. We have here the results of the labors of several of the best German scholars, not incumbered with strong sectarian biases. Upon the whole, we are sure this volume will be highly useful to the student of ecclesiastical antiquities, and we most cordially thank the translator and compiler for his labor.

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12. *Wesleyan Methodism, considered in Relation to the Church; to which is subjoined a Plan for their Union and more effectual Co-operation.* By the Rev. Richard Hodgson, A. M., Evening Lecturer of St. Peter's, Cornhill.

This is, on the whole, rather a curious production, especially considering the source whence it emanates. It is from a minister of the Establishment, and it proposes a union between the Wesleyan Methodists in Great Britain and the Church of England. It is also a little singular, that at about the same time this proposition came from a distinguished clergyman of that church, a similar one should be made by a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the Methodists in this country. Whether the one took his cue from the other, or whether it was a coincidence arising from a like feeling of the utility of the measure pervading the breasts of these two eminent men, is more than we can say, nor is it a matter of much importance, as it is not likely to succeed, if we may judge from the tone of a review of this pamphlet in the "Church of England Quarterly Review" for April last.

In this Review, the Wesleyans, notwithstanding the writer pours the flattering unction upon the Methodists with an unsparing hand, will not feel themselves very highly complimented. Wesley, though no heretic, is considered a schismatic, because he established societies in the church, and organized a church in the United States.

The lecturer purposes to ordain one of the Wesleyan ministers a bishop. And he even nominates the man, namely, Dr. Bunting, thinking that, by this measure, the oil of consecration would be transmitted, pure from all adulteration, from the soft hands of the archbishop of Canterbury to the adopted offspring, and that hence would spring up a race of legitimates which would hereafter be recognized as lawful heirs to the succession. This is a mighty stretch of

charity, and would, were it not a little too selfish, cover the multitude of canonical sins which Wesley and his followers have committed.

Of the propriety of this measure, the reviewer has strong doubts. These are founded upon the "love of caste." Were the Methodist preachers admitted to orders, they would be exalted to an equality with their elder brethren. This, he thinks, would never do. It would, notwithstanding the purifying process of consecration by a true legitimate in regular succession from the apostles, corrupt the blood; yet he has a remedy. What is it, think you, gentle reader? Why, he proposes to introduce a new, or rather to *revive* an ancient order, which, for convenience, he calls "sub-deacons." These should be a sort of "*lay* clergy," forming a connecting link between the lower class, the "shop keepers" and "stock jobbers," and the higher classes, and between the "high born," the older sons of the church, or, in other words, the regular clergy of the Establishment, and the rabble. This is a most admirable expedient, and must be quite flattering to the Wesleyans. It is as if he had said, The Methodists may have the privilege of associating with our servants in the kitchen, if they will consent first to acknowledge that they are all illegitimates, and then receive absolution for their crimes by an approving smile from the lord of the mansion.

To what does all this amount? To just this, and no more: God has owned and blessed the Methodists in such an unparalleled manner, that they are now the largest and most flourishing denomination in the Protestant world. If we let them alone, they will "take our church and nation." What shall we do? Why, "we will entice them." They shall intermarry with us, provided we may have the privilege of celebrating the nuptials, and then they shall do our work, and we will enjoy the benefit of their toils. We hope the Methodists, on both sides of the Atlantic, will beware of this snare.

Both of the writers above noticed speak in flattering terms of Wesley, and of his followers. But they take good care to let us know what they think of us, nevertheless. For more than a century, we have been making an unjustifiable innovation upon the church. All the ordinances administered by us have been desecrated. Our children have been profanely baptized, and the Lord's supper *not* "duly administered." And now these gentlemen, in great charity, come forward, and most kindly offer us the cloak of succession, to cover our nakedness, and to screen us from impending wrath!

Now, the simple question is, Are the Methodists prepared to acknowledge that for nearly sixty years they have been deluding the people with the erroneous idea, that they have had the "pure word of God preached, and the sacraments duly administered?" Are they prepared to succumb to the doctrine of *succession*—a thing which has no existence but in the fancy of high churchmen and Romanists—and which Mr. Wesley declared he *knew* to be "a fable?"

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13. *The Nestorians; or, the Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of their Identity, an Account of their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, together with Sketches of Travel in ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy.* By Asahel Grant, M. D. 12mo., pp. 385. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1841.

This is a most interesting and instructive volume. One third of the book is occupied with sketches of the author's travels among the Nestorians and neighboring tribes. These people live in the mountains between Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia. They are, in all respects, a most singular and interesting people. They profess Christianity, into which profession they were probably brought by the apostles of Christ or their immediate successors. The author's graphic descriptions of the wildness of the country and the rude-

ness of the people are enchanting. But the fact that the way seems open for the revival of religion and a higher state of civilization among the inhabitants of these mountains is by far the most important presented in this work.

The remainder of the volume consists principally of an argument to prove the Israelitish origin of this singular people. This part of the work, whether it may be deemed entirely conclusive or not, is well worthy of consideration. In this investigation the author has shown both learning and research. The mass of facts, prophetic, historical, topographical, and philological, which he brings to bear upon his argument, is indeed striking, and cannot fail to awaken in the reader's mind a deep interest in the Nestorian Christians, though it should fail to secure his full assent to the author's theory with regard to their origin. Success to Dr. Grant and his book.

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14. *Themes for the Pulpit; being a Collection of nearly three thousand Topics with Texts, suitable for public Discourses in the Pulpit and Lecture Room. Mostly compiled from the published Works of ancient and modern Divines.* By Abraham C. Baldwin. 12mo., pp. 324. New-York: M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel, opposite the City Hall. 1841.

The book now upon our table purports to be designed as a help to ministers in finding passages suitable for the various occasions which present themselves in the course of ministerial duty. Such assistance may, in some instances, be needful, and may relieve the burdened mind of the preacher, whose pastoral duties scarcely give him time to read his Bible; but it looks to us quite probable that it will much more frequently encourage indolence, if not a neglect of the Scriptures. For ourselves, we look with suspicion upon these labor-saving expedients; especially such as will relieve a preacher from the necessity of a thorough acquaintance with the Bible.

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15. *The Poetry and History of Wyoming, containing Campbell's Gertrude, with a Biographical Sketch of the Author.* By Washington Irving; *and the History of Wyoming, from its Discovery to the Beginning of the present Century.* By William L. Stone. 12mo., pp. 324. New-York and London: Wiley & Putnam. 1841.

This is a volume of no ordinary interest. Campbell's poem, entitled "Gertrude of Wyoming," as a composition, has long very justly been admired. But the interest of the History will generally be regarded as vastly greater than that of the fictitious tale, however beautifully told. The History is a detail of *facts*, gathered from authentic records and living witnesses. The facts have been collected with commendable industry, and, in general, are accurately and elegantly drawn out.

Our relation to the beautiful valley of Wyoming, and to many of the heroes of the story, doubtless gives the colonel's book an interest in our feelings which it will not have in the feelings of all its readers. This far-famed valley is our earthly home. We stand connected by marriage with the family of Mrs. Myers, whose story our author took from her own lips. We are intimately acquainted with the primitive settlers, who still survive, and have long been accustomed to listen to their tales of wo and grief—of blood and slaughter—of fire and flood—of nakedness and famine. No one will dispute our right, under these circumstances, to welcome the History of Wyoming by Col. Stone. Had the author gathered all the interesting anecdotes which may still be collected from the survivors of the scenes he describes, his book would have been much larger, and not at all diminished in its interest. The colonel's sketches are not pretty fancies; they are rather dim outlines of the reality.

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BISHOP WASHINGTON.

Of New York Conference.

Published at the Methodist Book Room, 200 Mulberry St. N.Y.

[illegible] The result of the labors and investigations carried on within this period has been, if not the creation, at least the perfecting of the science of ethnography or comparative philology:—A science which has unfolded mysteries for the solution of which neither history nor tradition had afforded any clew; it has gone back further than the conjectures of fabulous or poetic history; it has traced the migrations of tribes, the revolu-

REV. DR. BANGS'S WASHINGTON.

New York Confession of Faith

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1841.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language.* By ISAAC NORDHEIMER, Doctor in Philosophy of the University of Munich; Professor of Arabic, Syriac, and other Oriental Languages in the University of the City of New-York. In two volumes, 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 280. New-York: Wiley and Putnam. 1838. Vol. II, pp. 360. 1841.

THE attention which has been bestowed upon the study of languages during the last fifty years has produced great and important results. For it has been not merely the study of words and grammatical forms, but, in addition, an extended and comprehensive view of the general principles of language, of the changes it has undergone, and of the causes which have produced such diversities of speech in different nations. The investigations of the philologist have not been restricted, as was once the case, within the limits of the languages of ancient Greece and Rome; but every region of the earth has been penetrated, and the dialects of almost every nation or tribe brought to light and critically analyzed, for the purpose of discovering the primitive elements of speech. During no period in the history of literature have so much labor and research been bestowed upon long-mooted questions in philology, and at no time have so many attacks been made upon positions long since regarded as established. The result of the labors and investigations carried on within this period has been, if not the creation, at least the perfecting of the science of ethnography or comparative philology:—A science which has unfolded mysteries for the solution of which neither history nor tradition had afforded any clew; it has gone back further than the conjectures of fabulous or poetic history; it has traced the migrations of tribes, the revolu-

tions of ages, and the genealogy of mankind, with a certainty no tradition could afford. For as Horne Tooke (the learned and ingenious author of the Diversions of Purley) says, "Language cannot lie; and from the language of every nation we may with certainty collect its origin."

To corroborate the Mosaic account of the creation and dispersion of mankind, early philologists had rested content with the hypothesis that all languages were resolvable into one, and *that* the Hebrew. This was a mere hypothesis, which their limited researches had by no means definitely established; consequently, upon the discovery of the numerous dialects of America, Africa, and Polynesia, its advocates were beset with difficulties seemingly insurmountable. Philologists, both Christian and infidel, were now abroad searching for all dialects, resolving them to their primitive elements, and seeking for the ultimate atoms from which all these varied inflections had been formed. Every day new languages were brought to light, and the difficulty of referring all to one, primitive and universally diffused, seemed proportionally to increase. The old philologist was driven from his point, and the unbeliever, placing confidence in untenable hypotheses or half-completed researches, exultingly proclaimed that here was another science which gave the lie to the divine records, and would allow the Mosaic history to be nothing more than a "significant mythus," or an illustrative fable. But infidelity in this, as in other similar instances, had come to premature conclusions. The decision was made before all the witnesses had been brought to the stand, even before half the languages of the world had been examined. And not only was the conclusion defective in this respect, but another great error existed in the manner in which the comparison of languages was made. Trifling and whimsical analogies of words merely had been discovered, and these, in a science which had, as yet, no settled principles of investigation laid down, were made to prove a near affinity between languages: so, on the other hand, a dissimilarity of sounds was thought to establish a radical difference.

This system of procedure was now to be changed. Discoveries had been made sufficient to show, that tracing affinities by such a method as this was entirely unphilosophical, and while it gave unbounded license for fanciful conjecture, at the same time it afforded no true principle for correct judgment. Words alone were

not to be compared, the external appearance of language was not to be the only object of study, but words in their arrangement and consecution were to be analyzed, and the internal structure of speech critically investigated. For there is an inherent tendency in language to change its vocal sounds,* even while its grammar remains fixed and determinate. Hence, in proceeding upon the system of merely comparing a certain number of words, the philologist was liable at every stage of his progress to fall into errors. Thus the conclusions, to which many arrived as to the radical difference of the languages they had investigated, afforded the infidel ground for his denial of the Mosaic account of the peopling of the world from a single pair, and of the subsequent dispersion of mankind. For, he argued, if the whole world was originally "of one language and of one speech,"† whence come these numerous dialects so radically different? Why have not languages more affinities common to all? But he was reasoning on false hypotheses, or rather on premises not fully established. For the elder Humbolt, whose linguistic researches, together with those of his brother, gave new impulse to this science, says, "Languages are much more strongly characterized by their structure and grammatical forms, than by the analogy of their sounds and roots; and the analogy of sounds is sometimes so disfigured in the different dialects of the same tongue as not to be distinguishable; for the tribes into which a nation is divided, often designate the same object by words altogether heterogeneous. Hence we are easily mistaken, if, neglecting the study of inflections and consulting only the roots, we decide upon the absolute difference of two idioms from the simple want of resemblance in sound."‡ This was the rock upon which the presumptuous philologist had split—passing by the internal structure of speech and consulting external appearances alone; neglecting the grammar of language to observe merely the resemblance or dissimilarity of sounds. Thus, it was asserted not only that the numerous dialects of our American aborigines were

* "The Jesuits in China inform us, that in that great empire, with a written language intelligible to half the people, the inhabitants of one village can scarcely understand the speech of another."—*Dr. Lang's View of the Polynesian Nation.*

† See Genesis xi, 1.

‡ See "Humboldt's Personal Narrative."

entirely different from the languages of the eastern hemisphere, but that dissimilarities existed in the dialects of different tribes sufficient to mark them as distinct and peculiar. So Dr. Von Martius, who bestowed considerable labor and research upon the dialects of the South American Indians, in view of what he considered such striking differences, unable to conceive of their proceeding from the eastern continent, pronounced the American Indians to be indigenous.* Such unphilosophical conclusions can only be accounted for, by supposing that their authors wished in every possible way to invalidate the Mosaic history. More recent and extended researches have proved such theories to be false, for although there does exist great diversity in the external features of the American languages, yet there is "a common principle of mechanism" in their internal structure, which we cannot explain otherwise than by referring them to a common origin. Our countryman, the late Dr. Barton,† bestowed much labor and investigation upon this subject, and in examining eighty-three different American languages, he discovered in them a wonderful similarity of structure. Later, yet independent, researches have proved these languages to be cognate to those of Eastern and South-eastern Asia. The various dialects of the Polynesian nations are also on strict philological principles referred to an Asiatic origin. Thus we find that the great diversity of languages is more apparent than real, and that all can be referred to a few prominent divisions.‡

After discovering and investigating the structure of a multitude of languages,§ the ethnographist arrived at still more definite conclusions. He has succeeded, 1st. In demonstrating the original unity of language; 2d. In showing that, independent of revelation, we must suppose some violent disruption of society, (and not a gradual change or different arrangement of elements,) in order to account for the existing diversity of lan-

* "Ipsos Germanos indigenos, crediderim."—*Tacitus, De Moribus Germanorum.*

† The results of his labors will be found in "Mithridates," vol. iii, compiled by Vater.

‡ Sir William Jones was of the opinion that three great branches of language were sufficient to account for all the existing dialects.

§ The "Saggio prattico delle Lingue" of Hervas contains the Lord's prayer in three hundred different dialects, with explanatory and grammatical notes. The "Mithridates" of Adelung and Vater is still more extensive and critical.

guage.* Thus we see that these researches, instead of disproving the Mosaic account of the creation of man and the confusion of tongues, only the more fully corroborate it—another science is wrested from unhallowed hands, and brought to vindicate the truth of the word of God. We have given the above views on the subject of ethnography, not only from a conviction of the intrinsic importance of the science, but in view of its peculiar connection with the study of the Hebrew language, both with regard to the impulse given to its pursuit by the investigations of comparative philology and the opinion of many that the primitive language to which all others should be referred is the Hebrew. We see no reason for supposing that the primitive language was entirely lost in the confusion of tongues, but we prefer the opinion that the Hebrew has retained the characteristics of this original form of speech, though not without changes in its structure. There appears nothing improbable in this view of the subject, and arguments drawn from the nature of the Hebrew might be adduced in support of it. As it appears to be in perfect harmony with the account of Moses, and as so many facts tend to substantiate it, we prefer to hold this view until its opponents bring forward weightier reasons for rejecting it.

But to leave that question. We think it will not be disputed at the present day, that the Hebrew is the oldest language of all those whose literary records we possess. This was once denied, and when in "rolls of old Brahminic lore" the Sanscrit was discovered, some of its ardent friends affirmed that here were records which dated back beyond the time stated by Moses as the creation of man; its less enthusiastic disciples declared that we must allow these works an antiquity as high as fourteen centuries before the Christian era. The arguments by which these pretensions are supported have a value corresponding to the fabulous tales of the Brahmins, on which they seem to be founded.† Hence we regard

* For a popular and somewhat extended view of the origin and progress of ethnography, see Dr. Wiseman's "Lectures on the Comparative Study of Languages."

† After all, the Sanscrit must be considered a language of high antiquity, and we would by no means adopt the theory Dugald Stewart has advanced, that the "Sanscrit is a jargon of Greek and Latin." Such a theory the merest tyro in philology ought to be able to refute.

it as an established point, that the records of our holy religion date nearer the creation than any other known writings. With this acknowledged, what an interest is attached to the study of the Hebrew! We approach with veneration a language of such high pretensions. It is the language of patriarchs, prophets, and poets; of men who held converse with God. No language of earth has higher and holier claims upon our attention than this: for, in it we have the first transcript of the words of Jehovah. Here is legislation in its purest form; here is poetry in its highest and loftiest strains, even that which was prompted by the Spirit of God. And here are prophetic visions invested with all the certainty of history.

Though for more than two thousand years the Hebrew has ceased to be a spoken language; though the voices of heaven-commissioned prophets are no longer heard, proclaiming "the day of vengeance of our God;" and minstrel kings have ceased to sing the songs of Zion among the hills and valleys of Judea, yet, through the protecting care of Providence, the Hebrew Bible has come down to us almost as perfect as it proceeded from the mind of Jehovah.* This fact should make its study desirable and interesting to every Christian scholar. To the man whom God has called as one of his appointed servants, it appears to us that a knowledge of the Hebrew is of almost indispensable importance. Without it, how can he be fully prepared to vindicate the truths of our holy religion? how can he answer all the cavils of infidels, or defend those doctrines which he claims to have drawn from the word of God?† It may be answered that we have a translation which conveys to us the very meaning of the inspired original. Such an answer indicates lamentable ignorance of the first principles of language. All translations are defective, and ours is so, of neces-

* In the early part of the seventeenth century a controversy was carried on with regard to the integrity of the Hebrew text. Buxtorf maintained that the labors of the Masorites had preserved the text from any corruptions. This was denied by Capellus and his followers. The general opinion of scholars is, that variations and errors exist, yet of such a nature as to be of little importance. This view is supported by the collation of numerous manuscripts.

† Infidels have often taken advantage of inaccurate or false translations. An appeal to the original will generally close their mouths. Thus all difficulties with regard to the transactions spoken of in Exod. iii, 22, and 1 Chron. xx, 3, are removed by a correct understanding of the verbs used in those passages.

sity, both on account of the low state of Hebrew learning at the time it was made, and the few manuscripts that could be obtained. Dr. Macknight, in reference to our authorized version, says, "It is by no means such a just representation of the inspired originals as merits to be implicitly relied upon for determining the controverted articles of the Christian faith, and for quieting the dissensions which have rent the church." If we examine the manner in which our present version was made, we think that the truth and justice of the above remarks will be readily acknowledged.

When the study of the Hebrew was extensively introduced among Christians, it was learned through the Vulgate, a version made by Jerome in the fourth century, and which is the only publicly authorized version of the Romish Church. Hence all the translations published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are directly or indirectly dependent upon this. Wickliffe's, made in 1380, was acknowledged to be directly from it. Luther in preparing his German translation was obliged to consult the Vulgate for the meaning of Hebrew words. Tyndale, who completed his in 1526, was greatly indebted to Luther's. Cranmer's (1540) was only a corrected copy of the one published by Tyndale and Rogers in 1537, and commonly called Matthew's Bible. A revision of Cranmer's was made in 1568 by Archbishop Parker; hence it is often called the Bishops' or Parker's Bible. In 1604 it was determined that a new revision should be made under the direction of James I, and he recommended that in doing this "the ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit."* Thus it can be readily seen that our present authorized version was not an independent translation, but merely a compilation of several preceding ones, all of them placing much reliance upon the Vulgate.† The fact that so many learned Biblical scholars have called for a new translation, or revision of the authorized version, is proof enough of its imperfections. Among those who have desired that such a revision should be made, are Archbishop Newcombe, Bishops Lowth and Marsh, Dr. Kennicott, Dr. White, Mr. Wesley, and Dr. Adam Clarke, together with some of the first Biblical scholars

* This was one of the rules given by King James to the compilers.

† For fuller information on this subject Bishop Marsh's "Second Lecture on the Interpretation of the Bible" may be consulted.

of our own country. Yet, after all, we doubt whether, under present circumstances, while there exist so many dissensions in the church of Christ, such a revision would be expedient or even practicable.

The great remedy for our imperfect version must be in a ministry able to drink at those fountains of inspiration—the original Scriptures. Shall a "steward of the mysteries of God" place all his confidence in the labors of uninspired men? or shall he not rather go and read the first transcript of the law of heaven? In one prominent and very important particular all translations must be defective. We allude to the subject of prophecy. In proof of this assertion we quote the following from Bishop Marsh* :—"It is impossible to enter into the true spirit of Hebrew prophecy without a knowledge of the Hebrew language. The prophetic style of Scripture is of a peculiar kind, and it is always difficult and sometimes impossible to express in English what is expressed in Hebrew. Words in one language may express a *figurative* meaning, while the corresponding in the translation will give only a *literal*. Here, it would be impossible to get the meaning of the original writer from the translation."

In view of these considerations, and for reasons already adduced, we think that implicit confidence ought not to be placed in *any* translation of the Holy Scriptures; still less should we trust to *one* made by men who, from the circumstances of the times in which it was made, were not so well able to judge of the true import of the sacred writings as we of the present age. The compilers were not learned in the languages kindred to the Hebrew, they had but few early translations to consult, very few original manuscripts† to collate, and, above all, this version was made when the English language itself was not fully settled.‡ These remarks are here introduced neither for the purpose of undervaluing the labors of those men who, with commendable zeal, sought to place the Bible in the hands of every one, nor to set too low an estimate upon our

* See his "Lectures on the Interpretation of the Bible."

† Dr. Kennicott, for his edition of the Hebrew Bible, obtained five hundred and eighty-one manuscripts for collation; Professor De Rossi, in 1806, had increased the number to six hundred and eighty.

‡ An authorized translation had the effect of placing the language on a more settled basis. Still, in our present version we have many obsolete words.

present version, for we believe it was made with all possible accuracy under the circumstances of the case, but we have thus written that we might urge the necessity and importance of the study of the original Scriptures to him who professes to deliver the whole counsel of God.

On this point we will quote from Wesley in his "Address to the Clergy." Speaking of the importance of an accurate knowledge of the Scriptures, and of an ability to derive practical benefit from them, he continues:—"But, can he do this in the most effectual manner, without a knowledge of the original tongues? Without this will he not frequently be at a stand even as to texts which regard practice only? But he will be under still greater difficulties with respect to controverted scriptures. He will be ill able to rescue these out of the hands of any man of learning that would pervert them; for whenever an appeal is made to the original, his mouth is stopped at once."* Though we believe there is, at the present day, no church or body of men ready to re-echo the papistical doctrine that any translation has been made by inspired men,† and is, consequently, infallible, yet does not this seem to be affirmed by those ministers of Christ who undervalue the importance of a knowledge of the original Scriptures?

We have insisted the more strongly upon a knowledge of the Hebrew, because, 1st. Without it we cannot understand the New Testament Greek; for this is not a dialect of the Greek classic writers, but a peculiar modification, resulting from an admixture of Hebrew words, but more especially Hebrew forms of expression. The writers of the New Testament were Jews, and had not caught the spirit of the classic Greek. Their habits of thought were different, the subject of their writings was of a higher nature. Hence the New Testament, or Hellenistic Greek, is distinct from the language of the classic writers, and for a proper understanding of it we must go back to the source of its peculiarities—the Hebrew. In the second place we have given greater prominence to the

* See Wesley's Works, vol. vi.

† The early Christians placed more confidence in the Septuagint than in the original, supposing it to have been made by inspired men; the Council of Trent, held in 1545, declared the Vulgate version should be regarded as *authentic*, and was to be referred to in all controversies as decisive. Many Catholics have affirmed that St. Jerome (the translator) was inspired.

and Christian grammarians has given him many advantages for the prosecution of his investigations. He has had a great mass of materials to consult, and he appears to have used all requisite care in his selection. Most grammarians have entered upon the investigation of the peculiarities of the Hebrew with preconceived prejudices, arising in a measure from their more intimate knowledge of languages, which present appearances so dissimilar to the one they are attempting to explain. The author of the work before us seems to have discovered, at the outset, that this error was the cause of so many failing to accomplish what they had undertaken. He appears to have divested himself of all such prejudices, and by a critical study of comparative philology, and a careful examination of the general principles of speech, to have become well prepared for the difficult task of explaining on philosophical principles the internal features of so primitive a language as the Hebrew. He shows us that the great discoveries and advances made in general philology have had their corresponding influence in modifying the principles upon which an examination of the peculiarities of the Hebrew should be made.

Gesenius accomplished much by his copious collection and skilful arrangement of facts pertaining to the study of the language; yet the defects of his "Critical System" of the Hebrew were so apparent, that Ewald rushed into the opposite extreme, and, placing no reliance upon the opinions of others, he has started bold and fanciful theories, and often indulges in a kind of "philological mysticism." Still his grammar has many just and original views, and it is to be regretted that he undertook its construction upon such wrong principles of procedure.

Our author, comparing the course he has taken with reference to these two prominent grammarians, remarks,—

"That, while in forming his opinion, he has remained completely independent of both, his aim has been to preserve a course intermediate to those which they have pursued, remembering that,

'————Sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.'

"Thus, on the one hand, the author has not shunned the discussion of the most formidable topics that present themselves in the course of the etymology, even to the minutest particulars. Nor has he rested satisfied, in attempting their illustration, with adducing as a *ground*

form some similar appearance in the Aramaic or Arabic; for indispensable as a knowledge of the sister dialects certainly is to a thorough acquaintance with the Hebrew, the true use of such knowledge consists not in the bare citation of parallel cases, but in the application of the principles which regulate their phenomena to the illustration of the Hebrew within its own limits."

This is certainly a right principle to proceed upon, and our author has successfully carried it out; at the same time he has not been led by the mere thirst for novelty, in advancing theories opposed to the views of preceding grammarians. He has given us a system simple and full, founded on the primitive laws of speech, in the place of those which were highly artificial and complicated.

His remarks upon the powers and representatives of the Hebrew letters appear to be just and discriminating. In some points he differs from the manner of pronunciation most common among Hebrew scholars of this country. Yet after all it is a matter of but little consequence, provided we have a system of universal applicability, at the same time founded on the general principles of the language.

The chapter on the vowels is peculiarly clear, and presents us with some striking and original views on the common nature of the vowel sounds. There can be no question at the present day as to the fact that the Hebrew was originally written without the vowel signs. The early Hebrew scholars, trusting to rabbinical traditions, confidently believed that the vowel points were coeval with the consonants, but the discovery of the Samaritan pentateuch (in which there are no vowel signs) gave them new views upon the subject. Accordingly, Louis Capellus strongly contended for their modern origin, and the younger Buxtorf as strenuously asserted their antiquity. The controversy was carried on for a number of years, and as late as 1770 Dr. Robertson, of Edinburgh, published a dissertation defending their antiquity. Several distinguished German scholars of the last century proposed a middle path; asserting that in the earliest stages of the language use was made of some vowel points, probably three, but allowing that the present system was an invention of the Masorites.

Our author thinks, that as long as the language continued to be a spoken one, no vowel signs were employed; but when it ceased to be spoken, the inconveniences arising from the want of them began to be felt. Hence, the literati, whose veneration for the

sacred tongue would not permit them to alter its orthographical system, in order to represent the principal vowel sounds, employed those consonants which were nearest allied to them. The ones thus used were א, ו, and י; these represented respectively *a*, *u*, and *i*.* He then proceeds to demonstrate that these are the chief vowel sounds, the others being merely intermediate modifications of them.†

"§ 10. 1. Of all the sounds which enter into the composition of speech that of the vowel *a* is the simplest and the most easily produced, it consisting of a mere emission of the voice through the unclosed lips; and on this account it ranks first in most alphabets. 2. The vowel *i* is produced by the greatest horizontal dilatation of the mouth, or, in other words, it is that vowel in the enunciation of which the oral aperture is extended longitudinally in the greatest degree. 3. The utterance of its opposite *u* is effected by the closest approximation of the corners of the mouth during the emission of the voice. The remaining vowel sounds are the intermediates of the three principal ones: thus the diphthongal vowel *e* lies between *a* and *i*, both of which sounds enter into its composition, whence it is frequently denoted both in English and French by the two conjoined, thus *fail*, *gait*, *maison*, *fraiche*; so too the diphthongal vowel *o*, the medium between *a* and *u*, is represented in the latter tongue by a combination of its elements, thus, *au*, *faux*."

There was a peculiar appropriateness in employing the weak consonants א, ו, and י, to represent the three principal vowel sounds; but, as there were no characters to denote their modifications, the system was as yet only imperfectly developed. Hence, after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews throughout the world, there arose difficulties as to the correct manner of pronunciation. These could only be removed by the introduction of more vowel signs; in this way the system was gradually improved until it was completed, probably at the close of the seventh century.

The question has been often asked, If the vowel system is comparatively of so recent origin, what importance is attached to it? And may we not in some instances correct the reading when it is entirely dependent upon the vowel points? To the first part of this

* These are to be pronounced according to the continental mode of pronunciation.

† Professor Anthon, in accordance with the opinion of eminent German philologists, remarks:—"It is highly probable that, in all languages, only the simple vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* primarily existed, and that all other vowels arose out of these three elementary sounds." See his "Indo Germanic Analogies."

question we reply that great respect should be paid to the authority of this system, as it is the result of the labors of that faithful body of Jewish critics, the Masorites. No one can point to an instance in which they have corrupted the sacred text; on the contrary, they have bestowed upon it the most patient and conscientious labor, and have taken the strictest care to preserve the Holy Scriptures in their original purity. To the second part of the question we answer, that the present reading should be well weighed, and all the arguments duly considered, before we venture to alter that which has been established by competent authority. On no account should we admit emendations which are merely conjectural.

The utility of the vowel points to a learner of the Hebrew is very great. Hence the system of Masclef and Parkhurst, which rejects the use of them, cannot be too severely censured. This system is destructive of the correct principles of interpretation, as it blends together nouns and verbs, and different species of the verb. By it the student is rapidly advanced in the first part of his course, but it fails of making sound and critical Hebrew scholars. Their rejection of the vowel points is the more to be wondered at, when we consider that the vowels have a more important part to act in the Semitish than in the occidental languages, for in the formation of words from primitive roots, the Orientals aim to preserve the original length of the words, and accordingly express difference of signification by different vowels; and thus by rejecting the vowel system, we throw into uncertainty and confusion principles of interpretation which have been fixed by men in every way competent for the work.

One of the most perplexing tasks of the philologist is to correctly investigate and apply those laws of euphony which regulate the vowel and consonant changes. This is a most important department of his science, for by it he is enabled to trace affinities of languages which otherwise he might never have discovered. Nations, for the sake of euphony, not only interchange letters in derivatives of their own dialects, but in adopting words from other languages, they assimilate them to the genius of their own by a similar process.* Thus in all languages there is a frequent interchange of *l* and *r*. The Japanese pronounce *r* in the place of *l*; with the Chinese it

* This is especially practiced with proper names, as all languages, both ancient and modern, clearly show.

is just the reverse. In the Indo-European languages several other consonants are thus interchangeable. When we consider the importance of these consonant changes in establishing linguistic affinities, we regret that our author has not given us a more full and extended view of the subject. The views he has advanced are uncommonly clear, and his arrangement appears to be correct, and we only lament that he has confined himself within such narrow limits, as this appears to us the place where a more elaborate dissertation on the subject might have been introduced.

In treating of the *imperfect* letters our author has displayed great research, and has pointed out most clearly their distinctive peculiarities. In view of the influence these letters exert to produce those appearances of verbs, which former grammarians have called irregularities, we would recommend an attentive perusal of this chapter to him who wishes to know, not only that such peculiarities exist, but would also have the reason philosophically explained; so that, instead of burdening his memory with a multitude of particulars, he may have a few general principles to which he can refer all seeming anomalies for solution. It is in this way that "grammar is raised to the rank of a science, the study of which constitutes a mental discipline of the highest order." It is also more in accordance with the spirit of the age; for scholars, rejecting the old method of learning languages, are accomplishing their object with much less labor, and with a far greater amount of mental cultivation.

We now come to the chapter on the formation of words; and the clear and ingenious manner in which he has introduced comparative analogies, renders it peculiarly interesting, not only to the Hebrew scholar but also to the general philologist. A certain number of primitive words comprise the ultimate particles of speech, and these words, in all languages, are monosyllabic;* for though a word in its present form is composed of a number of syllables, yet we find that *one* expresses the prominent idea, and that the others serve merely to modify its meaning. This is the opinion of the most eminent scholars, and is almost universally adopted at the present day. With regard to those roots which some have con-

* Dr. Murray carries this idea to a ridiculous excess when he asserts that all the European languages are formed from nine monosyllables ending in *ag*.

sidered dissyllabic, Adelung,* a distinguished German philologist, asserts that, "Every word, without exception, may be reduced to a monosyllabic root, and ought to be so reduced if we wish to follow the path which nature has traced out for us. If the grammarians, who labored on the Semitic tongues, misled by a blind regard for rabbinical authority, still hold to the doctrine of dissyllabic roots, this error only shows the proneness of man toward every thing complicated and intricate, at the expense of simplicity and the clearest indications of nature." Our author, in investigating the structure of Hebrew roots, rejecting that authority which has misled so many, gives us the following general conclusions:—

"§ 113. As radical words are those which express the simplest ideas without qualification or restriction, they are naturally constructed in the simplest manner, that is, of the fewest letters. In the Indo-European languages these letters are not restricted to any particular number; in which respect they differ essentially from those of the Shemish family, whose roots, for the most part verbs, consisted as a general rule, of three consonants originally formed into a monosyllable by the aid of the simplest vowel, *a*, which to facilitate the pronunciation was given to the second letter, and thus each separate idea was expressed by a single impulse of the voice, rendered as distinct as possible by both commencing and ending in a vowelless consonant, e. g., קָטַל *to kill*, מָלַךְ *to reign*. The degree of simplicity, and even rudeness, manifested in this fundamental point, forms a striking proof of the antiquity of the languages in which it obtained. As, however, the Hebrew advanced in cultivation, these sounds came to be considered as too harsh and abrupt; and, in consequence, a euphonic vowel was given to the first letter, which transformed each root into a dissyllable, thus, מָלַךְ קָטַל."

Although the majority of the roots consist of three consonants, yet there are a considerable number originally biliteral, which, in accordance with the analogy of the language, have been changed into triliterals, either by the reduplication of one of the existing radicals, or by the addition of a new one. Besides this class of words, there are a small number which have retained their original length.

The comparison of personal pronouns has been considered one of the most important elements employed by ethnographists in determining linguistic affinities. In the chapter our author has devoted to personal pronouns, we find an extensive knowledge of

* See "Mithridates," vol. i.

comparative philology displayed. From the analogies here exhibited, which are founded on the surest of all *bases*, a grammatical analysis, we are more than ever convinced that all existing idioms have "originated in a common source," and that, consequently, all members of the human family have descended from "a common parentage."

If we were to point to any one particular, as denoting the excellence of this grammar, it would be the natural and systematic manner in which the verb and its various modifications have been explained. In every language this is the most important word, and, as our author remarks,—

"§ 132. In no language has the verb a greater claim to this superiority than in the Hebrew; since here it not only gives life to discourse by its own use and signification, but likewise furnishes the principal elements which enter into the composition of many other words, as well nouns as particles; while the verb can be considered only in a very few cases as derived from any other part of speech. All verbs, therefore, with but a trifling number of exceptions, are to be looked upon as *primitive* words."

The verb, being the *primitive* word, in its simplest form, consists of only three letters, termed *radicals;* consequently, in order to express its various significations, the root must be modified by means of those letters termed *serviles.*

In examining those appearances of the Hebrew verb, which some grammarians have termed *conjugations*, our author has divested them of their former artificial arrangement, and has given us a classification which, though simple, embraces all the *verbal* peculiarities. He uses the term *species*, instead of *conjugations*, to express the different modifications of the verb. We approve of the substitution of this term for the old one, as many of the difficulties of the Hebrew have resulted from the use of a terminology belonging to another class of languages. He has also very properly rejected those forms, which the grammarians, who labored to invent them, have called *unusual;* and by philosophically explaining the cause of their presenting such appearances, he has classed them with the *usual* species. We rejoice at this, because these forms have always been to the learner a source of trouble and vexation.

In treating of those classes of verbs which grammarians have hitherto termed *irregular*, but which he very appropriately calls *imperfect*, he has accomplished a difficult task in an able manner;

and he has reduced to comparative simplicity what was before a complicated and artificial system. In order to fully perceive the beauty of this arrangement, we must look back to his chapter on the peculiarities of the imperfect letters: for, as nearly all the verbs whose radicals are perfect letters are referred to the paradigm of קָטַל, so, all those whose radicals are imperfect letters are to be classed under the different forms of *imperfect* verbs. Thus we see that these peculiarities are not arbitrary deviations from the paradigm of the *perfect* verb, but are to be explained as resulting necessarily from the nature of the imperfect letters. Those apparently anomalous forms which they sometimes exhibit, he explains on the supposition that the imperfect verbs are formed from primary biliteral roots. He thus relieves the language of a large class of, so called, irregular forms, and reduces them to a strictly philosophical classification.

To elucidate clearly, and arrange accurately all the appearances of the Hebrew noun, is a task attended with many difficulties. These result, in a measure, from the fact of so many of the nouns being derivatives; and they have been increased rather than removed by the labors of preceding grammarians. For there is no propriety in introducing so many declensions into a language, which, to express the relations of nouns, does not make use of different modifications, as these relations (except instances of nouns in the *construct state*) are denoted by particles. Professor Lee, of Cambridge, England, and Professor Bush, of this city, have rejected the old system of declensions, yet have offered us nothing in its place. This leaves the matter too indefinite, and we prefer a defective classification to none at all. Our author, casting himself loose from all dependence upon the labors of others, has given us an arrangement of the noun both simple and complete, and in accordance with the general principles of the language. Though, at the first view, his system may seem to be in a measure complicated, it will be found that this results from the nature of the subject, and not from any arbitrary forms he has introduced.

His *remarks on the definite article, the demonstrative, relative, and interrogative pronouns, and the interrogative and directive particles*, are ingenious, and he gives us a striking and original view of the common origin of these words. He clearly demonstrates that they are all derived from the verb of existence חָיָה=הָוָה.

Thus the definite article, which is usually represented as consisting originally of the word הַל, corresponding to the Arabic, is to be traced to the personal pronoun הוּא *he, it*, which is itself derived from הָיָה=הָוָה. We will quote the concluding paragraph of this section on account of the clear view it gives us of the origin of the name JEHOVAH.

"It is highly worthy of remark that the syllable הָוָ or הָיָ, (ו when it occurs as the first letter of a verbal root, being changed into its cognate semi-vowel י,) which signifies *existence*, when reduplicated in the word יְהוָה denotes *existence of all existence, self-existence, God.*"

This point has been long contested both by infidels and Neologists; some have asserted that Moses derived this name from the Egyptians, while others have contended for its Indian origin. But the view our author has given of the origin of this name, founded, as it is, on sure grammatical principles, must be considered as conclusive. He proceeds in his investigation of the origin of the words already alluded to, and satisfactorily proves their derivation from that most important element of speech, the verb of existence.

Horne Tooke says, that the first aim of language was to communicate our thoughts; the second, to do it with dispatch. Hence we find that the more highly cultivated a language is, the more it abounds in particles. In the earliest ages of society language was deficient in this particular, and all the relations of words and sentences must have been expressed in an indefinite manner. As language became more cultivated and artificial, accuracy as well as dispatch was sought for; hence there was a gradual formation of that class of words called particles. The Hebrew has but a moderate number of them, and in accordance with the views just mentioned, they are found to be, for the most part, derivatives. Thus *waw conjunctive*, which has been fancifully supposed to derive its connecting power from the meaning of its name, (וָו, *a hook*,) our author refers to הָיָה=הָוָה, as its origin. The first volume closes with these original views of the derivation and use of the particles.

We will now proceed to examine the second, which contains the results of his labors upon the syntax and prosody of the Hebrew. He has given us a beautiful and systematic development of these subjects, with which so many difficulties are connected, and has succeeded in explaining the internal structure of the language on

principles which no other grammarian has attempted to apply. The syntactical construction of the Hebrew depends upon laws so primitive in their character, and so different from those which regulate corresponding relations in the Indo-Germanic family, that grammarians, in undertaking their explanation upon analogical principles, have most signally failed. It is true that some syntactical analogies appear to be common to the Semitic and to the Indo-Germanic tongues, yet not sufficient to derive from them any general principles of comparison. Our author, in order to avoid the errors of former grammarians, was obliged to reject all servile dependence upon their labors, and form for himself a plan of procedure, founded on the general principles of language. The original research he has bestowed upon the subject, and the complete success that has crowned his labors, are clearly seen upon an examination of this volume.

In the introduction he gives the general principles upon which an investigation of the syntax of the Hebrew should be conducted. The modes of treatment to which it has hitherto been subjected he designates by the terms, *objective* and *subjective*. He then very clearly proves that, in the present state of philology, neither of these modes can lead to satisfactory results. By the former, or objective plan, the grammarian's progress is facilitated, yet he cannot have a comprehensive view of the whole language, and, consequently, many important phenomena are either entirely neglected or presented in an erroneous point of view. The opposite method, while it presents many of the internal features of the language in a striking and accurate light, at the same time causes the grammarian to overlook important facts, and leads him to advance theories which the genius of the language will not support. Hence our author, in order to avoid the errors of these extremes, formed for himself a system of investigation, and has, by means of it, explained the syntactical structure of the Hebrew as dependent upon laws simple and primitive in their character.

The syntax of a language necessarily presents to the grammarian appearances more complicated and difficult of explanation than the etymology. For, in investigating the etymological forms, he has merely to observe the external features of speech, the formation of words, and the various changes which they undergo. But when he attempts to discover the relations of these words to each other,

and to investigate the structure of sentences with all their modifications and restrictions, he finds that he must enter upon an examination of "the laws which regulate the entire structure of language." Proceeding upon the principles which he has laid down in the introduction, our author has treated the subject philosophically, and has clearly shown that the syntax of the Hebrew, although wanting many of the forms peculiar to the Indo-Germanic family, yet possesses a high degree of accuracy in the expression of propositions.

In his chapter on the construction of sentences he exhibits their various relations in an accurate light, and clearly shows the primitive simplicity of the Hebrew mode of expressing both simple and compound propositions. Passing by the *article*, we come to a full and well-arranged chapter on *agreement*. This department of syntax has generally been considered as abounding in anomalies; and, when we look at the deviations from the regular form, we do not wonder that grammarians have failed of properly explaining the cause of these peculiarities. Our author, by investigating those principles which regulate the internal structure of speech, has been able to show the *ultimate* cause of such deviations. Thus he gives us the following general rules, to which all instances of the neglect of gender or number can be referred:—"1. As the masculine singular is the simplest form of a word, and as, moreover, the masculine gender is the most prominent in its use, we sometimes find *the masculine form employed when the feminine might have been expected*, but not the contrary. 2. Again, as the singular form of words is simpler than the plural, *a plural noun is sometimes construed in the singular*, but not the contrary." These nouns, אֱלֹהִים *God*, אֲדֹנָי *Lord*, שַׁדַּי *Almighty*, when used as names of the only and true God, are put in the plural to denote superior dignity and pre-eminence,* (hence they are usually termed *pluralia excellentiæ*,) but are to be construed logically in the singular.

* We think with our author (and the younger Buxtorf was of the same opinion) that these terms were used only to designate the excelling power and majesty of the *one* God. Some have attempted to show that by these expressions the existence of the *Trinity* was prefigured. This sublime and mysterious doctrine is plainly revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and we see no need of attempting to add to these express declarations arguments, which grammatical analogy will not sustain.

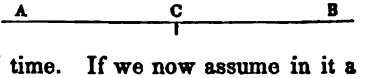
In treating of the syntax of the adjective, he has clearly explained the peculiar manner in which the relation of comparison is expressed. Yet it appears to us that there is no necessity for the distinction he makes of *relative* and *absolute* superlative. For, from the very nature of the superlative, being a degree of comparison, it can only be relative. That form which he calls the *absolute superlative* expresses an intensity of meaning, and in Hebrew is denoted by placing the noun in construction with an appellation of the Deity, e. g., נַפְתּוּלֵי אֱלֹהִים *most powerful wrestlings*, Gen. xxx, 8, (*great wrestlings*, our version has it.) In such cases the object is, not to denote the relation of comparison, but to express the existence of the quality in a high degree. Hence we prefer to consider this merely as an *intensive* form of the adjective.* This may seem to be a matter of little consequence, yet in a grammatical work all arbitrary or unnecessary distinctions should be avoided.

The chapters on the relations of nouns to each other, and their objective and subjective relations to verbs, we speak of only to admire the perspicuity and clearness with which he has treated the subject. From his view of these relations we perceive how erroneous it is to apply to Hebrew nouns the grammatical terminology of the Indo-Germanic languages. For we find that the Semitic tongues indicate these relations in a manner peculiar to themselves. This is done by the use of prepositions, or by the position of the nouns, so as not to require a change of termination. Such an arrangement gives the language a less artificial, and at the same time a more natural and primitive appearance. The syntax of the pronouns is a subject of great interest to the Hebrew scholar. The important part they have to act in the enunciation of propositions, the appearances they present when affixed to other words, and the modifications of meaning they receive, require that their relations should be accurately investigated and critically explained. Our author has accomplished this in that masterly manner which characterizes all his labors.

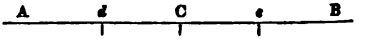
* This relation is also expressed by prefixing to one of the names of the Deity the preposition לְ or לִפְנֵי, e. g., גִּבּוֹר־צַיִד לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, *a most mighty hunter.* Gen. x, 9. (Our version renders it, *the mighty hunter before the Lord.*) This idiom occurs in the Hellenistic or New Testament Greek, as δίκαιοι ἀμφότεροι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, *both righteous before God*, i. e., *very righteous.* Luke i, 6. The same form is used in the Romaic or modern Greek.

We come now to the syntax of that most important element of language, the verb. All who have entered upon the investigation of this subject have found in it difficulties almost insurmountable, especially as regards the forms used to indicate the time in which an action takes place. The Hebrew presents the peculiarity of a language with, strictly speaking, only two temporal forms; the *preterite*, as קָטַל, and the *future*, as יִקְטֹל. Some, in order to avoid the difficulties of the subject, have called these forms *first* and *second* modes. In this way, they represent the Hebrew as altogether destitute of tenses, and as expressing the relations of time in a very indefinite and uncertain manner. Our author, before entering into the details of the subject, gives us some preliminary remarks, 1st, with respect to time abstractly considered, or what we would designate as time applicable to universal language; and 2dly, on the mode in which time is specified in the Hebrew. His views upon the first point are so original and striking, that we will quote them entire.

"§ 954. Time, considered abstractedly, and without reference to the manner in which it is specified in language, may be said to consist of a constant flow or succession of moments, whose beginning and end are lost in eternity. This uninterrupted and endless series of instants may, not unaptly, be compared to a straight line continued *ad infinitum*, which is not susceptible of specification in its whole extent, but which, by the assumption of a point in any part of it, is immediately converted into two lines branching off from such point in opposite directions. Thus, let us suppose A B to be a straight line proceeding from left to right, and



representing an indefinite extent of time. If we now assume in it a point C to represent the *present*, that portion of the line extending from C in the direction of A will represent *past* time, and that from C in the opposite direction B will represent *future* time. From this we see that the times called past and future are purely relative, and depend for their determination on the position of the moment called the present; so that on shifting this last they may be mutually converted, the past into future, and the future into past time. Thus, to return to our illustration, if C be taken as the present, C A will represent all past, and C B all future time: but if we shift this point back to *d*, the portion of time C *d* which was before



past will now be future; and by advancing it to *e*, the portion of time C *e* will be converted from future into past."

"§ 955. The point of time called the present is practically established by a speaker or writer in two different ways:—1st. It is often

tacitly fixed by the time of narration, so that all events spoken of as past, unless otherwise specified, are understood to have taken place anterior to the time of narration, and all those spoken of as future are considered as subsequent to such period. The tenses whose import is thus established by the time of narration itself may be termed, for convenience' sake, the *absolute preterite* and *future*. 2dly. Events may also be specified as to time with relation to some other period expressly intimated; in which case those spoken of as past are understood to take place anterior to such period, and those as future subsequent thereto; the tenses employed in this connection we shall name the *relative past* and *future*."

In the Indo-Germanic languages we find that the present is not restricted to a mere point of time, but is extended so as to require a separate form to designate it; so that they have three absolute tenses, and three corresponding relative ones. The use of the temporal forms of the Hebrew is more strictly philosophical; at the same time their construction is much more simple. The two absolute forms קָטַל and יִקְטֹל being modified by the particle וְ, (*waw, conversive,*) give rise to two others, וְקָטַל and וַיִּקְטֹל, which, when used in connection with the absolute tenses, are respectively termed *relative future* and *relative past*. His extended explication of the forms, illustrated by a citation of passages in which they occur, will convince the Hebrew scholar that there is not an indiscriminate use of the tenses, nor a want of distinction between them, but, on the contrary, he will perceive that they are employed in a definite way and subject to fixed rules, so that in no instance need there be doubt or uncertainty as to their signification. As the modes of the Hebrew verb present neither as many difficulties nor peculiarities as the tenses, and, moreover, as grammarians are more united in their views of them, we will not, at this time, attempt to enter into the merits of the subject. We can only speak of the chapter on the verbal modes in terms of general commendation.

It would be improper to omit to notice the extended view he has taken of the different particles; and considering the important part they have to act in expressing the relations of words and in modifying the meanings of propositions, we rejoice that he has bestowed so much laborious research upon their investigation. The translators of our version of the Bible, in many instances, seem to have misapprehended the relative power of some of the particles. Thus the inseparable particle וְ, called *waw conjunctive*, has almost inva-

riably been rendered *and;* but, if we examine its nature and origin, we find that it corresponds to other English particles, and it must often be rendered by a circumlocutory expression. Hence the critical acumen and discernment here displayed will be properly appreciated by the Biblical student.

The remainder of the volume is devoted to an examination of the prosody of the language. In this place he gives us a brief view of the characteristics of Hebrew poetry which distinguish it from prose. Perhaps no subject in the whole range of literature has been more fully discussed than this. So many visionary theories have been advocated, and so many contradictory views supported, that it was supposed impossible to discover its true nature and the laws which regulate its construction. Josephus affirms that the songs in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, and in the thirty-third of Deuteronomy,* are written in hexameter verses; also that David† composed songs both in trimeter‡ and pentameter. Philo asserted that the Hebrew had metre resembling that used by the classic poets. Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome were of the same opinion. This view of the subject has been ably refuted by J. Scaliger and other eminent scholars. But the matter was not fully investigated; and since that period many attempts have been made to restore the lost versification of the Hebrew. It would require a more extended notice than we are able in this place to give, to examine the merits of the numerous theories which have been proposed. We will, however, refer to a few.

In the early part of the seventeenth century Gomar published his "Lyra Davidis," in which he attempts to prove that the Hebrew poets used both metre and rhyme. Le Clerc advanced the most absurd of all hypotheses, that rhyme was the only characteristic of their poetry. The learned Bishop Hare also endeavored to find in the poetry of the ancient Hebrews those external decorations of metre and rhythm employed by the classic poets. His metrical system attracted much attention, perhaps less on account of its intrinsic merits than from the able manner in which it was refuted by Bishop Lowth. This learned prelate has bestowed great labor

* See his "Antiquities," lib. ii, c. 16, § 4, and lib. iv, c. 8, § 44.

† Ibid., lib. vii, c. 12, § 3.

‡ Our author, by a strange mistake, calls this *tetrameter.*

and research upon the subject,* and the views he has advanced have been generally adopted by the most distinguished Hebrew scholars. He very clearly shows that the main characteristic of Hebrew poetry is its rhythm,† or more particularly a species of rhythm in which a harmonious arrangement of the larger clauses of the verse is found, and which is denominated *parallelism*. This has been divided into,

I. "*Synonymous*,‡ in which the second clause is entirely or almost a repetition of the first.

II. *Antithetic*, in which the second clause is the converse of the first.

III. *Synthetic*, in which the idea contained in the first clause is further developed in the succeeding ones."

This arrangement our author adopts, and the subdivisions he has given under each head will present to the scholar a clear and succinct account of the general construction of Hebrew poetry. His views on the subject are in the main correct, but we dissent from the opinion that the Hebrew poet never submitted to dictation with regard either to the number of words or syllables in his verses, or to their endings. We are willing to resign all hopes of ever knowing the character of the metre which the Hebrew poets employed; but that they made use of some kind of metre is evident from the following considerations:—1. A large part of their poetry was *lyric*, and used in the temple service, accompanied with musical instruments; consequently there must have been a regular measure and harmonious arrangement of words. 2. The use of certain particles, which grammarians call paragogic or redundant, and which seldom occur in prose compositions, appears to form a distinct poetic dialect. 3. The arrangement of the alphabetical poems very clearly proves the existence of metre. On this point Bishop

* His views are embodied in his Lectures on "Hebrew Poetry," and in the "Preliminary Dissertation" prefixed to his translation of Isaiah.

† The learned bishop mentions three other characteristics, but the attention of modern investigators is chiefly directed to that of *parallelism*.

‡ Bishop Jebb, in his "Sacred Literature," substitutes *cognate* for *synonymous*, and assigns satisfactory reasons for the change. A later writer has proposed the term *gradational parallelism*, as more applicable to the examples usually cited.

Lowth* says, "We may safely conclude that the poems perfectly alphabetical† consist of verses properly so called; of verses regulated by some observation of harmony or cadence, of measure, numbers, or rhythm. For it is not at all probable from the nature of the thing, or from examples of like kind in other languages, that a portion of mere prose, in which numbers and harmony are totally disregarded, should be laid out according to a scale of division which carries with it such evident marks of study and labor; of art in the contrivance, and exactness in the execution." De Wette‡ is of the opinion that the accents justify the presumption that a rhythmical system, different from mere parallelism, existed. Sir William Jones§ adduces the metrical arrangement of Arabic poetry as a proof of the existence of metre in the Hebrew. This distinguished Oriental scholar attempted to form a metrical system for the Hebrew from those now employed in the Arabic and cognate languages. But while we think that metre was an essential part of the poetry of the ancient Hebrews, we readily acknowledge that parallelism was an important characteristic. And as the correct pronunciation of the language has been so long lost, we regard all attempts to restore the metre visionary, and from the very nature of the case they must be unsuccessful.

The origin and nature of the accents has been a subject of almost as much controversy as the vowel points. Modern grammarians are generally united in the opinion that they are of recent origin, and that they were introduced into the system of Hebrew orthography for the purpose of accurately pointing out the relations of words and sentences. These relations our author distinguishes as *logical* and *rhythmical*, and by such a distinction he is enabled to explain the reason of their number, as well as of the variety and intricacy of their powers. The Hebrew accentual system has nothing corresponding to it in any other language. On this account grammarians have found so many difficulties connected with the

* See his "Preliminary Dissertation" to Isaiah. This opinion is of the more consequence, because he here gives us his final views of the subject.

† Of the twelve alphabetical poems, three are perfectly so, viz., Psalms cxi and cxii, and Lament. iii.

‡ See his "Einleitung in die Psalmen," translated by Professor Torrey for the Biblical Repository, vol. iv.

§ See his "Dissertation on the Asiatic Poetry."

subject, and have altogether failed of explaining its peculiarities. Hence many have asserted that the accents were of but little importance, and that for all the assistance they afford in the interpretation of the Bible they might as well be omitted. Such a view of their value is entirely erroneous, and has resulted from ignorance of the system, and from inability to explain its various relations. Our author, on the contrary, thinks that the accents are of very great importance for solving exegetical difficulties. This was also the opinion of the early Jewish grammarians. Thus Aben Ezra says, that "you should not be satisfied with any exposition not made according to the purport or meaning of the accents."* And an examination of our author's views of the accentual system will convince the scholar that a knowledge of its relations is of essential importance to an interpreter of the sacred writers.

After a careful investigation of the work before us, and from a comparison of its leading features with the views of others, we pronounce it to be the most complete and accurately developed grammar of the Hebrew that has ever been presented to the public.† The author has shown us that philology is itself "the science of the human mind," and that the laws which regulate the entire structure of language are greatly modified by the peculiar conformation of the mass of the nation to whom it belongs. Upon this principle the intricacies of the language are solved, the difficulties in a great measure removed, and all arbitrary distinctions rejected. The clearness with which all these features are developed renders it a most suitable text-book for the beginner, and the advanced scholar will find in it many things to admire. We believe the work is calculated to facilitate the study of the original Scripture, and thereby promote the glory of God, and extend the knowledge of his word. With these views of its value, we commend it to those who, not "mistaking ignorance for sanctity," desire to clearly understand the great truths God has revealed.

New-York, May 1st, 1841.

* This is quoted by Buxtorf, in his "Thesaurus Grammaticus Linguæ Sanctæ Hebraeæ."

† Since the cultivation of Hebrew literature among Christians, more than six hundred grammars of the language have been published.

Art. II.—*The Life and Poems of Rev. George Crabbe, LL.B.*

[Concluded from page 471.]

Having given a rapid sketch of Mr. Crabbe's literary life, we now come to the consideration of his poetical works. These we shall present in the order in which they were given to the world. His first considerable poem, which was published in 1781, is entitled "*The Library.*" It opens with the remark that the pleasures of life are not capable of driving sorrows from the heart burdened with grief, and that this can only be done by substituting a lighter kind of distress for its own.

Our first extract from this poem is the passage in which the arrangement of the books is indicated.

> "Lo! all in silence, all in order stand,
> The mighty folios first, a lordly band;
> Then quartos their well-order'd ranks maintain,
> And light octavos fill a spacious plain:
> See yonder, ranged in more frequented rows,
> An humbler band of duodecimos.
> While undistinguish'd trifles swell the scene,
> The last new play, and fritter'd magazine.
> Thus 'tis in life, where first the proud, the great,
> In leagued assembly keep their cumbrous state;
> Heavy and huge, they fill the world with dread,
> Are much admired, and are but little read:
> The commons next, a middle rank, are found;
> Professions fruitful pour their offspring round;
> Reasoners and wits are next their place allow'd,
> And last of vulgar tribes a countless crowd."

Divinity, medicine, law,—each has due consideration in the arrangement of the Library. Nor are the stage and the old romance writers forgotten; from the latter of whom the author brushes off the dust which has disgracefully gathered on their heads, and sums up their wondrous tales of giants and of dread in one admirable paragraph. We make but one other extract from this poem, which we commend as much for its truth as for its poetic excellence. It occurs in remarks upon the theological department of the Library.

> "Methinks I see, and sicken at the sight,
> Spirits of spleen from yonder pile alight;
> Spirits who prompted every damning page,
> With pontiff pride, and still increasing rage.
> Lo how they stretch their gloomy wings around,
> And lash with furious strokes the trembling ground!

They pray, they fight, they murder, and they weep,—
Wolves in their vengeance, in their manners sheep;
Too well they act the prophet's fatal part,
Denouncing evil with a zealous heart;
And each, like Jonas, is displeased if God
Repent his anger, or withhold his rod.
"But here the dormant fury rests unsought,
And Zeal sleeps soundly by the foes she fought;
Here all the rage of controversy ends,
And rival zealots rest like bosom friends.
An Athanasian here, in deep repose,
Sleeps with the fiercest of his Arian foes;
Socinians here with Calvinists abide,
And thin partitions angry chiefs divide;
Here wily Jesuits simple Quakers meet,
And Bellarmine has rest at Luther's feet.
Great authors for the church's glory fired,
Are, for the church's peace, to rest retired;
And close beside a mystic, maudlin race,
Lie 'Crumbs of Comfort for the Babes of Grace.'
"*Against her foes religion well defends*
Her sacred truths, but often fears her friends;
If learn'd, their pride, if weak, their zeal she dreads,
And their hearts' weakness, who have soundest heads."

Upon the whole, this first published poem of Mr. Crabbe contains many commendable passages, much good sense, and the exhibition of a fine ear for polished versification.

The next poem published by the author was called "The Village," which, it will be remembered, appeared in 1783. This production, the first of his which obtained any considerable popularity, (for his "Library" was not very extensively circulated,) contains many indications of that minute delineation which marks all his succeeding works. It has a force, in some parts, which was but the earnest of that power which was afterward so fully developed in his writings; and was but introductory to that particular portion of Parnassus, which he secured, to be his own exclusively, by later and stronger titles. It contained entirely new views of rustic life. It was the first of a series of poems which have torn the myrtle from around the cottage, twined there for ages by the imagination of the poets, and left it a decaying hovel. Instead of the contented swain, enjoying his frugal repast with a happy heart, we have him presented eating his coarse bread, mingling his perspiration with his daily drink, plodding behind the plough, exposed to the sun's heat and the rain's pelting. In the morning he

does not arise to gaze, with a poet's rapture, on the brightness of day's waking, but to commence the severe labor which protracts its hours. The evening does not find him weaving pleasant rhymes and making music on his rustic pipe, but worn out with toil, having spent all his strength in obtaining that which barely sustains his existence. Old age does not come to him calm, peaceful, dignified; but neglected, scorned, with its hoary head bowed down with weaknesses, its body possessed by infirmities. In a word, he gives us all

"That forms the real picture of the poor;"

and

"paints the cot,
As truth will paint it, and as bards will not."

In this poem Mr. Crabbe gives us a picture of the town in which he was born; painting its desolate condition and barren vicinity in most descriptive poetry. He calls the inhabitants

"a wild, amphibious, race,
With sullen wo display'd in every face,
Who, far from civil arts and social fly,
And scowl at strangers with suspicious eye."

"Here, wand'ring long, amid these frowning fields,
I sought the simple life that nature yields;
Rapine and wrong, and fear usurp'd her place,
And a bold, artful, surly, savage race;
Who, only skill'd to take the finny tribe,
The yearly dinner, or septennial bribe,
Wait on the shore, and, as the waves run high,
On the tost vessel bend their eager eye,
Which to their coast directs its venturous way;
Theirs, or the ocean's miserable prey."

It is generally, and we think very naturally, supposed by those who have not perused Mr. Crabbe's entire works, that he is a gloomy writer, delighting to dwell upon the dark points of human character; and the consequent conclusion is that he must have been a reserved, unsocial, unhappy man. His memoir, by his son, will entirely remove this latter impression, and the former has been very properly accounted for on this wise. Mr. Crabbe was long known to the majority of general readers by the portions of his earlier works which found their way into the "Elegant Extracts." These fragments, containing a very faithful insight to the miseries of the poor, so long concealed by the false tissue of beauty which

poetry had thrown over rustic life, and some of them being pictures of misery in her darkest garb, those who read them imbibed the impression that their author was an unhappy man; and the fine finish of the portions thus given to the public, produced in the minds of most who read them, an assurance that this was Mr. Crabbe's *forte*, and consequently that the bias of his mind led him to take pleasure in the contemplation of human nature in its most degraded and mortifying developments. This is by no means a fair estimate of our author's character, as the careful perusal of his later productions will abundantly testify. One passage in "The Village," more, probably, than any other, may have had an influence in producing this impression. We allude to that admirable, minute, and sickening description of the parish work-house, with its inmates, the heartless apothecary and unspiritual priest. As there is not, perhaps, in all his poems, a passage more finished and true to nature, and one showing our author's power at that period, we will give several extracts from it. It richly deserves preservation.

"Theirs is yon house that holds the parish poor,
Whose walls of mud scarce bear the broken door,
There, where the putrid vapours, flagging, play,
And the dull wheel hums doleful through the day;—
There children dwell who know no parents' care;
Parents, who know no children's love, dwell there!
Heart-broken matrons on their joyless bed,
Forsaken wives, and mothers never wed;
Dejected widows, with unheeded tears,
And crippled age, with more than childhood's fears;
The lame, the blind, and, far the happiest they!
The moping idiot and the madman gay.
* * * * * *

"Such is that room which one rude beam divides,
And naked rafters form the sloping sides;
Where the vile bands that bind the thatch are seen,
And lath and mud are all that lie between;
Save one dull pane, that, coarsely patch'd, gives way
To the rude tempest, yet excludes the day,
Here, on a matted flock, with dust o'erspread,
The drooping wretch reclines his languid head;
For him no hand the cordial cup applies,
Or wipes the tear that stagnates in his eyes;
No friends with soft discourse his pain beguile,
Or promise hope till sickness wears a smile.
"But soon a loud and hasty summons calls,
Shakes the thin roof, and echoes round the walls;

Anon a figure enters, quaintly neat,
All pride and business, bustle and conceit;
With looks unalter'd by these scenes of wo,
With speed that, entering, speaks his haste to go,
He bids the gazing throng around him fly,
And carries fate and physic in his eye:
A potent quack, long versed in human ills,
Who first insults the victim whom he kills;
Whose murd'rous hand a drowsy bench protect,
And whose most tender mercy is neglect.

* * * * * *

"But ere his death some pious doubts arise,
Some simple fears which 'bold bad' men despise;
Fain would he ask the parish priest to prove
His title certain to the joys above;
For this he sends the murmuring nurse, who calls
The holy stranger to these dismal walls;
And doth not he, the pious man, appear,
He 'passing rich with forty pounds a year?'
Ah! no; a shepherd of a different stock,
And far unlike him, feeds his little flock:
A jovial youth, who thinks his Sunday's task
As much as God or man can fairly ask;
The rest he gives to loves and labors light,
To fields the morning, and to feasts the night;
None better skill'd the noisy pack to guide,
To urge their chase, to cheer them or to chide;
A sportsman keen, he shoots through half the day,
And, skill'd at whist, devotes the night to play:
Then while such honors bloom around his head,
Shall he sit sadly by the sick man's bed,
To raise the hope he feels not, or with zeal
To combat fears that e'en the pious feel?"

What exquisite painting! what a perfect picture! Is it to be wondered that a man long known to the literary world by this and kindred passages, should be regarded as fond of contemplating the human heart when it presents the most dreary aspect? We had intended to make two or three other extracts from this poem, but if we pause to cull every flower, and dwell upon every beauty, we shall swell our article far beyond its assigned limits. We shall not delay upon the "Newspaper," a poem published in 1786; it detracted naught from the author's acquired credit, if it added little thereto. It is an interesting poem, with, perhaps, an improvement in versification; not very complimentary to that department of literature, and dealing out very unacceptable advice to those who

spend their precious time in perpetrating useless and senseless articles for those "vapid sheets."

In 1807 "The Parish Register" was published, together with several smaller pieces, among which were "Sir Eustace Grey" and the "Birth of Flattery." Mr. Crabbe's poetic fame had heretofore depended upon the high-wrought pictures which were scattered through his works more than upon any uniform, finished poem, having all its parts of equal strength or beauty. In the "Parish Register," as we have already remarked, he for the first time assumed that place in the temple of poetry which is now considered entirely his own. Here we have an unbroken succession of those sketches of character which seemed to have been reserved for his pencil's delineation, whose minute points had been the study of his retirement, and which he now produced with an accuracy and power he had acquired in his seclusion. They present cottage life and rustic manners with a fidelity which,—when compared with the pretty creations and ornamented sketches of bards who wrote fancy, not fact,—appear unnaturally harsh and disagreeable. They plainly exhibit the author's belief, that

"Auburn and Eden can no more be found."

This poem derives an interest from the fact that it was one of the last works which elicited the attention and soothed the declining days of the great Mr. Fox. He particularly noticed the history of Phœbe Dawson, a narration of the seduction of a rustic beauty, and perhaps one of the finest passages in this poem. Some parts of this production do, most certainly, cast a deep shade upon those pursuits which have usually been considered uninterruptedly blissful, and spoiled the beautiful pictures of sunshine painting which have been furnished the world as correct descriptions of country life. They trace the winding pathway of temptation, covered with flowers, as it leads unwary and excited youth to indulgences, the remembrance of which plants thorns in his pillow and remose in his heart. They paint the beautiful rose-bud of virgin loveliness and innocence expanding to its bloom; and the soft, silent twining of the serpent seducer about its roots, leaving it torn, scattered, and withered, when the kindest treatment it can receive is *neglect*, and the most intolerably cruel is *attention*. But the entire poem is not made up of descriptions of the seducer's arts and the misery

of the seduced;—many bright rays of happiness and good-humored delineations of the exhibition of foibles relieve the dark scenery.

This production was, most probably, the first of his works which may be considered as ranking Mr. Crabbe with the radical poets of England. He may not have been conscious at the time that such writings would have the tendency which they have had; but a careful examination of the feelings which would naturally have led him to the subjects ever his favorites, and which influenced his *manner* of writing, will convince the unprejudiced that they were warmed, if not heated, with a spirit resentful of those legal regulations which have debased the British peasantry. The strong tones which are given from the lyres of Ebenezer Elliott and Barry Cornwall, (Mr. Proctor,) of the present day, tell us that bold and powerful poets are not wanting to lash the increasing enormities which press, incubus-like, upon England's poor.

Accompanying the "Parish Register" was "Sir Eustace Grey," a tale of the madhouse. This poem has many passages of startling expression and sublimity. It depicts the situation of one whom early errors and great misfortunes had driven to madness. The scene is laid in the house of confinement, and the visitor had already exclaimed that he would know no more of

> "That wan projector's mystic style,
> That *lumpish idiot leering by*,
> That peevish idler's ceaseless wile,
> And that poor maiden's half-form'd smile,
> While struggling for the full-drawn sigh!"

The physician, however, prevails upon him to visit the cell of Sir Eustace Grey, to behold the display of

> "The proud-lost mind, the rash-done deed."

He received them with an ease which immediately betrays the vestiges of refinement which remained amid the desolation of madness. When reproved by his physician for an indulgence in warmth of manner and expression, he breaks forth with the exclamation,

> "See! I am calm as infant-love,
> A very child, but one of wo,
> Whom you should pity, not reprove!"

He tells them of his exaltation in youth, his wealth, his handsome person, his accomplishments, his wife, who

" was all we love;
Whose manners show'd the yielding dove,
Whose morals, the seraphic saint."

All these contributed to make him happy, and

"There were two cherub-things beside,
A gracious girl, a glorious boy."

But in an hour when he least suspected it, one whom he had cherished as his friend became the tempter in his Eden, and his bliss was destroyed by his wife's guilty love. He confesses that he deserved it all; he says,

" for all that time,
When I was loved, admired, caress'd,
There was within, each secret crime,
Unfelt, uncancell'd, unconfess'd:
I never then my God address'd
In grateful praise or humble prayer:
And if his word was not my jest,
(Dread thought!) it never was my care.
I doubted:—fool I was to doubt!
If that all-piercing eye could see,—
If he who looks all worlds throughout,
Would so minute and careful be,
As to perceive and punish me:—
With man I would be great and high,
But with my God so lost, that he,
In his large view, should pass me by."

In his wrath he took vengeance on his wife's seducer, and beheld that wife pine away and die, and finally all that made life tolerable, his two children, passed from him. Having been thus reduced to his own heart's solitude, his madness took possession of him, which he describes as the power which was given to devils to exercise over him. These demons robbed him of title and estate, and drove him out upon the world, the scorn of the base and the contempt of the menial. They then drew him, incapable of resistance, through lands and o'er seas, until

" They halted on a boundless plain,
Where nothing fed, nor breath'd, nor grew,
But silence ruled the still domain.
Upon that boundless plain, below,
The setting sun's last rays were shed,
And gave a mild and sober glow,
Where all were still, asleep, or dead;

Vast ruins in the midst were spread,
Pillars and pediments sublime,
Where the gray moss had form'd a bed,
And clothed the crumbling spoils of time."

There he was fixed for ages, gazing upon the unchanging "softly-solemn scene," and finally sleep fell upon him, his infernal persecutors again seized him, and drove him forward toward the north pole. Hear him relate it in the brilliant language of madness!

"They placed me where those streamers play,
Those nimble beams of brilliant light;
It would the stoutest heart dismay
To see, to feel, that dreadful sight:
So swift, so pure, so cold, so bright,
They pierced my frame with icy wound,
And all that half-year's polar night,
Those dancing streamers wrapp'd me round."

And then he fell to earth, was hurried from city to city, every thing shrinking from the approach of the spirits. After having been forced to join the shadowy troops of death in a grave-yard, he was fixed in "a shaking fen" in the darkness of night, and when the sun arose its rays fell on a field of snow. Then, he says,

"They hung me on a bough so small,
The rook could build her nest no higher;
They fix'd me on the trembling ball
That crowns the steeple's quiv'ring spire;
They set me where the seas retire,
But drown with their returning tide;
And made me flee the mountain's fire,
When rolling from its burning side."

The temptation to quote the whole of his raving is almost irresistible. We must be pardoned if we give two other stanzas:—

"I've furl'd in storms the flapping sail,
By hanging from the top-mast head;
I've served the vilest slaves in jail,
And pick'd the dunghill's spoil for bread;
I've made the badger's hole my bed,
I've wander'd with a gipsy crew;
I've dreaded all the guilty dread,
And done what they would fear to do."

* * * * * *

"And then my dreams were such as naught
Could yield but my unhappy case;
I've been of thousand devils caught,
And thrust into that horrid place,

Where reign dismay, despair, disgrace;
Furies with iron fangs were there,
To torture that accursed race,
Doom'd to dismay, disgrace, despair."

The mind of the man, thus wrought up to frenzy, was soothed by the consolations of religion, and, as he believed, a genuine conversion. It was a mere temporary relief, however, and not a radical cure of his madness. He is left in this state, liable, upon any excitement, again to have his reason hurled from its insecure position. The conclusion which the author makes to this poem is strongly and beautifully religious:—

"But ah! though time can yield relief,
And soften woes it cannot cure;
Would we not suffer pain and grief,
To have our reason sound and sure?
Then let us keep our bosoms pure,
Our fancy's favorite flights suppress;
Prepare the body to endure,
And bend the mind to meet distress;
And then His guardian care implore,
Whom demons dread and men adore."

We have given an extended analysis of this poem, because it is one in which our author has taken a subject most difficult to manage, and in which he has unquestionably succeeded. It is our own personal opinion that no poet, except Shakespeare, has ever given so perfect a picture of insanity as Crabbe has in this production. The volubility of the patient, the rapid transition of his thoughts, his glowing diction, and the steadily increasing excitement in which he narrates his history, are so perfectly life-like, that one may read this poem until he absolutely feels himself an inmate of the madhouse, and his heart pulsating under an excitement sympathetic with that which frenzied the brain of Sir Eustace Grey. And now that we are done with the poem, we beg leave to make a few remarks upon the only note subjoined to it. Sir Eustace, in his relation, spoke of his conversion, and the poet puts into his mouth a hymn or sermon which he remembered to have heard from some enthusiastic preacher. The following remark occurs in a note attached to the line immediately preceding the hymn:—"It has been suggested to me that this change from restlessness to repose, in the mind of Sir Eustace, is wrought by a *methodistic*

call; and it is admitted to be such: a *sober and rational conversion* could not have happened while the disorder of the brain continued." (The *italics* are our own.) What is the inference which any reader would naturally draw from the above remark? That the author considered the change "wrought by a methodistic call," as he is pleased to term it, any thing but "a sober and rational conversion." This exhibition of bitterness toward the Wesleyans he has exhibited in more than one place in his writings. We shall have occasion to notice this feeling in the analysis of another of his poems, and the apology made for it in his memoir by his son. In justice to the poet, we must add another remark of the note, in which he says that the hymn or sermon repeated by Sir Eustace is "not intended to make any religious persuasion appear ridiculous." But this meliorates the matter not a whit: for what can place a religious sect in a more unfavorable light than to insinuate strongly that the change of feeling and conduct which it presents as the privilege and duty of men, is not "a sober and rational conversion," but adapted only to afford temporary consolation to those who are inmates of the madhouse? The note has certainly not added any thing to a production which must take a high rank in English poetry.

The next poem published by our author was "The Borough," decidedly the most finished of all his works. He has not given us "a political satire," but a description of "the sea, the country in the immediate vicinity; the dwellings, and the inhabitants; some incidents and characters, with an exhibition of their morals and manners." And here let us remark, that Crabbe has always shown great wisdom in never choosing a subject which he could not handle successfully; and in "The Borough" he has carefully avoided those contingent subjects which poets of less good sense would have introduced, and which would have rendered the production prosy in parts and lumbering in general, without giving it any thing more of finish.

In "The Borough," Mr. Crabbe has given us a more regular succession of the highly finished poetic descriptions which made the beauties of the "Parish Register." The poor,—their manners, morals, dwellings,—have all here received the poet's notice, and elicited some of his most powerful descriptive efforts. Among these are his celebrated sketches of Ellen Orford and Peter Grimes.

The introduction to the story of Ellen Orford is, in our opinion, one of the most beautiful pages Crabbe ever wrote. It is a simple summary of the ingredients of horror used by romance writers in the composition of their works. The language is so richly varied, the pictures are so true, and the versification so smoothly flowing, that the whole passage, awakening all our recollections of the blood-chilling fictions which made the reading of our youth, will ever be considered extremely interesting. The tale itself is told with great pathos, and in several places we are startled with the exhibition of maternal agony at her recollection of the heart-rending scenes of misery through which she had been called to pass.

"Peter Grimes" is a tale of some terror, in which crime begets madness; where the disobedient boy becomes the wicked man, and the iniquitous wretch is stung to death by remorse. His father, "old Peter Grimes, made fishing his employ." In his old age his misery was increased by the exhibition of lawlessness and criminal indulgence on the part of his son, and his gray hairs were brought down in sorrow to the grave by his heart-breaking treatment. After his father's death, Peter was obliged to labor alone, until he could find

> "some obedient boy to stand
> And bear the blow of his outrageous hand;
> And hoped to find in some propitious hour
> A feeling creature subject to his power."

He obtained such a being from the London workhouse, whom he had three years, and finally killed him by starvation and harsh treatment. From the same source he obtained another boy, who, according to Peter's account, climbed the main-mast one night and fell through the hatchway and killed himself; the jury, however, were not entirely assured that Peter had not used some foul play in disposing of the boy. His fears, however, were set aside by a favorable verdict; he again applied "at the slave-shop," and procured a lad, "of manners soft and mild," whom all thought to be "of gentle blood, some noble sinner's son." This poor boy labored until his heavy loads lamed him. One day Peter was so lucky with his net that he was obliged to go to the London market. But when he reached the metropolis his boy was not with him, and Peter was called to an account. He said, that in the storm,

" he spied
The stripling's danger, and for harbor tried;
Meantime the fish, and then th' apprentice, died."

The true history of the case was, that when "the boat grew leaky and the wind was strong," and the liquor failed, that Peter's wrath arose, and he was guilty of a third murder. Not being able to produce any positive proof, he was again acquitted, but the mayor himself prohibited him from employing any one but a hired freeman. Thus he was compelled to live by himself, to behold the same unvarying, uninteresting scenes; "he toil'd and rail'd, he groan'd and swore alone." His misery on the shore was insupportable, and yet

" A change of scene to him brought no relief;
In town, 'twas plain, men took him for a thief:
The sailors' wives would stop him in the street,
And say, 'Now, Peter, thou'st no boy to beat:'
Infants at play, when they perceived him, ran,
Warning each other—'That's the wicked man.'
He growl'd an oath, and in an angry tone
Cursed the whole place, and wish'd to be alone."

Still was he miserable in his retreat, and while there,

" Cold, nervous tremblings shook his sturdy frame,
And strange disease, he couldn't say the name;
Wild were his dreams, and oft he rose in fright,
Waked by his view of horrors in the night,—
Horrors that would the sternest minds amaze,
Horrors the demons might be proud to raise."

Thus he passed the winter; and in summer, those who spent the warm season by the sea-side came down, and often visited the shore. Of these,

" One, up the river, had a man and boat
Seen day by day, now anchor'd, now afloat;
Fisher he seem'd, yet used no net nor hook;
Of sea-fowl swimming by no heed he took;
At certain stations he would view the stream,
As if he stood bewilder'd in a dream,
Or that some power had chain'd him for a time,
To feel a curse or meditate on crime."

When questioned relative to his manner of life, the recollections of his crimes came upon him clothed with new horrors, and he forsook his boat and "up the country ran," where he was taken

and confined "to a parish bed," a distempered man. A priest who attended him occasionally caught his raving. Alluding to the death of his second boy, in his madness,

> "It was the fall," he mutter'd, "I can show
> The manner how—I never struck a blow:"—
> And then aloud—"Unhand me, free my chain;
> On oath, he fell—it struck him to the brain:—
> Why ask my father?—That old man will swear
> Against my life; besides, he wasn't there:—
> What, all agreed?—Am I to die to-day?—
> My Lord, in mercy, give me time to pray."

In his calmer moments, after he had exhausted himself and "grew so weak he could not move his frame," they sat beside the wicked and now lost Peter, watching the dew-beads on his forehead, "and the cold death-drop glaze his sunken eyes." He seemed all the while to be discoursing with some imaginary being, exposing his heart by a discourse which

> "Was part confession and the rest defense,
> A madman's tale, with gleams of waking sense."

This confession, which formed the dying words of Peter Grimes, is one of the most thrilling passages Crabbe ever penned. Although it may be familiar to many of our readers, yet, as it is often referred to by our poet's reviewers and admirers, we shall take the liberty to present it without abridgment:—

> "I'll tell you all," he said, "the very day
> When the old man first placed them in my way:
> My father's spirit—he who always tried
> To give me trouble, when he lived and died—
> When he was gone he could not be content
> To see my days in painful labor spent,
> But would appoint his meetings, and he made
> Me watch at these, and so neglect my trade.
> "'Twas one hot noon, all silent, still, serene,
> No living being had I lately seen;
> I paddled up and down and dipp'd my net,
> But (such his pleasure) I could nothing get,—
> A father's pleasure, when his toil was done,
> To plague and torture thus an only son!
> And so I sat and look'd upon the stream,
> How it ran on, and felt as in a dream:
> But dream it was not; no!—I fix'd my eyes
> On the mid stream, and saw the spirits rise;

I saw my father on the water stand,
And hold a thin pale boy in either hand;
And there they glided ghastly on the top
Of the salt flood, and never touch'd a drop:
I would have struck them, but they knew th' intent,
And smiled upon the oar, and down they went.
" Now, from that day, whenever I began
To dip my net, there stood the hard old man—
He and those boys: I humbled me and pray'd
They would be gone;—they heeded not, but stay'd:
Nor could I turn, nor would the boat go by,
But, gazing on the spirits, there was I:
They bade me leap to death, but I was loth to die:
And every day, as sure as day arose,
Would these three spirits meet me ere the close;
To hear and mark them daily was my doom,
And 'Come,' they said, with weak, sad voices, 'come.'
To row away with all my strength I tried,
And there were they, hard by me in the tide,
The three unbodied forms—and 'Come,' still 'come,' they cried.
" Fathers should pity—but this old man shook
His hoary locks, and froze me by a look:
Thrice, when I struck them, through the water came
A hollow groan, that weaken'd all my frame:
'Father!' said I, 'have mercy:'—He replied,
I know not what—the angry spirit lied,—
'Didst thou not draw thy knife?' said he:—'Twas true,
But I had pity, and my arm withdrew:
He cried for mercy, which I kindly gave,
But he has no compassion in his grave.
" There were three places where they ever rose,—
The whole long river has not such as those,—
Places accursed, where, if a man remain,
He 'll see the things which strike him to the brain;
And there they made me on my paddle lean,
And look at them for hours;—accursed scene!
When they would glide to that smooth eddy-place,
They bid me leap and join them in the place;
And at my groans each little villain sprite
Enjoy'd my pains and vanish'd in delight.
In one fierce summer-day, when my poor brain
Was burning hot and cruel was my pain,
Then came this father-foe, and there he stood
With his two boys again upon the flood;
There was more mischief in their eyes, more glee
In their pale faces when they glared at me:
Still did they force me on the oar to rest,
And when they saw me, fainting and oppress'd,
He, with his hand, the old man, scoop'd the flood,
And there came flame about him mix'd with blood;

He bade me stoop and look upon the place,
Then flung the hot-red liquor in my face;
Burning it blazed, and then I roar'd for pain,
I thought the demons would have turn'd my brain.
"Still there they stood, and forced me to behold
A place of horrors—they cannot be told—
Where the flood open'd, there I heard the shriek
Of tortured guilt—no earthly tongue can speak:
'All days alike! for ever!' did they say,
'And unremitted torments every day'—
Yes, so they said:"—But here he ceased, and gazed
On all around, affrighten'd and amazed;
And still he tried to speak, and look'd in dread
Of frighten'd females gathering round his bed;
Then dropp'd exhausted, and appear'd at rest,
Till the strong foe the vital powers possess'd;
Then with an inward, broken voice he cried,
"Again they come," and mutter'd as he died.

Thus ends this masterly production; a poem which must ever be considered one of Crabbe's most successful efforts, and perhaps the most deeply interesting of this series of poems. Probably the most exceptionable of the twenty-four letters which compose "The Borough," is that on "Sects and professions in religion;" and the author, as though aware of this, takes every precaution to guard it in his preface. The introduction to this poem is devoted to the consideration of the various sects of dissenters from the Church of England, whom our author lampoons with a zeal worthy a clergyman of the Establishment. The principal part of the letter, however, is devoted to the abuse of Methodists, whom he divides into two classes, the *Calvinistic* and the *Arminian*. The object of the poet evidently is to throw ridicule upon a people whose greatest fault—in his estimation, apparently—was, that the most enthusiastic among them spake in no very measured terms of the spiritual lethargy which oppressed almost the whole clerical body of the established Church. A great deal of talent is spent in pouring out vials of satire upon the unfortunate followers of Whitefield and Wesley; who, to say the least, are grossly misrepresented in this production. Mr. Crabbe—singling out some of the most excitable of those who, suffering the *truths of the ever-blessed gospel*, as energetically presented by the two great men above named, to excite them beyond control, were led to the exhibition of enthusiastic actions disgraceful to themselves and injurious to the cause

of religion—has very unjustly endeavored to heap *their* weaknesses upon the great father of Methodism. In this attempt his weapons have fallen back upon his own head. He certainly did not wish his readers to believe all he has said of these Methodist preachers: it is too preposterous for credulity! The picture is a caricature, in which just a sufficiency of correctness is given to identify the original. And is not Mr. Crabbe guilty, in this very production, of the same spirit of which he accuses the sect he holds up to ridicule? He is bitter against them for condemning the whole English Church because of the abuses which have connected themselves with it; and in this identical poem he pours a furious broadside on Methodism, because some of the sect have mistaken mere animal excitement for the sanctifying influences of the Holy Ghost. Even with this fact admitted, would it not have been well for the poet-clergyman to have paused and asked himself, whether it is not better that the church should be on fire with enthusiasm than torpid with spiritual frigidity?

There are touches of truth in his descriptions which Methodism will ever be proud to acknowledge. They will live together, (for Methodism *can* never die, and Crabbe's poems *will* not,) and they will become, what they never were intended to be, noble compliments to the unceasing efforts of the founders of our church; and their holy zeal will stand in bold relief against the then luxurious indolence of the Establishment's clergy. And if our poet, in his preface, in which he attempts to throw up a wall around this highly exceptionable poem, had only cited our standard works as containing our creed and in proof of his remarks, (instead of some of the ridiculously enthusiastic pamphlets which were born in those days of spiritual reformation,) the whole production would have called for little remark, for it would have borne its refutation on its front.

This feeling of bitterness, however, is explained in his memoir by his truly amiable son. When, after a long absence from his incumbency of Muston, he returned to take charge of it in 1805, he found that many things had gone wrong in his absence. In the words of his biography, "A Wesleyan missionary had formed a thriving establishment in Muston, and the congregations at the parish church were no longer such as they had been of old. [*As usual.*] This much annoyed my father; and the warmth with which he began to preach against dissent only irritated himself and

others, without bringing back disciples to the fold." [*Of course.*] These, then, were the circumstances which drew from Mr. Crabbe expressions in his sermons and his poems which could but offend others, without the slightest prospect of being productive of good. They certainly stand in strong contrast with the general sweetness of his disposition. As he is now at rest, it behooves us to cast over them all the mantle of Christian charity, and, hiding from our eyes the offensive spirit in which they were dictated, dwell upon the masterly manner in which they were executed.

We have already given to "The Borough," in general, the high praise it has everywhere elicited, and consider it now as one of the permanent English classics. We pass to a brief notice of the other volumes of Mr. Crabbe's poetry with which we have been favored by himself and his son. The next poetic publication of our author was his work entitled "Tales in Verse," which made its appearance in 1812. The words of his biography express our opinion of this work, that it is "as striking as, and far less objectionable than, its predecessor, The Borough." His preface to his "Tales" is quite an interesting article; and we have in it his reason for not using any connecting link between the poems of which this volume was composed. Crabbe's pictures—for we can find no other word to express our perception of his sketches of character—do not form a regular, unbroken *series;* but may be very conveniently *grouped.* He has, undoubtedly, attended to this in the preparation of his works. It would be any thing but agreeable to read a whole volume, written in a metre from which he has seldom varied, but often smoothed and beautified, in order to possess all the incidents of one story, or comprehend the details of one design. It is far more pleasant to study *one* of the life-like creations which have found existence under his poetic pen, and then suffer his poems to lie untouched until another day. There are volumes of poetry through which one may dash in an hour,—but it is not so with Crabbe's works. It is delightful to *study* his characters; to watch the painter (we cannot avoid that word when speaking of our author) as he develops each feature, adds lineament to lineament, and color to color, touching and retouching, until we have the perfect sketch before us, and so impressively presented that we will ever class it with our intimates. And here we think there is some danger connected with his works; for some of his

characters are such as had better not be known. Perhaps no poet ever knew so well what he could do, and what he could not do, as did Mr. Crabbe; and aware of his abilities, in the work before us he has taken those characters which he could easily manage, and has attempted no forced connection. Some of these "Tales" rank among our author's most successful efforts. Our limited space forbids us the pleasure of giving an analysis of the "Parting Hour" and the "Confidant," as we had intended doing, both which are highly interesting tales. These two, with the "Patron" and "Edward Shore," have been regarded as greatly adding to our poet's fame. The first of the tales, entitled the "Dumb Orators," is quite an amusing little picture of the cowardice we may find in many places in society, which keeps up its dignity by considerable artificial blustering, and an unveiling of which (oftentimes unavoidable) makes its possessor feel very, very unpleasant. "Arabella" is quite good, and a perusal of it might be beneficial to ladies "of a certain age:" the author shows in it that he has studied human nature not unsuccessfully. *As a whole*, the "Tales in Verse" have much enhanced Mr. Crabbe's fame.

In 1819, the last of his works published during our poet's lifetime was issued from the London press. It is entitled "Tales of the Hall." Each of his poems thus far had been an improvement upon its predecessor, and the "Tales of the Hall" showed that their author had not yet lost his power of eliciting attention. Indeed, there are some passages in this production which seem to favor the thought that the poet had brought to his task more mature judgment, as well as improved poetic ability. The "Lady Barbara" of this work has ever been considered one of Mr. Crabbe's most admirable attempts at portraiture. The manner in which a warm boy woos and wins a titled, wealthy widow, much his superior in age, and rank, and fortune, and discretion, notwithstanding a warning given her by a ghost, is told in a style which no one but Crabbe has ever commanded.

After the demise of their father, his two sons published a volume of poems from his pen. Had Mr. Crabbe lived to revise these tales, they would rank with his best performances; as it is, although they lack the polish of a more careful and critical review by their author, they possess most of those characteristics which rendered him a distinguished poet. The acute and intuitive per-

ception of motive, the ability to unfold nature, and the happy descriptive power he ever possessed, may be easily traced in each of the twenty-two tales which compose this volume. Of these the second is probably the most interesting for its dramatic construction and the very masterly manner in which Mr. Crabbe dissects character. Its title is, "The Family of Love." We shall not follow the story,—the reader must peruse it himself; and it will amply reward him for the time and trouble thus expended. Of the whole volume this is, perhaps, the most admirable tale, and the characters which come under review are such as are well adapted to Mr. Crabbe's peculiar faculty of description. The first five tales are miscellaneous; the remaining seventeen form a series which Mr. Crabbe had originally intended to publish in a separate volume, to be entitled "The Farewell and Return." In one of his letters he says of it, "I suppose a young man to take leave of his native place, and to exchange *farewells* with his friends and acquaintance there—in short, with as many characters as I have fancied I could manage. These, and their several situations and prospects, being briefly sketched, an interval is supposed to elapse; and our youth, a youth no more, *returns* to the scene of his early days. Twenty years have passed; and the interest, if there be any, consists in the completion, more or less unexpected, of the history of each person to whom he had originally bidden farewell." Undoubtedly this series embodies much of the poet's private history. They are written in his usual style, with something of the connection which exists in the "Tales of the Hall."

Upon a general survey of our author's poems, we fear we cannot render a verdict in favor of their usefulness. That they have been somewhat useful in England, in a political point of view, in calling the attention of the higher classes of that country, and of men in places of influence, to the real, unexaggerated state of the mass of the poor, we have not the slightest doubt. Nor is it doubted that many of his poems are works of taste, which may be refining to the poetic student. But there we think the limit of their utility is fixed. That every page has the impress of genius is undeniable; but we have feared that flowing versification and lovely poetical imagery have been thrown around scenes the description of which has been useless, if we may not say deleterious. We find in his works *too many* exemplifications of woman's weakness and man's

wickedness; and if the cause of morality and religion may be favored by keeping the truth of our natural proneness to sin continually before us, we feel satisfied that minute illustrations of unhallowed desire, conceiving and bringing forth sin, are highly injurious. On this point, then, we must differ from some others of Mr. Crabbe's reviewers, in doubting whether he has been sufficiently careful in uniting the *utile cum dulce*.

We have thus given a brief analysis of the works of Crabbe, and the opinion we have formed of his poetic power. He opened a new path, and most successfully pursued it. He has reversed all the bright pictures of rustic happiness which have filled the pages of the poets, and most faithfully delineated the miseries, as well as the happiness, of humble life. This strict adherence to nature and truth will, in time, render his works a favorite with the cottager and peasant of England, and will continue so while many of England's laws continue so oppressive. He has seldom ascended above middle life, and scarcely in a single instance selected a subject which was not consonant with his taste and abilities. If he has exhibited any fault in sketching character, it is that he has been occasionally painfully minute. With a delicate ear, he has rendered his versification extremely polished, and sometimes exquisitely musical; and although he seldom varied his metre, he scarcely ever appears monotonous. His regular smoothness reminds us of Pope, his diction of Goldsmith,—but a perusal of his works convinces us that he is an imitator of neither. His perception of character seemed almost intuitive; his ability to describe it, most masterly. He was ever beautiful, even in the midst of loathsome scenes, and sometimes he rose to sublimity. His humor is so quiet that it seldom makes us *laugh*, while it ever imparts those highly pleasant sensations which create the happy *smile*. The coloring he gave his descriptions was rich and varied, and the exactitude with which he sketched character identifies the original immediately. His pathos, deep and touching as it is, reaches the hidden fount of feeling, and wakes its warmest current. We can say nothing greater of the "poet of the poor" than has been said:—he was "*Nature's sternest painter, and her best.*"

Art. III.—*The Bible Society of the Baptist Denomination.*

It is known to the Christian community, that our brethren, of the Baptist denomination, have withdrawn, in a body, from the American Bible Society, and have organized an independent institution for the purpose of translating and circulating the word of life.* The originating cause of their secession, and the precise object of the new association, are, however, not so generally understood. We have before us the constitution of the new society; a report of their operations during the year of their provisional organization; their first, second, and third (1840) annual reports; and several quarterly papers issued under the direction of the society. From these, we shall be enabled to give a correct account of the origin, object, and prospects of the new institution. We intend to do this honestly; actuated, if we know our own heart, solely by a love for the truth. But while on the one hand we disclaim the right to attribute motives that are disavowed; on the other we shall be fearless in the application of the Saviour's rule:—By their fruits ye shall know them.

With our Baptist brethren we have always been on as friendly terms as they would allow us to be. We have preached in their pulpits, and although we are not permitted to commemorate with them the dying love of our common Saviour, we bear them no ill will on that account. They choose to take the responsibility of virtually unchristianizing those whom they nevertheless call brethren beloved, and whom they acknowledge as ministers of Christ, by inviting them to preach to their people. We are willing they should bear that responsibility, as it leaves them answerable for any schism in the body of Christ thereby occasioned.

We cheerfully accord to that denomination, also, full credit for the zeal they have manifested in sending the gospel and the missionary to the heathen. In this we allude more especially to the Baptists of England. The same spirit in this country has enabled them to take rank with the largest Christian denominations in the United States.

* It ought to be observed here, that there are exceptions to this remark; a respectable portion of Baptists having refused to co-operate with the seceders, and still continuing friendly to the old society.

That they had a perfect right to withdraw from the American Bible Society, and to establish another, if the reasons seemed unto themselves sufficient, will not be questioned. If they had publicly avowed, as their design in so doing, the interests of their own sect, and had baptized their society with their own distinguishing name, no one of their sister churches would have had any right to complain. They have seen proper to do neither the one nor the other. They disclaim sectarian motives, and, instead of choosing a denominational characteristic, they call the new establishment *The American and Foreign Bible Society.*

There is something ludicrous in the application of the term American to societies and institutions which are of a purely sectarian character. The design with which it is done is easily seen through. Our Baptist friends have never before, so far as we know, adopted it; and whether, in this instance, they must come under the charge of using it for sectarian purposes will appear before the reader gets through this article. Our Presbyterian brethren are notorious for making every thing connected with the interests of their own peculiarities—*American.* Thus *their* missionary societies are known, not as Presbyterian, or Calvinistic, but as the American Board, and the American Home Society. Their society for the education of indigent young men is, of course, *the* American Society. In their periodicals they talk of themselves as the American churches; and a little monthly pamphlet containing one, and sometimes two well-spiced Calvinistic sermons, is the *National* Preacher. An inhabitant of another planet visiting our earth, might, perhaps, for a while be led to suppose that all Americans are Presbyterians, either of the new or old school; or, at any rate, that Calvinistic and American are so nearly synonymous as to convey the same idea.

It would have appeared better, at least so we judge, if, in seeking a name for the new society, our Baptist friends had recurred to the fact, that there are some who claim equally with themselves to be Americans, and who know nothing about their society or its object. How much better, more manly, and more independent would it have been, to have imitated rather the appellation of their own society for evangelizing the world;—the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions.

Besides, the name they have chosen had already been adopted

by the institution from which they saw proper to secede. The words, "and foreign," are, if not implied in the title, fully expressed in the constitutional object of the old society, as our separating brethren well knew, having received from it large amounts to aid them in circulating their translations in foreign lands. The English Baptists acted a more manly part in this matter. Following the example of their brethren in this country, they too have formed a separate association. They call it the *Bible Translation Society*. Inelegant, it is true; and scarcely grammatical; but still expressive, and quite original.

Thus much may suffice with reference to the name of the new concern. Let us turn our attention to the causes which gave it birth.

At a meeting of the board of managers of the American Bible Society, held on the 6th of August, 1835, Mr. Pearce, a Baptist missionary at Calcutta, made application for funds to aid in printing the New Testament in the Bengali language. A simlar application had been previously made for the same object to the Calcutta Bible Society, and to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and by each denied. The reason for this refusal was the fact, that, in the version for which aid was solicited, the Greek words Βαπτίζω, (*baptizo,*) Βαπτισμα, (*baptisma,*) and their derivatives, were translated by phrases, which, in that language, signify to immerse, immersion, &c.

The request of Mr. Pearce was referred by the board of managers of the American Bible Society to the committee on distribution, who reported at the next regular meeting, to wit, on the 3d of September following, that in their opinion it was inexpedient to make any appropriation, until the board settle a principle in relation to the Greek word Βαπτίζω. This report having been accepted, the whole subject was referred to a special committee of seven, which was composed of one from each of the religious denominations represented in the board. At the meeting in October, this committee brought in a report adverse to the request of Mr. Pearce, for reasons therein assigned. At the next regular meeting the whole subject came up again, and was finally referred back to the same committee of seven, who, at a special meeting on the 19th of November, made the following report:—

"The committee to whom was recommitted the determining of a

principle upon which the American Bible Society will aid in printing and distributing the Bible in foreign languages, beg leave to report:

"That they are of opinion that it is expedient to withdraw their former report *on the particular case*, and to present the following on the general principle.

"By the constitution of the American Bible Society its managers are, in the circulating of the Holy Scriptures, restricted to such copies as are 'without note or comment;' and in the English language, to the 'version in common use.' The design of these restrictions clearly seems to have been to simplify and mark out the duties of the society, so that all religious denominations of which it is composed might harmoniously unite in performing these duties.

"As the managers are now called to aid extensively in circulating the sacred Scriptures in languages other than the English, they deem it their duty, in conformity with the obvious spirit of their compact, to adopt the following resolutions as the rule of their conduct in making appropriations for the circulation of the Scriptures in all *foreign tongues*.

"*Resolved*, That in appropriating money for the translating, printing, or distributing the sacred Scriptures in foreign languages, the managers feel at liberty to encourage only such versions as conform in the principles of their translation to the common English version, at least so far as that all the religious denominations represented in this society can consistently use and circulate said versions in their several schools and communities.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of the above preamble and resoluion be sent to each of the missionary boards accustomed to receive pecuniary grants from this society, with a request that the same may be transmitted to their respective mission stations where the Scriptures are in process of translation, and also that the said several missionary boards be informed that their applications for aid be accompanied with a declaration that the versions which they propose to circulate are executed in accordance with the above resolution."

After much reflection and long deliberation, the report was accepted by the board of managers; and the resolutions adopted as rules for their future government, on the 17th of February, 1836.

In the following year, in compliance with a call from a committee who had been appointed for the purpose, a large number of delegates from Baptist churches in different states in the Union, convened at Philadelphia; which resulted in the formation of the "American and Foreign Bible Society."

Previous to this, the Baptist members of the board had withdrawn from the old society, and the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions had magnanimously declined an appropriation of five thousand dollars to aid them in circulating the Scriptures in foreign tongues, giving, as a reason, that they could not consistently and conscien-

tiously comply with the conditions on which the appropriation was made.

It would we think be extremely difficult for any person, other than a Baptist, to detect any thing like sectarianism in the above resolutions; or to find in them a justification for their secession and their new and avowedly hostile organization. We must allow them, therefore, to speak for themselves in this matter.

The president of the new society, Spencer H. Cone, in his first address, uses this language:—

"The occasion which has convened us is one of surpassing interest. Borne along by circumstances which we could neither anticipate nor control, we have been *constrained* to organize a distinct society for the printing and circulation of the sacred Scriptures. To this course we have been *impelled*, not merely by the fact that the Calcutta, the British and Foreign, and the American Bible Societies have COMBINED in the determination to afford no further aid to versions made by Baptist missionaries: versions which obvious duty binds us promptly and adequately to sustain:—but the measure has been imperatively demanded by the cry of the destitute; by the ardent desire of many of our churches to come up to the help of the Lord in this matter *against the mighty:* [Query: the old society?] and by the peculiar facilities now afforded us in the glorious work of Bible distribution."—*Proceedings*, &c., p. 18.

Thus speaketh the president in his inaugural address. We do not understand exactly how the phrase "circumstances which we could not anticipate," is to be reconciled with the fact that a similar society, or rather a "provisional organization," had been already a year in existence, as we learn from the following resolution, which we are told passed unanimously:—

"Resolved, That the society formed in New-York, May 13, 1836, as a provisional organization, together with all its funds, interests, and responsibilities be now merged in the American and Foreign Bible Society, organized by the Bible convention which met in Philadelphia, April 26, 1837."

It would seem as if there had been at least some *anticipation* of this matter; more especially, as the president of the incipient organization is identical with the president of the new society. But let that pass: and look for a moment at the charge gravely brought against the three principal Bible societies in the world: they have *combined*, says the president, to afford no further aid to versions made by Baptist missionaries. By his own showing there is no

evidence of combination in this matter; and, in the same pamphlet from which we quote the above extracts from the president's speech, they tell us, that five thousand dollars had been appropriated to their own board of missions, with the simple restriction, that their versions should be such as all the religious denominations represented in the society could consistently use and circulate in their schools and communities.

The same restriction accompanies all other appropriations; and it does seem to us as if no one denomination has any more cause to complain about it than another. Indeed, from the very nature of the compact, the American Bible Society has no right to aid in the circulation of any other versions than such as meet the approval of the religious denominations from whom their funds are received. If it has ever done so, as our Baptist brethren more than insinuate, it has been done evidently through ignorance, caused by the misrepresentations of those who have received their bounty.

The president of the new society observes further:—

"Among the errors and frauds which have marked the rise and progress of the papal hierarchy, handling the word of the Lord deceitfully is not the least. To keep back any part of the price; to add to or take from the words of the book, is a crime of no questionable character—the curse of the Almighty rests upon it!"

All this is very true; but what, the reader will naturally ask, has this to do with the matter in controversy? What justification do these undoubted truths form for the establishment of the new society? Why evidently none at all: but hear the new president further, and the design of the foregoing remarks will be understood and we shall arrive at the reason, and the only reason for the new organization.

"The Romish priesthood have always withheld the Scriptures from the laity as far as practicable; and when this could no longer be done, their effort has been to obscure the light of divine truth, and to incorporate with their several translations the distinguishing dogmas of their religion. In the accomplishment of this object, the *transferring* of Greek terms instead of *translating* them, has proved to be a most successful device. . . . We cannot but deeply deplore the effect of this system in perverting the ordinance of baptism, and establishing in its place, to a wide extent, *infant sprinkling*, which the learned and venerable Gill has justly called 'a part and pillar of popery.' . . . . . The unlearned, not being permitted to read in their own tongues wherein they were born, what God required of believers, were compelled to rely upon their spiritual guides, and they told them that baptizo sig-

nifies to sprinkle, or pour, or christen. . . . . And so unhappily one of the important ordinances of the gospel, described by the Holy Spirit as with a sunbeam, has been covered up, and hid from the great mass of the people by THE POPISH ARTIFICE OF TRANSFER."—*Proceedings of the Convention*, &c., pp. 18, 19.

Here we have the whole matter in a small compass. Whether the president has quoted accurately from the learned and venerable Gill we stop not to inquire; nor shall we argue his right to the latter of these titles. Venerable he doubtless was, in his old age; and we should think childish, rather than learned, when he hazarded the assertion that the baptism of infants is a part of that of which he says in the same sentence it is only a pillar. The old man doubtless knew once, though possibly he had forgotten, that infant baptism is as really and truly a part of Protestantism, as it is of popery. The president of the new society indorses the assertion; not aware, perhaps, of the bitter innuendo contained in it, that all who hold to infant sprinkling are popish; or to express it more clearly, and more absurdly, that there are only two religious denominations, to wit, the Baptists on the one hand, and the Roman Catholics on the other.

But what is meant in the above extract, by *transferring* Greek terms instead of *translating* them? Are not baptize, Baptist, baptism, English words? It would seem not. They are merely Greek transferred! Well, what do our brethren propose to substitute for them? Why certainly, immerse, immerser, immersion. But are *they* English words? Not at all; they are no more English than the former, being merely *Latin* transferred; and to use them would be even a better ground for the charge of popish artifice, than to adopt the others; the Latin being, as is well known, the favorite language of the Church of Rome.

But is our language so barren as to afford no English words by which to translate, without transferring the Greek? Certainly not. We have the pure old Saxon sprinkle, sprinkling, sprinkler, which, according to the best scholars, give as correct an idea of the meaning of the Greek in question as do immerse and its cognates; *bapto* being a word that means both to sprinkle and to immerse.*

* This is admitted even by our Baptist brethren. They style those religious denominations who differ from them—*Pedobaptists*. What do they mean by the phrase? Evidently those who sprinkle (βαπτιζω) children in contradistinction from those who immerse (βαπτιζω) adults.

But *baptism*, we are told, is "a foreign, unmeaning term, a barbarism," (see second Report, p. 44,) and this too by a sect who call themselves *Baptists;* who, when occasion serves, appear to glory in the barbarism; and, with marvelous inconsistency, publish themselves as the "largest body of *baptized* believers in the world." —*Constitution, &c.*, p. 13. Truly, it would seem due to decorum and common sense, either to abandon the use of a foreign, unmeaning term, or to withdraw the charge of popish artifice from those who use the term in common with themselves.

The fact is, as every scholar knows, there is a vast number of words in common and daily use, which, although derived from foreign languages, are, in reality, as truly English, and as well understood, as those which we inherit from our Saxon or Norman ancestors. The charge of transferring instead of translating is, therefore, puerile and absurd.

Indeed, for the sake of consistency, our friends should abandon the use of a great many of the most common words in the language; and to carry out their principles would leave them a very meagre vocabulary. By what right, for instance, do they talk about the *Bible?* Why call their society a *Bible* society? Do they not know that Bible is a mere *transfer*, and not a translation, of the Greek word Βιβλος, (Biblos?) Are they not afraid that there may be some of the "popish artifice" in this?

It would seem, strange as it may appear, that their quarrel is only with the unfortunate word chosen by themselves as their peculiar designation among the tribes of God's Israel. There is ample evidence, we think, in the documents before us, that if the American Bible Society would have been so reckless of the opinions and the rights of other churches, as to have assisted them in circulating versions in which the word Βαπτίζω is rendered, to *immerse*, whatever might have been their other inaccuracies, the world would never have heard of this new foreign society.

But this sentiment is not avowed. It has a little too much the appearance of sectarianism. Hence, on the contrary, we are told in the first annual report, p. 13:—

"It has been frequently insinuated, that our chief concern was to contend for the translation of the word baptizo; but this certainly is not our main design. Although we believe that this, like every other word in the Bible, ought to be faithfully translated; yet, as *Baptists*,

we are contending for *a great principle*, viz., that the whole of God's word should be *faithfully translated* and given to all mankind."

In the same report (page 12) they tell us:—

"In performing the duties assigned them, they have experienced great pleasure in the reflection, that this is an enterprise in which not only Baptists, but *Christians of all denominations* may meet on consecrated ground and *unite* in promoting the kingdom of their Redeemer."

The second annual report informs us, that the society

"*Resolved*, as the sense of this meeting, That the formation of the American and Foreign Bible Society, and its efforts to give to the nations of the earth the Bible translated, *deserve the approval*, and may justly *ask the co-operation* of the *Christian world.*"—*Second Rep.*, p. 42.

Now all this seems very far from sectarianism. The passages quoted breathe a very amiable and catholic spirit. We are unable, however, to reconcile them with some other little matters contained in the same reports. Thus, for instance, in the constitution of the society we read:—

"Art. VI. Such life directors as are members in good standing of [the church of Christ? no; but of] *Baptist* churches, shall be members of the board."

"Art. VIII. A board of managers shall be appointed to conduct the business of the society, consisting of thirty-six brethren in good standing in BAPTIST churches, sixteen of whom shall reside in the city of New-York, or its vicinity."

Now the difficulty with us is, why, if the chief object of the society be not to contend for their peculiar rendering of *baptizo*, none but those who are in good standing in Baptist churches may become members of the board of managers? We do not understand either, how Christians of all denominations may meet on consecrated ground, while, although they seem willing to receive contributions from all sects, none but Baptists may participate in the management of the funds. The "ground" on which they may thus meet, "consecrated" though it may be, does not, to say the least, appear to be *level*.

This discrepancy appears in a still stronger light, and the sectarian object of the new organization is openly avowed, and its "chief concern" boldly proclaimed in the constitution of the "Bible Translation Society." This society was instituted in London, chiefly through the agency and influence of the Rev. A. Maclay,

an agent of the American and Foreign Bible Society. He says, in a letter to the president:—

"DEAR BROTHER CONE,—My mission to Great Britain, through the divine blessing, has been crowned with success. It has aided in the formation of the Bible Translation Society, whose object is to promote the circulation of *faithful* versions of the sacred Scriptures in all languages."

The second article defines the object of this society, and explains what our Baptist brethren mean by *faithful* translations. It is as follows:—

"2. It shall be the object of this society to encourage the production and circulation of complete translations of the Holy Scriptures, competently authenticated for fidelity, *it being always understood*, that the words relating to the ordinance of BAPTISM *shall be translated by terms signifying* IMMERSION."

Were we disposed to cavil, there is abundant opportunity afforded by the singular collocation of words in this second article. It would puzzle the framers of it to reconcile what is said with what is meant. For instance, what are *the words relating* to the ordinance of baptism? And what object would be gained by translating *those words* by terms signifying immersion? The fact is, they meant to say baptism shall be rendered immersion in all those translations, the production of which it is the object of this society to encourage.

We like this second article. It is honest, and honesty is refreshing even in a rustic garb. It tells us what the object of the society really is, and avows that object to be sectarian.

But our American and Foreign Society, as we have seen, denies that their object is of this character. How could an *American* society be *sectarian?* On the contrary, they are strictly catholic, and sectarianism is charged upon the society composed of different denominations, from which the Baptist sect have seceded.

Thus, the special agent of the incipient organization, the Rev. A. Maclay, writing from Mobile, (whither he had gone to collect funds,) under date of April 19, 1837, being just one week *previous* to the formation of the new society, makes the following observations:

"The course adopted by the American Bible Society is considered by all our Baptist brethren, and by many Pedobaptists of the highest respectability, as unconstitutional, unjust, and unkind. In short, as decidedly *sectarian;* and therefore hostile to the original design of that

noble institution. Our brethren consider the course adopted by Bible societies in three quarters of the globe as an UNHOLY LEAGUE *to suppress a part of the eternal truth of God*, and that it must meet with his disapprobation, and also the disapprobation of all enlightened Christians."—*Constitution, &c., Appendix*, p. 73.

This is rather severe. It is indorsed by the society; and, as evidence that they believe it just and true, they have printed it in a pamphlet inscribed on the title-page "☞*Read and circulate.*" Much more to the same purpose may be gathered from the several annual reports. Would a reader, unacquainted with the facts, suppose that the course of the American Bible Society, referred to above, and there declared to be "unconstitutional," "unjust," "unkind," and "sectarian," was nothing more than the adoption of a resolution to aid in the circulation of such versions of the Scriptures only as *all* religious denominations represented in the society can consistently use and circulate? And yet this is all, as may be seen by referring to the resolutions quoted on a previous page. The vision of "*all* our Baptist brethren" must, indeed, be very keen to discover all these bad things in a resolution which, in the simplicity of our hearts, we looked upon as evidence of a truly catholic and fraternal spirit. But "*many* Pedobaptists of the highest respectability" see also this injustice, unkindness, and sectarianism. Truly if this be so, we marvel that an exception in their favor has not been added to the constitution of the new society. It would add greatly to its character, if a portion of this "highest respectability" might be infused into its board of managers.

But what do they mean by the "UNHOLY LEAGUE *to suppress a part of the eternal truth of God?*" Why, simply, that the three prominent Bible societies, the British and Foreign, the Calcutta, and the American, have adopted similar resolutions with reference to the appropriation of their funds. Each of them has declared its readiness to aid in any translations, by whomsoever made, with the simple proviso, that they shall conform to that version used equally by Baptists and other religious denominations.

This charge of suppressing a part of the truth of God is reiterated in every possible form of expression throughout all the official publications of the new society. The quarterly papers issued from their office are adorned with a wood-cut representing an open book, on which is printed in capitals, THE BIBLE TRANSLATED. The

object of which is, without doubt, to point out, as their distinguishing peculiarity, the *translation* of the word of God, in opposition to all others, who, according to their statements, merely *transfer* it.

In the report of their incipient organization (p. 21) they tell us, in capitals as here printed:—

"This is the first Bible society, formed under the direction of the Baptist denomination with the avowed intention of giving to THE WHOLE WORLD A LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE WORD OF GOD."

Again:—

"The board of managers are satisfied, that the providence of God has made it the duty of Baptists to give to *the whole world a faithful translation of the whole Bible.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 51.

Again:—

"To cast a veil of obscurity over any part of that revelation which God has given to man *must be a sin*, for it opens a wide avenue for the introduction of errors. And, to communicate any part of the will of God in words that have no definite meaning, when it may be clearly expressed, must, assuredly, be casting a veil over it that greatly obscures or conceals from the anxious reader the mind of the Spirit."—*Ibid.*, p. 67. *Letter of A. Bingham.*

Brother Maclay, of whom we have already made honorable mention, in the same report, pp. 73–4, says of the new society:—

"Its object is to give *faithful* translations of the Bible to the nations of the earth, without any human addition, diminution, or concealment, *which cannot be affirmed of any other Bible society in the world;* for it would seem that *they are more zealous to conceal* from the nations the real meaning of the ordinance of baptism than to give the unadulterated Bible of God to men."

In the second annual report we are favored with a flaming speech of R. W. Cushman, from which we make a short extract. He is speaking of the resolutions of the American Bible Society, already quoted, and says:—

"Thus is a principle adopted for their future operations in Bible translation which requires the missionaries of the Baptist denomination, in giving light to those who are sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, *to hold back and cover up a part of the truth*, as the price of the aid of the society in disclosing the rest."—*Second Report*, page 46.

In the appendix to the third report, we find the copy of a letter to the Baptist churches in Great Britain, from the board of managers of the American and Foreign Bible Society. This is an official

document, and bears the signatures of Spencer H. Cone, (the president,) William Parkinson, and Charles G. Somers, (the corresponding secretary.) The reader will perceive the object of the letter, and the motive presented to advance that object, from the following extract:—

"We particularly hope, that in the publication of faithful versions of the Bible in all lands, we may, ere long, obtain the active co-operation of every Baptist in Great Britain. Let the churches of our denomination but unite their energies in this great work, and they will make their influence to be felt throughout the world. Why should they not thus unite, when it is known that the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society *have virtually combined to obscure at least a part of the divine revelation.*"—*Third Report*, p. 44.

Now this is a very serious charge. It is coolly and deliberately made. It is repeated and reiterated in reports, letters, speeches, and official documents. It is scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is wafted across the waters, and a special messenger is sent, and paid, to disseminate it from one end of Great Britain to the other.

What is the charge? Obscuring the divine revelation. Holding back and covering up a part of the truth. Entering into an unholy league to suppress a part of the eternal truth of God.

Against whom, and by whom, is this charge preferred? Against the great mass of evangelical Christians in England and in America by one sect in the United States, who have thought proper to exercise an undoubted right by establishing a separate Bible association. In a word, the Baptists charge these things upon their Christian brethren of every other name who compose the British and Foreign and the American Bible Society, and by means of whose prayers and liberality those institutions rank first in their influence and their success among the benevolent associations of the age.

The charitable reader will hope that such accusations against such institutions must have been made in ignorance of their full import. But what says the president of the society, in the address from which we have already quoted? "To add to, or take from, the words of the Book, is a crime of no questionable character—THE CURSE OF THE ALMIGHTY RESTS UPON IT."—*Constitution, &c.*, p. 18.

The charge is made, then, understandingly. The curse of the

Almighty, they tell the world, rests upon every Bible society except their own; for all others not only obscure God's revelation, but have entered into an unholy league for that purpose. "For my part," said uncle Toby, when Trim had finished reading the prescribed form of anathema pronounced against those excommunicated from the Roman Church, "for my part, Trim, I could not find it in my heart to curse a dog after that fashion."

The reader will bear with us in making another extract relative to this cursing business, revolting as is the subject to every Christian of correct feeling. In the report of their operations during the year of their provisional organization, (pp. 50, 51,) the managers of the new society, after detailing at some length their grievances, and the wrongs they endured from the Calcutta, the British and Foreign, and the American Bible Societies, go on to say:—

"Upon their conduct in this case we pause not now to animadvert. To their own Master they must stand or fall when every man shall be judged according to his works. Some years since, say the Baptist missionaries in Bengal, three of the Pedobaptist brethren, unknown to us, though on the most friendly terms with us, wrote to the Bible society in England, requesting them *not to give assistance to any Indian version in which the word 'baptize' was translated to 'immerse.'* NONE OF THESE MEN LIVED TO SEE THE REPLY TO THEIR APPLICATION."

We have quoted this passage, including the italics and capitals, precisely as we find it. There is a note on page 43 of the second annual report, which, taken in connection with the preceding extract, will help the reader to understand the *quo animo* of these reports. It refers to the same subject:—

"They [the Baptist missionaries in India] had previously failed in an application to the British and Foreign Bible Society, in consequence of the interference of three Pedobaptist missionaries, who, though apparently on the most friendly terms with the Baptist missionaries, had, unknown to them, written to that society, requesting it not to give assistance to any Indian versions in which the word *βαπτίζω* was translated, to immerse. What injuries are to result to the interests of Christianity from the compliance of the British and Foreign Bible Society with their request, and the imitation of its example by the American Bible Society, He alone, who can see the end of all things, can tell; but *it is an awful reflection* that not one of those three men was permitted to have the gratification of receiving the tidings of his success. When the news of the refusal of that society to grant the aid which our brethren had solicited reached Calcutta, *they had all been called to render an account of their stewardship to God.*"

With one little exception, we do not question the truth of the facts here stated. The missionaries to whom allusion is made, instead of "requesting," if we are correctly informed, merely suggested the propriety of having all versions of the Scriptures made in such a way that different denominations of Christians could unite in using them. It is true that these brethren, having labored faithfully in that pagan land, were called home by the great Head of the church when their work was done. True that this happened previous to the reception of information by the Baptist missionaries in India that the British and Foreign Bible Society would not countenance sectarian versions of the word of life. But O, what is the spirit that dictated the manner in which these truths are promulgated in the reports before us! It is bad enough to slander the living; to intimate, as we have seen, that the curse of God rests upon the Bible societies of Europe, Asia, and America. But to revile the dead—and those dead, men who hazarded their lives to proclaim Jesus and the resurrection to the perishing heathen; to tear open the half-healed wounds of hearts that bled when they heard that God had called them from the cross to the crown; to intimate, that after all their sacrifices, and toils, and sufferings, they died accursed; to say of such men, and to say it with apparent delight, that their being called to render an account of their stewardship to God is an "awful reflection;" to blacken their memory, now that they may not meet the slander, by charging upon them injuries to the cause of Christianity which God only can estimate; these are things which human language lacks energy adequately to characterize.

"They were not permitted to have the gratification of receiving the tidings of their success." That's a mistake! The tidings of their success reached heaven before those tidings arrived in India. They had the gratification of receiving them while in the midst of the spirits of the just before the eternal throne.

The reader will bear in mind that our knowledge of the facts upon which we have felt it a duty thus to animadvert is all derived from the publications of the new institution. We have looked in vain for any retaliatory remarks in the reports of the American Bible Society. We are not able to find therein even a solitary allusion to the secession of our brethren, or to the very strange reasons given for it. Conscious of their integrity, the board of

managers have left unnoticed these aspersions of character, these imputations of motive, these charges of sectarianism. Like Him, whose unadulterated word it is their object to give to the nations of the earth, being reviled, they revile not again. Their course in this respect has been worthy of the cause in which they are engaged. It is honorable, dignified, Christ-like. But their silence in this matter is no reason why the friends of that noble institution should be silent also, any more than the conduct of the Saviour would be a valid reason for neglecting to defend him and his mission from the sneers of the scoffer, or the slander of the blasphemer.*

We have no expectation that our brethren will be induced to retract any thing they have said, or to retrace their steps. But we do not therefore esteem our labor vain. Nobody supposes that a putrefying carcass may be restored to life by the dissecting knife of the surgeon; but dissection, though an unpleasant task, is not therefore unnecessary.

The managers of the new society are careful to inform the public that they have met with opposition and reproach in their new enterprise. It is fair, inasmuch as a knowledge of these facts is to be obtained from no other source, that they should be allowed to speak for themselves on this subject. President Cone, in his address, as found on page 9 of the first annual report, says:—

"Our separate action in the Bible cause has been ascribed to pride, to sectarianism, to passion; some have recklessly named motives still more offensive."

Mr. Cushman, in his speech, as given in the second annual report, page 49, speaking of the efforts of the new society, informs us that

"Not a little has been said and written about sectarianism and bigotry; about embarrassing missionary operations," &c.

In the third report, our friend Maclay, to whom we have already acknowledged our obligations, is permitted to indulge himself in

* The publication of a little pamphlet on the subject of Bible translations, just issued by the board of managers, (February, 1841,) does not at all invalidate the force or the propriety of these remarks. On the contrary, every unprejudiced reader, while he cannot fail to be convinced by the arguments and facts therein presented, will admire the moderation and candor with which they are clothed.

the peculiarities of his style as to what is, and will be. He appears to know as much about the future as he does of the present and the past:—

"It makes my heart ache," he says, "to hear the measured [Qu., unmeasured?] language of adulation, at times made use of, in reference to the British and Foreign Bible Society:—a society that has treated us with injustice and contempt, and by their actions say, that *they would rather see the heathen perish* in their idolatry, ignorance, and unbelief, than give them a Bible that shall inform them the exact mind of the Holy Spirit on the subject of baptism! . . . I feel, however, persuaded that English Baptists will be compelled to go right ahead, and maintain their ground with firmness, *for the wrath of a whole host of infant sprinklers* will be down upon them immediately."—*Letter dated Bristol, England, April* 13, 1840, 3d Report, p. 67.

By the designation which we have printed in italics in the last quotation, the writer evidently means the numerous divisions of the Christian church who dedicate their little ones to Almighty God by baptism. It is rather an uncourteous appellation, and, we think, not classical. The prediction, we hope, will not be fulfilled. So, we trust, hopes also its author, even though he thereby loses his reputation as a prophet. The "wrath of the infant sprinklers," who compose nineteen-twentieths of God's Israel, will not "be down upon" any one of the tribes, whatever be the provocation given, or the insolence indulged in; at least, not until the angel flying in the midst of heaven has proclaimed the everlasting gospel to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people: and then, there will be no revolting tribe to challenge or deserve their wrath.

We have given a fair specimen of the charges and accusations which our brethren tell us they have had to meet since their new organization. They are all, like those we have quoted, vague and indefinite. We are told that such things have been said, but we are not told by whom, or where, or when.

There is, however, in the "provisional report" a letter signed E. D. Fendall, which seems a little more specific in the nature of its charges. As it has some reference to a branch of the church with which we are connected, our readers will pardon us for quoting from it at some length. It is dated

"*Cedarville, December* 3, 1836.

"DEAR BROTHER,—When I providentially came to this place last June, I found the whole community in a state of extreme agitation, and the theme of all conversation was the new Baptist Bible; almost every

hour I was asked the question, 'Have you seen the new Baptist Bible? and when I replied negatively, together with the declaration that I had not heard there was such a 'new Bible,' the inquirers were astonished, to think of my coming direct from Philadelphia to this remote place, without seeing or knowing any thing of 'that sacrilegious attempt to make a new Bible'—and that the said Baptist Bible was now in circulation. The effect which these reports had was of an unhappy nature. The Baptist cause was at a low ebb. The few Baptists themselves were almost ready to believe that there was indeed a new Bible to be imposed upon them by a 'Baptist ecclesiastical council,' of the nature of 'the General Assembly' or 'the General Conference,' so boldly were these reports uttered. The friends of the Baptist cause began to regret that they had declared themselves friendly to such innovators; every thing looked gloomy—and I felt that it was high time to examine into the thing. I asked where the reports came from, and they were all traced to Mr. ——, a Methodist local preacher, who was very busy in riding throughout the whole country, spreading the report; and, not content with endeavoring to make enemies to the Baptist cause, in one instance he went to the house of an old Baptist lady, who is in her dotage, and told her that the Baptists were making a new Bible, and that they were going to take all the old ones from their members. This good old sister, who was very much attached to her old-fashioned Baptist Bible, was nearly frantic at the thought of losing her Bible, and declared that they should never have it: for she 'would hide it and fight for it.' This is but one instance out of many of a similar kind. I sent to this 'Alexander the coppersmith' a copy of the constitution of the American and Foreign Bible Society, and positively contradicted the reports in circulation, and soon convinced the reasonable part of the people of the absurdity of the thing, from the nature of the Baptist churches, each being INDEPENDENT. Another report which this man circulated was, that the Baptists already had a translation of the New Testament, which they had adopted, and that it was by Alexander Campbell, a Baptist preacher of Virginia. I soon let them into the real secret, that the honesty of such men as Drs. Campbell and Macknight, of the church of Scotland, would not allow them to *transfer* a word that could be *translated*."—*Proceedings, &c.*, p. 79.

Our knowledge of geography does not enable us to inform the reader where Cedarville is; and although our acquaintance with the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church is somewhat extensive, it is insufficient to identify the local preacher above alluded to with any living reality. Whoever he was, he might have been better employed than in "riding throughout the whole country, spreading the report." We were in the country at that time, and it is certain he never called on us with his report, or we should most assuredly have told him so. It seems, however, from the above letter, that there is, or was, such a thing as a Baptist Bible;

but then it was not a new, but an "old-fashioned Baptist Bible," to which this good old sister—"in her dotage"—was very much attached.

Let us now turn our attention to the results effected by the new society. The amount of receipts, according to the treasurer's reports, is as follows:—

During the first year, including a balance from the incipient organization	$38,714 66
Second year	24,745 75
Third year	25,812 22

These amounts indicate liberality on the part of the donors, and are evidence of the zeal by which the new society has been characterized. They are certainly much larger than was ever derived for this object from the same sources in any one year previous to the new organization. In fact, so far as can be ascertained, the average of these first three years exceeds the whole amount of unrestricted donations received from Baptists by the American Bible Society during the whole period of its existence. It is clear, moreover, that there has been no diminution in the receipts of the last-named institution since the establishment of the new society. And hence, it would seem, that, so far as raising money is concerned, the withdrawal of our Baptist brethren has been of beneficial tendency; the liberality of multitudes who had previously given little or nothing for the dissemination of the word of life having been thereby excited. Whether this will continue to be the case when the charm of novelty is worn off, remains to be seen. At any rate, there has been a very great falling off in the number of auxiliary societies recognized by the new parent institution since its formation in 1837. Thus, as we learn from the third annual report, pp. 86, 87, there were recognized, during the year 1837, no less than sixty-four auxiliaries; during 1838, only eighteen; and in 1839, only nine.

The greater part of the moneys received by the society has been appropriated to the Baptist General Convention for missionary purposes, to aid in printing and circulating the Scriptures in foreign lands. Indeed, the sole professed design of its original organization was to assist foreign translations; and a resolution, contemplating, as one of the objects of the new society, the circulation of

an English version was, after discussion, *negatived* by the convention which formed the society.

How could it be otherwise? The grand reason for calling the new institution into existence was, as we have seen, the incorrectness of the common English version, a "transferred instead of translated Bible," one "full of popish artifice," and, "instead of shedding the pure light of God's revelation, hiding it in an eclipse, or, at best, giving it in dim and sickly twilight." By such and similar expressions is the commonly received Bible characterized by our brethren, as may be seen in their resolutions, letters, speeches, and reports, *passim*. Of course, they could not conscientiously aid in the circulation of such a Bible, and, not feeling competent to the task of a new translation, their efforts were, at first, confined to the circulation of foreign versions: leaving the Pedobaptists, which is, by interpretation, "the infant sprinklers," to bear the guilt of locking up God's holy word in a dead language.

But at the next annual meeting of the society, to wit, on the 26th of April, 1838, the constitution was amended, and it was

"Resolved, That in the *distribution* of the Scriptures in the English language, they will use the *commonly received version*, until otherwise directed by the society."

In the annual report for that year, (1838,) the managers of the new society make the following observations relative to this branch of their operations:—

"It is an important consideration, that in the southern and western states, which will, probably, within a few years give laws to the whole nation, *we* have greater facilities for circulating the Bible than all other denominations, because, there, Baptists are decidedly the majority. If our Home Mission Society is under obligations to traverse those destitute parts of our land and preach to them the gospel, is it not *our* appropriate work to supply them with the Bible? Can it be the duty of American Baptists to send the Scriptures to foreign nations, and remain unmoved by compassion for their own countrymen? Shall we permit tens of thousands, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, to perish at our doors for want of the bread of life? Besides, suppose the American Bible Society should be restricted to the foreign field—how long would that institution enjoy the patronage of the American public? No objection has been heard against *their* publishing the English Bible, why, then, should an interdict be laid upon the American and Foreign Bible Society? Surely it cannot be because Baptists have more confidence in the managers of a Pedobaptist institution than in the integrity of their own brethren.

"If the efforts of the American and Foreign Bible Society were to be limited to a foreign field, it would, in the history of Bible societies, be an institution without a precedent—it would necessarily be feeble and inefficient; and who can doubt that many would withhold their contributions, while the kindling zeal of thousands would thus be in danger of extinction.

"But 'the word of God is not bound.' Let the American and Foreign Bible Society be untrammeled by any restrictions—let it be what its name imports—let it be a BIBLE SOCIETY FOR THE WHOLE WORLD, and our denomination will act together in the glorious work of giving a copy of the divine oracles to every accessible family upon the globe. The board of managers confidently believe that upon this plan, thousands who have always refused to act with the American Bible Society will co-operate with us, in disseminating '*the most faithful versions*' of the Scriptures among all nations." —*Report*, pp. 35, 36.

We were not before aware that the Baptists are "decidedly the majority" in the southern and western states. There are, we know, many Presbyterians, and not a very small portion of Methodists, in those regions, to say nothing of other denominations; and had we met this assertion anywhere else than in the dignified report of an "American" society, we should have considered it a wilful misstatement, or, at best, an ignorant exaggeration.

"Why should an interdict be laid upon the American and Foreign Bible Society?" Sure enough—why? Who has attempted to lay any interdict upon it? Nobody, so far as we know. Consistency, indeed, would seem to urge upon them the propriety, when they commence giving the bread of life to those who are perishing at our doors, that it should be at least of as good quality as that which they send to the heathen of China or of Burmah. Consistency would ask a reason for circulating among our own countrymen, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, "an unfaithful version of the word of life." But then, say the managers, if we are limited to a foreign field, many would "withhold their contributions;" and so, consistency be quiet; lay upon us no "interdict."

From the second annual report we learn that the treasurer had paid for stereotyping, printing, paper, binding, &c., for Bibles, Testaments, &c., during the year, the sum of ten thousand six hundred and forty dollars. Of *King James's version*, (the one in common use,) the society had printed twenty-five thousand copies of the New Testament in nonpareil; five thousand copies of the New Testament in brevier; and five thousand copies of the whole

Bible in brevier. During the following year they issued, *of the same version*, seventeen hundred and fifty copies of the New Testament in pica type, octavo.

The preparation and printing of these volumes were committed to a special committee of three. After stating these facts, and reiterating that, in their opinion, this version is not "in all respects *faithful*," the managers add:—

"The only improvements made in the present edition, so as better to adapt it to general use, have been, correcting typographical errors, and restoring *capital letters* and *italics*, (where other publishers have deviated from the *authorised* version,) modernizing the spelling, and giving the proper grammatical changes to the indefinite article. The board are happy in the belief, that the edition of the Bible which they have prepared for the society, so far as regards accuracy, mechanical execution, and the price at which it is afforded, is unsurpassed by any edition of the Scriptures before offered to the public; and they earnestly solicit the co-operation of auxiliary societies, in its distribution throughout the length and breadth of the land."—*Second Report*, p. 13.

We were at a loss to perceive any good reason for these separate publications of the version in common use until we saw the editions alluded to. In the simplicity of our hearts we made a calculation by which the ten thousand dollars expended by the new society for printing, stereotyping, &c., would have purchased a much greater number of Bibles and Testaments of the commonly received version. We knew that the editions of the American Bible Society are exceedingly accurate in their typography, and, there being no sectarian object in view, and the new society having determined to circulate the "unfaithful version," we thought, how much more economical it would be to purchase from them, than to print and stereotype anew. Thus we thought previous to seeing the new society's publications. We think differently now.

In the remarks which follow we confine ourselves to the pica New Testament, that being the latest of the new society's publications, and having had the benefit of three revisions. The board of managers and the committee of three can, of course, have no objection to our testing the "accuracy" of which they talk so largely.

The mechanical execution of the work is good: the paper fair; the impression clean; and the binding substantial. It professes to be a reprint of Robert Barker's edition, London, 1611.

On the back of the title-page, after giving, in the usual form,

the names and order of the several books, we find the following remarkable commentary:—

"MEANING OF CERTAIN WORDS USED IN THIS VERSION.

GREEK.	THIS VERSION.	PROPER MEANING.
Ἄγγελος	ANGEL	MESSENGER.
Βαπτίσμα	BAPTISM	IMMERSION.
Βαπτίζω	BAPTIZE	IMMERSE.
Ἐπίσκοπος	BISHOP	OVERSEER.
Ἀγάπη	CHARITY	LOVE.
Ἐκκλησια	CHURCH	CONGREGATION.
Πασχα	EASTER	PASSOVER."

We will not say what, in our opinion, was the design of this ingenious explanatory table. Its obvious tendency, doubtless, is to impress the reader with the idea that it is copied from the authorized version, as its insertion is not named by the board of managers among their "improvements." There is nothing like it, however, in any of Barker's Bibles, nor in any copy of the sacred writings we have ever met with previous to the publications of the American and Foreign Bible Society. We are doubtless indebted for it to "the committee of three." Its insertion shows a lamentable lack of moral courage. If the managers believed it essential, why did they not insert these "proper meanings" in their proper places? Will they say, that would have destroyed their claim as the publishers of the authorized version? So it would; and it does precisely the same thing where it now stands. It makes their version nothing more nor less than King James's translation, with a sectarian commentary attached.

Verily we should have had some curious readings had the committee carried out their "proper meanings" like honest men. Take, for instance, the first word on the list, Ἄγγελος. Now, while it is true that, according to its derivation, it does mean a messenger, it is equally true that it means also a spiritual intelligent being, and that the English language has no word but *angel* by which that meaning can be expressed. The ancient Sadducees believed, doubtless, in the existence of messengers; although Luke tells us (Acts xxiii, 8) they had no faith in that of angels. Paul, urging the duty of hospitality, informs us (Heb. xiii, 2) that some have entertained *angels* unawares. It would be difficult to tell how

any one could entertain a *messenger* without knowing it. Peter, in his first epistle, (chap. i, 12,) speaking of the mysteries of the world's redemption, says, which things the angels [messengers?] desire to look into. Thus again, (Heb. ii, 16,) Jesus Christ took not on him the nature of *messengers!* Stephen's face (Acts vi, 15) appeared to those who looked steadfastly upon him as it had been the face of—a *messenger!*

The same course of remark might be followed with the two succeeding words, *βαπτισμα* and *βαπτιζω*, as the reader may see by turning to the passages in which occur the words baptism and baptize. It was doubtless for the sake of these two words that the table before us was concocted. Why the others were added, and why a number that might have been introduced with equal propriety were omitted, none but "the special committee of three" can tell. Upon them, and their coadjutors, it seems as if all argument would be wasted. But we appeal to all Christians, irrespective of sect or denomination; to all who are capable of reading the original, and who are not blinded by bigotry, whether the English words *immerse* and *immersion convey the* WHOLE of the idea of the Holy Spirit in his use of the words in question. If a man should fall into the river, would it not be strictly correct to say in English, he was *immersed?** Is that ALL the Holy Spirit meant by *βαπτιζω*? When the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea, their death was caused by *immersion:* this is intelligible and correct English.† Does *βαπτισμα* mean *nothing more* than that? These are the questions on which the whole controversy hinges. They

* IMMERSED, *p. p.* Put into a fluid.—*Webster.*

† IMMERSION, *n.* The act of putting into a fluid below the surface.—*Ibid.*

After writing the above, we accidentally met with the following sentence in the Journal of Commerce of this morning, (Feb. 20, 1841.) It shows conclusively that the idea conveyed to an English ear by the words in question is very different from that designed by the Holy Spirit in his use of the words *βαπτιζω, βαπτισμα.* The article appears to be an extract from a St. Augustine paper of February 5. It is an account of an incident that happened during the Florida war:—"One yawl boat, containing three warriors, four squaws, and two children, was chased by Lieutenant Taylor, two privates, and the sergeant. When they had got within rifle shot of the Indians, their boat got aground. They all jumped out to pull the boat into deep water, and in doing so, got so suddenly beyond their depth, that they were completely immersed—arms and all! The sergeant was the only one who escaped immersion."

admit of but one answer; and if these words mean something more than immerse and immersion; if, when used in the Scriptures to express the rite initiatory into the Christian church, they mean the application of water *in any way as a sacrament*, then we say, there are no words in the English language by which the whole idea of the Holy Spirit can be conveyed but those which are used in the commonly received version of the sacred Scriptures.

As to the other "proper meanings," but little need be said. They seem as if lugged in; mere makeweights to keep the others in countenance. "Bishop" should be "overseer." Well; they are convertible terms; a bishop is an overseer certainly; but all overseers are not bishops, as our brethren may learn by referring to 2 Chron. ii, 18.

Αγαπη, instead of being rendered charity, should have been love; and εκκλησια should have been congregation instead of church; and πασχα means passover, and not Easter, as it is rendered in one passage, Acts xii, 4. Truly this is small business. We would recommend to the special committee, in the event of their being permitted to superintend another edition, the propriety of adding to their dictionary. It has a very bald appearance at present, and there is no scarcity of material. Thus, for instance:—

GREEK.	THIS VERSION.	PROPER MEANING.
Προφήτης . .	PROPHET . . .	A FORETELLER.
Ἐπιστολὴ . .	EPISTLE . . .	LETTER.
Συναγωγὴ . .	SYNAGOGUE . .	CONGREGATION.
Ἀποστολος . .	APOSTLE . . .	ONE SENT FORTH.
Πρεσβυτεριον . .	PRESBYTERY . .	A BODY OF ELDERS.
Σαββατον . . .	SABBATH . . .	DAY OF REST.

These, and a host of others that might be added, are, in "this version," only—*Greek transferred;* and "who can estimate the evils that have resulted from the popish artifice of transfer?" The "intention" of the new society was to "give the WHOLE WORLD a *literal* translation of the word of God," and by no means to enter into that "unholy league" which have "combined" to suppress that word by "covering it up in a foreign and unmeaning jargon." This, in their own language, was their intention. An edition of the common version, with the addition of the above table, is all the evidence we have of the sincerity of that intention.

We are pleased, however, with the multiplication of editions of King James's translation: first, because we believe it unequalled for its fidelity to the original; and secondly, because every new edition lessens the probability that any sect will ever be able to foist upon the public another version.

In examining the pica New Testament of the new society, we bear in mind its claims to superior accuracy, and the improvements that have been made by the "special committee." These are, they tell us, the correction of typographical errors; the restoration of *capital letters* and *italics;* modernizing the spelling; and giving the proper grammatical changes to the indefinite article.

We have read the work with some care; and although the task be an unpleasant one, we shall present the evidence by which we we were driven to the conclusion, that we have never seen a copy of the English New Testament so full of errors, discrepancies, and typographical inaccuracies.

As the reader will perceive, we do this without any attempt at classification or order. Let him read and judge for himself.

Eph. iv, 24. *The* new man is in the new version *that* new man.

2 Pet. ii, 15. Balaam is spelt Baalam.

1 Cor. xiii, 2. Have *no* charity instead of *not* charity, as it is in the succeeding verse, where the Greek is precisely the same.

1 Cor. xii, 28. The new version reads helps *in* governments; instead of helps, governments, as in the original, making an entirely different sense.

Rom. xiv, 10. In the Greek, and in all accurate versions, our standing before the judgment seat of Christ is made a reason why we shoud not judge our brother; by the omission of *for* in the new version this reason is destroyed, and the mind of the Spirit obscured.

1 Cor. iv, 9. The apostles are said to be *approved* instead of *appointed* to death.

2 Cor. ix, 4. The adverb *haply* is printed *happily*. Do they mean the same thing?

2 Cor. xi, 26. Ὁδοιπορίαις is rendered *journeying* in the singular, instead of *journeyings* in the plural.

Col. i, 21, & iii, 7. In the former the adverb ποτε is renderd *sometimes*, in the latter *some time:* two distinct words, and

conveying different ideas, as the reader will see by turning to the passages.

Eph. ii, 18. By the addition of the little article *an* in this verse, a very erroneous idea is given of the apostle's meaning. He says we have *access* to the Father; the improved edition tells us we have *an* access.

Phil. iv, 6. The apostle says, let your *requests* (αἰτήματα) be made known unto God. The new version has it your *request*, as if God would hear but one.

2 Tim. ii, 19. Having *the* seal should be having *this* seal: ταύτην being entirely omitted, or being considered by the committee of preparation as having no meaning.

Heb. xi, 23. *They not afraid*, were omitted, unintentionally doubtless.

Heb. xii, 1. Let us run with patience *unto* the race, &c. How the preposition found its way into this verse we cannot tell. The apostle certainly never wrote such nonsense.

1 Pet. v, 10. The God of all grace who hath called us *into* his eternal glory, &c. Not exactly; we have been called *unto* that glory.

Rev. i, 11. The preposition (εἰς) *unto* is omitted before the word Philadelphia.

Mark x, 18. The society's Testament says, there is no *man* good but one, that is God. Is God a man, then?

Luke i, 3. Πᾶσιν in the new version is totally omitted, as if it meant nothing.

Luke xxiii, 32. In this verse a typographical error which occurred in the early editions, but which has been corrected in those subsequently printed, is continued by the special committee. They say: there were also two other malefactors led with him, to be put to death. Did the evangelist mean to call Jesus a malefactor? If we read *others* instead of other as the Greek (ἕτεροι δύο) evidently intends; or if the committee had simply inserted a comma after other, this absurdity, not to say blasphemy, would have been avoided.

John xii, 22. For *told* read tell.

John xv, 20. Κύριον αὐτοῦ *his* lord, is called *The* Lord, giving the

passage a very different sense from that intended by the Saviour.

Luke xix, 9. Zaccheus is said to be *the* son of Abraham. Not true; the Saviour called him *a* son of Abraham.

John xix, 18. *Other* should have been *others*.

John xix, 24. For *let not us* read *let us not*.

1 Cor. x, 28. The omission of (γαρ) *for*, in the latter clause of this verse, throws the apostle's meaning into "dim eclipse."

Acts v, 34. Gamaliel is called a doctor of law, instead of a doctor of *the* law.

Thus much for the accuracy of the new society's New Testament. They will tell us, perhaps, that some of these errors are to be found in the edition from which theirs is printed. What then? That will be a sufficient excuse for their printer. If he followed copy, that is all they had a right to require of him. But for what purpose, we pray, was the "special committee of three" appointed? We regret that the board of managers has withheld the names of those gentlemen. Either they were incompetent to the task assigned them, or they have imposed upon the body by whom they were appointed, for the managers assure the world that in their edition *improvements* have been made, and *typographical errors* have been corrected.

Another improvement in their publications, they tell us, is the restoration of CAPITAL LETTERS and *italics*. Let us see,—

BAPTISM is a word, as we have seen, peculiarly obnoxious to our seceding brethren. It is printed uniformly by the British and Foreign, and by the American Bible Society, with a small *b*. In the new edition it is commenced with a capital, but not always. Thus, it is Baptism in the following places:—Matt. iii, 7; Acts xix, 3; Col. ii, 12; Heb. vi, 2; 1 Pet. iii, 21. In the following places, as if the committee had forgotten their pledge to restore capitals, it is printed *b*aptism:—Matt. xxi, 25; Mark i, 4; Luke iii, 3; Luke vii, 29; Acts xix, 4.

SYNAGOGUE, because, as we suppose, it is a mere transfer and not a translation of the Greek, is commenced with a capital in Acts ix, 2; ix, 20; xiii, 5; and Rev. ii, 9. In Acts xxii, 19, and Rev. iii, 9, on the other hand, the usual mode is adopted, and it begins with a small s.

CHARITY in 1 Cor. viii, 1, is spelt charity in the same epistle, xiii, 1.

Church. A strange "restoration" has been made of the capital C in this word. In Rev. ii, it occurs nine times; in six of them it is spelt with a capital; and in three with a small letter. Can there by possibility be any reason for writing—Church in Smyrna; Church in Pergamos; while in the same chapter we have church of Ephesus and church in Thyatira?

Disciple, also, seems to have suffered by the "restoration" process. The following discrepancies occur in St. Matthew's gospel. In chapter xvii, we find it with a capital in verses 13, 19, while in verses 6, 10, 16, of the same chapter, it is begun with a small d. It is Disciple also in xviii, 1; xxi, 1, 6, 20; *d*isciple in xvi, 21; xvii, 6, 10, 16.

Son of God. In all the other modern editions which we have examined, and they are not a few, this appellation of the Lord Jesus is uniformly commenced with a capital letter. It is so in the following passages of the Testament before us:—Matt. iv, 6; xxvi, 63, 64; xxvii, 40, 54. On the other hand it is printed *s*on of God in the following places:—Matt. iv, 3; xiv, 33; xvi, 16; Luke i, 35. Is that what the committee mean by restoring capitals? The same remark applies to the phrase

Son of man, which, although generally printed as in other editions, with a capital, is given to us with a small letter in the following passages:—Matt. xiii, 37; He that soweth the good seed is the *s*on of man. Matt. xvi, 27; The *s*on of man shall come in the glory of his Father, &c. Mark xiv, 62; Ye shall see the *s*on of man sitting on the right hand of power. It is a matter of no very great consequence, certainly; but why, in these instances, the general rule should have been departed from, contrary to the uniformity of all other editions that we have ever seen, we cannot imagine.

Publican. To this word, usually printed with a small letter, in the new edition the capital has been restored, and in our opinion with propriety. Unfortunately, however, in Matt. ix, 10, the uniformity is violated, and we have—many *p*ublicans and sinners.

Spirit. In the printing of this word every thing like uniformity seems to have been set utterly at defiance. In the fifth chapter of Galatians, where, in all other editions the capital letter is used, we have the following unaccountable discrepancies:—Verse 5, for we through the *s*pirit wait, &c.: verse 16, walk in the *s*pirit: verse

17, the flesh lusteth against the Spirit; and the *s*pirit against the flesh: verse 18, if ye be led of the *s*pirit: verse 22, the fruit of the *s*pirit: verse 25, if we live in the Spirit let us walk also in the Spirit.

Cock. To this word, in John xiii, 38, the capital has been restored; but in Matt. xxvi, 34, Mark xiv, 30, passages evidently parallel, and where the same bird is undoubtedly intended, the restoration was forgotten.

Testament. In 2 Cor. iii, 6, we have Testament; in verse 14, *t*estament.

Circumcised. Gal. vi, 12, they constrain you to be Circumcised. Verse 13, for neither they themselves who are *c*ircumcised, &c., but desire to have you *c*ircumcised, &c.

Saviour. It would seem as if there could possibly be no doubt of the propriety of commencing this word with a capital. We never saw it otherwise until we read in the edition before us—God my *s*aviour. Luke i, 47.

Book. In Luke iv, 17, we have the following unaccountable blunder; there was delivered unto him the *b*ook of the prophet Esaias, and when he had opened the Book, &c. Was not the Book which he opened, the same *b*ook that was delivered unto him?

The restoration of italics is another reason given for the publications of the new society. Words thus printed are supposed to be wanting in the original, and added by the translators. How many such restorations may have been made in the Old Testament we have not examined. There are a few certainly, and some of them very curious, in the society's pica octavo.

The Saviour's dying exclamation, Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani is printed in italics in Matthew's gospel, xxvii, 46. Why? Is it not in the original? Certainly it is. But in one of Barker's editions, printed more than two hundred years ago, when the typographic art was in its infancy, this exclamation is given in italic letters, and therefore, perhaps, the committee of three directed their printer to restore them in their edition. But strange to say, in the parallel passage in Mark xv, 34, the same expression is given in the common characters. Surely if the restoration was needed in the one place it was equally necessary in the other.

In Galations i, 8, *Any other gospel* is printed in italic charac-

ter, as though it were not in the original. In the following verse, where the original is the same, the Roman character is used.

Again: The new society give us the superscription written over the Saviour on the cross, in all four of the evangelists, in italic letters. For this we cannot find any reason whatever. Even the old edition of Barker (1612) does not fall into this absurdity. The new society has indeed the merit of being uniform in this matter, praise which, as we have seen, can be very seldom awarded them. We would suggest the propriety of adding to the society's commentary, in the next edition, a note explanatory of what is to be understood by words printed in italics in "this version."

Having thus presented the results of our investigations, we leave our readers to make up their opinions, and to pass their verdict upon the American and Foreign Bible Society.

We have endeavored to confine ourselves closely to the object before us, and are, therefore, not aware that any apology is needed for the length of this article. We know that such details as are here spread before him are dull and uninteresting to the general reader; and we can assure him that the task has been by no means pleasant to the reviewer. But although our time might have been more agreeably occupied, and these pages more profitably filled with the discussion of some other subject, the cause of truth demanded that such serious charges as have been brought against the three prominent Bible institutions of our globe, should be rigidly investigated. Christian courtesy, moreover, seemed to require that the magnificent pretensions of the new society should be weighed in the balances; and that those pretensions should be carefully compared with the actual results. Without such examination, the intelligent and candid reader could not certainly be prepared to decide, whether he ought in justice to allow the claims of our Baptist brethren, or to inscribe upon the forehead of their precocious bantling—TEKEL. F.

ART. IV.—*The Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature.* By JOSEPH BUTLER, LL.D., late Lord Bishop of Durham. New-York and Boston, 1833.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, in his View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, says, "This great work on the *Analogy of Religion to the Course of Nature*, though only a commentary on the singularly original and pregnant passage of Origen, which is so honestly prefixed to it as a motto, is, notwithstanding, the most original and profound work extant in any language on the philosophy of religion." Our principal object in this paper is, to introduce the book more generally to the notice of ministers of the gospel, and recommend it to their frequent and patient examination. We ourselves have read it several times, and always with enlargement of views, increase of faith, and improvement of heart. Our introduction to it was singular and impressive. It was at a time when we were passing from impetuous youth into manhood, with a bosom beating high for the acquisition of knowledge and the improvement of the mind. A friend, looking into his library, said, "Here is a book which I purchased some time ago, having heard it recommended as one of the greatest of this or any other age: I have commenced reading it twice, and have twice desisted. It made my head ache: I cannot comprehend it. I will give it to you, if you will study it." We received it, little knowing what a treasure we had acquired. If a very sensible clergyman could say to a young theological student who was reading with him, "I recommend you to study the Bible and Shakspeare thoroughly," we will take the liberty of adding to this recommendation, the patient and thorough study of Butler's Analogy. The study of the Bible will teach us our duty toward God, each other, and ourselves, and assure us of immortality and eternal life: the study of Shakspeare will disclose to us all movements of all hearts, and furnish us with the natural and expressive language of passion and feeling: the study of the Analogy will convince us, that what religion teaches is in strict accordance with what we know by experience to be wise and good in the established constitution and course of nature.

It was a piece of great good fortune to the world that Joseph Butler was born at the close of the seventeenth century, (1692,)

during the development of those terrible elements which were shaking all Europe, which had already, in England, brought the first Charles to the block, produced and destroyed the commonwealth, banished the Puritans, and given birth to Quakerism, the opposite extreme of the pomp and ceremony of the Church of England; and which, in France, had brought about the horrible massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's day, and was shortly to explode in the still more horrible French revolution. There are occasional periods in the progress of civilization marked with an irresistible power which loosens the foundations of society, unsettles the weak, destroys the unsound, and even puts to the severest test the strong and permanent, and thus develops the extremes of human nature. Hence this period is remarkable for the most splendid array of the brightest names in every department of literature, science, religion, and politics: and for every thing that is revolting and terrible in the history of humanity. These results are perfectly natural, and can be easily explained when past, and might be as easily anticipated by an enlarged and well-instructed mind placed in the midst of the forming elements.

During this eventful period, the entire mass of European mind was quickened beyond any example in the history of the world. It was pregnant with inexpressible feelings and brilliant thoughts. Men speculated on all subjects with great freedom and power, and acted with precipitancy and impetuosity. There was no mediocrity in either evil or good. Every thing was subjected to the test of a violent and rigid examination. In this general state of mental excitement and overstrained action, the public mind took a distinguished turn in favor of literature, science, and politics; and finding new and enchanting fields opening indefinitely in these several directions, the master spirits of the times walked forth into them with a freedom and success until then forbidden by the popular sentiments of religion and the disciplinary forms of the Church, which had for centuries restrained and guided public sentiment. Amid their ecstasies in this new world of liberty, literature, and science, is it at all surprising that the public feeling and judgment should first call in question and then reject Christianity, to which had been referred the degradation and slavery of Europe for many centuries? The peculiar state of affairs in England facilitated this

result. The violence and animosities of the Catholics and Protestants, and the severity and moroseness of the Puritans and Independents, had disgraced religion; society was driven to the extreme of austerity during the commonwealth; and upon the restoration of the licentious and witty Charles the Second, corruption and irreligion overflowed the land. The sense of religion was nearly extinguished in the nation, which is graphically expressed by Dr. Butler in the following paragraph, in which he explains the origin of his great work:—

"It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is now, at length, discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it, as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment; and nothing remained, but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world."—P. 103.

The Analogy was written to bring back the nation to a proper sense of God, and to the observance of his worship; and it was eminently successful by producing conviction in the minds of men of genius and learning. It is not a book for the multitude: it is acceptable to those only who think profoundly and reflect patiently; and he who will thoroughly possess himself of it so as to comprehend its bearings, and experience its power, will feel himself a man.

The Analogy is a text-book in all the respectable colleges of our country, making a most valuable part of the course on the evidences of Christianity, during the senior year. It should be studied before the *proper* evidences. Unfortunately, it is usually very unpopular with most students, because it is too profound for them, and requires too hard thinking. We are satisfied, however, that much of the difficulty is owing to the want of ability, or tact, or both, in the instructor. Let about ten pages of it be carefully read and prepared by the class: at their recitation let the professor, in easy and familiar conversation, fully explain and further illustrate the proposition and the reasoning: at the following recitation let the professor lecture half an hour on the preceding one, giving the class a clear and full analysis of the argument, with illustrations of his own. In this way let the students be conducted through the Analogy, and then let each one be required to produce a full and clear analysis written in his own language; and the work will not

only not be irksome, but one of the most delightful text-books in the course. The effect will be the complete establishment of the authority of revelation in the mind and conscience of the student, so that it will be impossible for the wiles or the power of infidelity to entangle or to shake him in all after-life. There are many very interesting incidents connected with the study of this book in college, and by individuals. It is most gratifying to see the secret foundations of infidelity gradually sapped, loosened, and removed, as the student advances through the close and powerful analogies exhibited in the work; and feels the conviction slowly gaining upon him, that revelation is not unreasonable in the estimation of any man who regards the constitution and course of nature as wise and good; for he sees that natural and revealed religion make a part of that system of things which, taken together, is the complete constitution and course of nature. Hence, the student obtains enlarged and general views, and is taught to look upon the divine government of the universe as one great scheme at present imperfectly comprehended by us; yet sufficiently comprehended to show that our holy religion is an essential part of this scheme; and that, instead of being unreasonable, it is strictly in accordance with truth and nature, as disclosed by experience.

The object of Dr. Butler was not to demonstrate the truth of revelation; but simply to show, that it could not be proved to be false. The argument rests on this single foundation, viz., that the constitution and course of nature disclose principles and results very similar to the principles and results announced by religion. If, therefore, we reject the latter, consistency will require us also to reject the former. But this is impossible, as it is contrary to our consciousness and daily experience. The analogies are drawn partly from the government of the natural world, but mainly from that of the moral, as exhibited in individuals and in society: and so successfully has the author executed his work, that no friend of religion has attempted to advance the inquiry further; no enemy has ventured to attack it. It remains unanswered and unanswerable.

We now enter upon an analysis of some of the principal parts of the work, which, though the result of more than twenty years' thought and labor, is comprised in about one hundred and eighty ordinary duodecimo pages. It is said by his biographers, that

Butler rewrote the work several times, reducing, condensing, and weighing every sentence and word, until he made them express fully and exactly his idea, and no more. And although most readers will consider the language dry and obscure, and wish that the argument had been dressed in the flowery language of modern literature; yet, if any of them will break up one of Butler's paragraphs, and endeavor to rewrite it, he will soon find that he has removed the compressing force from a wonderful and expansive power of thought which he will discover it impossible for him to reduce within narrower limits; or clothe, without loss of majesty and strength, in the soft and attractive attire of a popular style. The truth is, the argument is not popular; it lies out of the common path of mankind; and you might as well expect that stern winter could put on the gay tints of spring, as that the sublime truths and momentous arguments of the Analogy could be arrayed in the pleasing forms of a flowing diction. Let the reader allow one word to escape from any passage in the book, or endeavor to replace it by some other, and he will soon be sensible of the loss to the argument. There are a few passages in which the members or words might be transposed for the better: but the thoughts and arguments of Butler are *fixed* in his own severe and impressive language: and he who allows them to escape from the verbal forms into which the author has compressed them, will find himself utterly unable to reassemble and marshal them again with effect. And he may well doubt his success in studying the Analogy who complains of the dryness and obscurity of the language. He has not yet ascended to the high and holy fountains from whence emanated this imperishable monument of intellect and piety.

We have already said that the Analogy does not propose to demonstrate the truth of revelation, but simply to show that it is not unreasonable; and by considering the works and providence of God, to obviate objections which have been brought against it. The argument, therefore, proceeds on probability, and the author clearly shows that all the momentous affairs of this life are conducted on the same kind of evidence. The following paragraphs will give a clear view of the nature of the evidence:—

"Probable evidence is essentially distinguished from demonstrative by this, that it admits of degrees, and of all variety of them, from the highest moral certainty to the very lowest presumption. We cannot,

indeed, say a thing is probably true upon one very slight presumption for it; because as there may be probabilities on both sides of the question, there may be some against it; and though there be not, yet a slight presumption does not beget that degree of conviction, which is implied in saying a thing is probably true. But that the slightest possible presumption is of the nature of a probability, appears from hence, that such low presumption, often repeated, will amount even to moral certainty. Thus, a man's having observed the ebb and flow of the tide to-day, affords some sort of presumption, though the lowest imaginable, that it may happen again to-morrow; but the observation of this event for so many days, and months, and ages together, as it has been observed by mankind, gives us a full assurance that it will.

"That which chiefly constitutes *probability*, is expressed in the word *likely; i. e.*, like some truth,* or true event; like it, in itself, in its evidence, in some more or fewer of its circumstances. For when we determine a thing to be probably true, suppose that an event has or will come to pass, 'tis from the mind's remarking in it a likeness to some other event which we have observed has come to pass. And this observation forms, in numberless daily instances, a presumption, opinion, or full conviction, that such event has or will come to pass; according as the observation is, that the like event has sometimes, most commonly, or always, so far as our observation reaches, come to pass at like distances of time, or place, or upon like occasions. Hence arises the belief, that a child, if it lives twenty years, will grow up to the stature and strength of a man; that food will contribute to the preservation of its life, and the want of it for such a number of days be its certain destruction. So, likewise, the rule and measure of our hopes and fears concerning the success of our pursuits; our expectations that others will act so and so in such circumstances; and our judgment that such actions proceed from such principles; all these rely upon our having observed the like to what we hope, fear, expect, judge; I say upon our having observed the like, either with respect to others or ourselves. And thus, whereas the prince,† who had always lived in a warm climate, naturally concluded, in the way of analogy, that there was no such thing as water's becoming hard, because he had always observed it to be fluid and yielding; we, on the contrary, from analogy, conclude, that there is no presumption at all against this; that it is supposable there may be frost in England any given day in January next; probable, that there will on some day of the month; and that there is a moral certainty, *i. e.*, ground for an expectation, without any doubt of it, in some part or other of the winter.

"Probable evidence, in its very nature, affords but an imperfect kind of information, and is to be considered as relative only to beings of limited capacities. For nothing which is the possible object of knowledge, whether past, present, or future, can be probable to an infinite intelligence? since it cannot but be discerned absolutely as it is in itself certainly true, or certainly false. But to us probability is the very guide of life.

* Verisimile.

† The story is told by Mr. Locke, in the chapter of Probability.

"From these things it follows, that in questions of difficulty, or such as are thought so, where more satisfactory evidence cannot be had, or is not seen, if the result of examination be, that there appears, upon the whole, any the lowest presumption on one side, and none on the other, or a greater presumption on one side, though in the lowest degree greater, this determines the question, even in matters of speculation: and, in matters of practice, will lay us under an absolute and formal obligation, in point of prudence and of interest, to act upon that presumption, or low probability, though it be so low as to leave the mind in a very great doubt which is the truth. For surely a man is as really bound in prudence to do what upon the whole appears, according to the best of his judgment, to be for his happiness, as what he certainly knows to be so. Nay, further, in questions of great consequence, a reasonable man will think it concerns him to remark lower probabilities and presumptions than these; such as amount to no more than showing one side of a question to be as supposable and credible as the other; nay, such as but amount to much less even than this. For numberless instances might be mentioned respecting the common pursuits of life, where a man would be thought, in a literal sense, distracted, who would not act, and with great application too, not only upon an even chance, but upon much less, and where the probability or chance was greatly against his succeeding."*—*Introduction*, pp. 105, 106, 107.

The reader will see clearly both the plan and object of the argument in the following passage:—

"Let us then, instead of that idle and not very innocent employment of forming imaginary models of a world, and schemes of governing it, turn our thoughts to what we experience to be the conduct of nature with respect to intelligent creatures; which may be resolved into general laws or rules of administration, in the same way as many of the laws of nature, respecting inanimate matter, may be collected from experiments. And let us compare the known constitution and course of things with what is said to be the moral system of nature, the acknowledged dispensations of providence, or that government which we find ourselves under, with what religion teaches us to believe and expect, and see whether they are not analagous, and of a piece. And upon such a comparison it will, I think, be found, that they are very much so; that both may be traced up to the same general laws, and resolved into the same principles of divine conduct."—*Introduction*, p. 111.

The work is divided into two parts:—I. *Of Natural Religion.* II. *Of Revealed Religion.* There are seven propositions considered in the first part, and eight in the second. The propositions in Part I. embrace the principal points in natural religion which are also distinctly taught in the Scriptures. The eight topics in

* See Chapter vi, Part 2.

Part II. are discussed with a view to meet the principal objections which have been brought against revelation *considered in itself*, as distinguished from objections against the *proofs* of it. It is here clearly shown that these objections lie equally against the natural government of God with respect to his physical creations, and with respect to society; so that if we admit the application against religion, we must also admit it against the natural and moral government of God. This conclusion clearly established in the mind of the student settles the question of the authenticity of revelation, unless he reject the idea of the government of God both with respect to the natural and the moral world. This is impossible without letting in the doctrine of atheism, which must bring with it the revolting belief of confusion and irresponsibility in this world, and annihilation in the world to come.

Before we proceed to analyze the argument on some of these principal topics, it will be well for the reader to have a clear understanding of Dr. Butler's view of the connection between natural and revealed religion:—

"But the importance of Christianity will more distinctly appear, by considering it more distinctly: *First*, As a republication, and external institution, of natural or essential religion, adapted to the present circumstances of mankind, and intended to promote natural piety and virtue; and *secondly*, As containing an account of a dispensation of things not discoverable by reason, in consequence of which several distinct precepts are enjoined us. For, though natural religion is the foundation and principal part of Christianity, it is not in any sense the whole of it.

"Christianity is a republication of natural religion. It instructs mankind in the moral system of the world; that it is the work of an infinitely perfect Being, and under his government; that virtue is his law; and that he will finally judge mankind in righteousness, and render to all according to their works in a future state. And, which is very material, it teaches natural religion in its genuine simplicity, free from those superstitions with which it was totally corrupted, and under which it was in a manner lost."—P. 217.

One of the first suggestions of natural religion is the idea *of a future life*. In the Scriptures this suggestion is developed into a settled doctrine, clearly and repeatedly taught. The first chapter in the Analogy is devoted to this question, "*Of a future life*," and its object is to "consider what the analogy of nature, and the several changes which we have undergone, and those which we know we may undergo without being destroyed, suggest as to the effect

which death may, or may not, have upon us; and whether it be not from thence probable, that we may survive this change, and exist in a future state of life and perception." The ground of the analogy is, "that we find it to be a general law of nature in our own species, (and in other creatures the same law holds,) that the same creatures, the same individuals should exist in degrees of life and perception, with capacities of action, of enjoyment and suffering in one period of their being, greatly different from those appointed them in another period of it."—P. 115.

Now if this can be shown to be the "general law of nature in our own species," and also with respect "to other creatures," in this present world, is it at all unreasonable to conclude that death is merely one of those changes which, instead of destroying us, will introduce us into other and higher "degrees of life and perception?" The thing required then is, to establish the probability of this general law of our own species, and of other creatures; with respect to which the author says,—

"The difference of their capacities and states of life at their birth (to go no higher) and in maturity; the change of worms into flies, and the vast enlargement of their locomotive powers by such change; and birds and insects bursting the shell, their habitation, and by this means entering into a new world, furnished with new accommodations for them; and finding a new sphere of action assigned them;—these are instances of this general law of nature. Thus all the various and wonderful transformations of animals are to be taken into consideration here. But the states of life in which we ourselves existed formerly, in the womb and in our infancy, are almost as different from our present, in mature age, as it is possible to conceive any two states or degrees of life can be. Therefore, that we are to exist hereafter in a state as different (suppose) from our present, as this is from our former, is but according to the analogy of nature; according to a natural order or appointment, of the very same kind with what we have already experienced."—P. 116.

The argument now proceeds upon the analogy between the grounds of our belief that the world will continue to-morrow as it has done to-day, and of our belief in the continued existence of the soul after death. We are obliged to admit that the last event is as probable as the first, unless there be some positive reason to think that death is the destruction of those living powers. The elements of this argument we give in the author's own words:—

"We know we are endued with capacities of action, of happiness,

and misery; for we are conscious of acting, of enjoying pleasure, and suffering pain. Now, that we have these powers and capacities before death, is a presumption that we shall retain them through and after death; indeed, a probability of it abundantly sufficient to act upon, unless there be some positive reason to think that death is the destruction of those living powers; because there is in every case a probability, that all things will continue as we experience they are, in all respects, except those in which we have some reason to think they will be altered. This is that *kind** of presumption, or probability, from analogy, expressed in the very word *continuance*, which seems our only natural reason for believing the course of the world will continue to-morrow, as it has done so far as our experience or knowledge of history can carry us back. Nay, it seems our only reason for believing, that any one substance, now existing, will continue to exist a moment longer; the self-existent substance only excepted. Thus, if men were assured that the unknown event, death, was not the destruction of our faculties of perception and of action, there would be no apprehension that any other power or event, unconnected with this of death, would destroy these faculties just at the instant of each creature's death; and therefore no doubt but that they would remain after it; which shows the high probability that our living powers will continue after death, unless there be some ground to think that death is their destruction.† For, if it would be in a manner certain that we should survive death, provided it were certain that death would not be our destruction, it must be highly probable we shall survive it, if there be no ground to think death will be our destruction."—Pp. 116, 117.

If there be any ground for us to conclude that death will be the destruction of our living powers, it must be either "*from the reason of the thing*, or from *the analogy of nature*." In studying the argument in the following quotation on these two points, the reader will do well to distinguish clearly, and bear in mind, the difference between "the existence of the living powers,"—the "actual exercise" of them,—and "the present capacity of exercising them." These living powers may exist when they are not exercised, and

"* I say *kind* of presumption or probability; for I do not mean to affirm, that there is the same *degree* of conviction that our living powers will continue after death, as there is that our substances will.

"† *Destruction of living powers*, is a manner of expression unavoidably ambiguous; and may signify either *the destruction of a living being, so as that the same living being shall be incapable of ever perceiving or acting again at all*; or *the destruction of those means and instruments by which it is capable of its present life, of its present state of perception and of action.* It is here used in the former sense. When it is used in the latter, the epithet *present* is added. The loss of a man's eye is a destruction of living powers in the latter sense. But we have no reason to think the destruction of living powers, in the former sense, to be possible. We have no more reason to think a being, endued with living powers, ever loses them during its whole existence, than to believe that a stone ever acquires them."

when there is no present *capacity* of exercising them; therefore, if it could be proved, which it cannot, that death suspends the exercise of them, or even destroys the present capacity of exercising them, it would not be proved that they do not exist. The author says:—

"But we cannot argue from *the reason of the thing*, that death is the destruction of living agents, because we know not at all what death is in itself; but only some of its effects, such as the dissolution of flesh, skin, and bones; and these effects do in no wise appear to imply the destruction of a living agent. And, besides, as we are greatly in the dark upon what the exercise of our living powers depends, so we are wholly ignorant what the powers themselves depend upon; the powers themselves, as distinguished, not only from their actual exercise, but also from the present capacity of exercising them; and opposed to their destruction; for sleep, or, however, a swoon, shows us, not only that these powers exist when they are not exercised, as the passive power of motion does in inanimate matter; but shows also that they exist, when there is no present capacity of exercising them: or that the capacities of exercising them for the present, as well as the actual exercise of them, may be suspended, and yet the powers themselves remain undestroyed. Since, then, we know not at all upon what the existence of our living powers depends, this shows further, there can no probability be collected from the reason of the thing, that death will be their destruction; because their existence may depend upon somewhat in no degree affected by death; upon somewhat quite out of the reach of this king of terrors. So that there is nothing more certain, than that *the reasoning of the thing* shows us no connection between death and the destruction of living agents. Nor can we find any thing throughout the whole *analogy of nature*, to afford us even the slightest presumption that animals ever lose their living powers; much less, if it were possible, that they lose them by death; for we have no faculties wherewith to trace any beyond or through it, so as to see what becomes of them. This event removes them from our view. It destroys the *sensible* proof, which we had before their death, of their being possessed of living powers, but does not appear to afford the least reason to believe, that they are then, or by that event, deprived of them.

"And our knowing, that they were possessed of these powers, up to the very period to which we have faculties capable of tracing them, is itself a probability of their retaining them beyond it. And this is confirmed, and a sensible credibility is given to it, by observing the very great and astonishing changes which we have experienced; so great, that our existence in another state of life, of perception and of action, will be but according to a method of providential conduct, the like to which has been already exercised, even with regard to ourselves; according to a course of nature, the like to which we have already gone through."—Pp. 117, 118.

Notwithstanding the probability of a future life is thus sustained

by the analogies of nature, yet the effects which we perceive to follow death, such as the loathsome dissolution of the body, the change in the condition of the individual, and his removal from present society, will raise "imaginary presumptions that death will be our destruction." It is a matter of importance, therefore, to show how little they amount to, though we cannot wholly divest ourselves of them. The general, and indeed the only idea we can have of death, is from observing its effect, which is dissolution: and this necessarily requires that the thing dissolved be compounded. If we conclude that death may destroy the soul, we must conclude *that the soul is compounded.* The admission of the unity of the soul is an admission of its immortality, as far as death is concerned: for if it be a unit, death cannot destroy it. Dr. Butler has produced two arguments for the unity of the soul. The first one is founded on consciousness,* the ultimate proof in matters of personal experience, beyond which we cannot inquire. Each one knows in himself that "consciousness is a single and individual power;" therefore, "it should seem that the subject in which it resides must be so too." This argument does not demonstrate the proposition, but raises a strong probability, sufficient to act upon; and upon this presumption the author proceeds to his second argument, which we give in his own words:—

"II. The simplicity and absolute oneness of a living agent cannot, indeed, from the nature of the thing, be properly proved by experimental observations. But as these *fall* in with the supposition of its unity, so they plainly lead us to *conclude* certainly, that our gross organized bodies, with which we perceive the objects of sense, and with which we act, are no part of ourselves, and therefore show us, that we have no reason to believe their destruction to be ours; even without determining whether our living substances be material or immaterial. For we see by experience, that men may lose their limbs, their organs of sense, and even the greatest part of these bodies, and yet remain the same living agents. And persons can trace up the existence of themselves to a time when the bulk of their bodies was extremely small, in comparison of what it is in mature age; and we cannot but think, that they might then have lost a considerable part of that small body, and yet have remained the same living agents, as they may now lose great part of their present body, and remain so. And

* This argument for the immortality of the soul, founded on its unity, is found in Cicero de Senectute, cap. 21:—Et, cum simplex animi natura esset, neque haberet in se quidquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi; quod si non possit, non posse interire.

it is certain, that the bodies of all animals are in a constant flux, from that never-ceasing attrition which there is in every part of them. Now, things of this kind unavoidably teach us to distinguish between these living agents, ourselves, and large quantities of matter, in which we are very nearly interested: since these may be alienated, and actually are in a daily course of succession, and changing their owners; while we are assured, that each living agent remains one and the same permanent being."*—P. 120.

Upon this course of reasoning the author makes several general reflections of great importance, of which the third should claim special attention. It is intended, in conjunction with the preceding argument, to establish the fact that the living being each one calls himself is merely the rational spirit occupying and using the body as a complicated instrument, which is dependent upon the living being, not the living being upon it. Hence, the instrument, the body, may be destroyed by death, but the living being, the soul, is indestructible by this event. We are confirmed in this conclusion by our consciousness of identity in the nature of the sensations which we experience when we look upon a star with the naked eye, and then, by the aid of a telescope, upon another which is invisible to the naked eye. The impressions which we receive are of precisely the same kind, thus proving clearly, that the eye and the telescope bear the same relation to our living power; i. e., the relation of an instrument merely. And as we can lay aside the telescope without any apprehension of the destruction of our living power, so we may certainly conclude that we may lay aside the *eye* without any such apprehension. A like instance, a like argument, and a like conclusion, may be produced by referring to our feeling distant solid matter by means of somewhat in our hands, as a stick. Let the reader try this experiment, and he will *feel* the argument. You see a body ten feet from you, which you cannot touch with your hand to determine whether it be hard or soft; but you can take hold of a pole and touch it, and determine the question of its hardness or softness just as satisfactorily as if you had touched it with your hand. This determination rests upon the sensation conveyed, from the body touched, *through the pole*, a space of ten feet, and *through the arm*, a space, say, of two feet, to the perceiving power, or the soul. We are conscious of this fact: but we are not conscious of any difference in the sensation

* See Dissertation I.

during its communication along the pole and along the arm. We throw away the pole, or it is dissolved in the fire, and yet we do not apprehend the destruction of the living power. The same course of reasoning will hold good of all the senses, and of all the matter which enters into the composition of our bodies. This argument is further and forcibly expanded by the author, who draws the following clear conclusions:—

"Upon the whole, then, our organs of sense and our limbs are certainly instruments, which the living persons, ourselves, make use of to perceive and move with. There is not any probability that they are any more; nor, consequently, that we have any other kind of relation to them than what we may have to any other foreign matter formed into instruments of perception and motion, suppose into a microscope or a staff, (I say, any other kind of relation, for I am not speaking of the degree of it.)"—P. 123.

Another conclusive argument, showing that the living power is entirely independent of the body, and, therefore, that the destruction of the latter does not necessarily draw after it that of the former, is founded on the two states of life and perception in which we know we exist: i. e., the state of *sensation* and the state of *reflection*. It is a matter of consciousness that the power of reflection is independent of the state of sensation. And the explanation is plainly this: the powers of sensation inhere in the body; the powers of reflection inhere in the living being. Now, if the state of reflection is independent of the state of sensation, (and this is a matter of consciousness,) it follows inevitably, that the living being in which the powers of reflection inhere must be independent of the body in which the powers of sensation inhere: of course, the destruction of the latter will not be, necessarily, the destruction of the former. This beautiful and important argument is put into a breathing form in the following paragraph:—

"Human creatures exist at present in two states of life and perception, greatly different from each other; each of which has its own peculiar laws, and its own peculiar enjoyments and sufferings. When any of our senses are affected, or appetites gratified with the objects of them, we may be said to exist, or live, in a state of sensation. When none of our senses are affected, or appetites gratified, and yet we perceive, and reason, and act, we may be said to exist, or live, in a state of reflection. Now it is by no means certain, that any thing which is dissolved by death is any way necessary to the living being, in this its state of reflection, after ideas are gained. For though, from our present constitution and condition of being, our external organs of

sense are necessary for conveying in ideas to our reflecting powers, as carriages, and levers, and scaffolds are in architecture; yet, when these ideas are brought in, we are capable of reflecting in the most intense degree, and of enjoying the greatest pleasure, and feeling the greatest pain, by means of that reflection, without any assistance from our senses; and without any at all, which we know of, from that body, which will be dissolved by death. It does not appear, then, that the relation of this gross body to the reflecting being is, in any degree, necessary to thinking; to our intellectual enjoyments or sufferings: nor, consequently, that the dissolution, or alienation of the former by death, will be the destruction of those present powers, which render us capable of this state of reflection."—P. 125.

We have thus analyzed the most copious and elaborate argument in the book, in order to give the reader a fair specimen of the author's manner and matter. It will not be necessary to be so diffuse in the following pages.

In chapter second, Bishop Butler treats "*Of the government of God by rewards and punishments; and particularly of the latter.*" That God will reward and punish us according to our actions here, is a leading doctrine of religion. The object of the present chapter is, to show that the natural government of God, already established in the earth, clearly suggests this doctrine. The ground of the analogy is, that "in the present state, all which we enjoy, and a great part of what we suffer, *is put in our own power.*" In proof of this fundamental law of the natural government of God, the author remarks:—

"We find, by experience, he does not so much as preserve our lives exclusively of our own care and attention to provide ourselves with, and to make use of, that sustenance, by which he has appointed our lives shall be preserved, and without which he has appointed they shall not be preserved at all. And in general we foresee that the external things, which are the objects of our various passions, can neither be obtained nor enjoyed, without exerting ourselves in such and such manners; but by thus exerting ourselves, we obtain and enjoy these objects, in which our natural good consists, or by this means God gives us the possession and enjoyment of them. I know not that we have any one kind or degree of enjoyment, but by the means of our own actions. And by prudence and care, we may, for the most part, pass our days in tolerable ease and quiet: or, on the contrary, we may, by rashness, ungoverned passion, wilfulness, or even by negligence, make ourselves as miserable as ever we please. And many do please to make themselves extremely miserable, i. e., to do what they know beforehand will render them so. They follow those ways, the fruit of which they know, by instruction, example, experience, will be disgrace, and poverty, and sickness, and untimely death."—Pp. 130, 131.

Our present enjoyments and sufferings constitute our natural good and natural evil; and these are the natural consequences of our actions, which consequences are not accidental or arbitrary, but are by God's appointment, and, therefore, *fixed* and *inevitable*. The general method of divine administration, on which the idea of responsibility rests, is by "forewarning us, or giving us capacities to foresee, with more or less clearness, that if we act so and so, we shall have such enjoyments; if so and so, such sufferings; and giving us those enjoyments, and making us feel those sufferings, in consequence of our actions." In obedience to this fundamental law of the natural government of God, "every man, in every thing he does, naturally acts upon the forethought and apprehension of avoiding evil, or obtaining good." And this forethought and this apprehension are not intended to influence the *consequences* of the actions; for these are fixed; but simply to determine the *quality* of the actions, and thus put it in his power to obtain the desired good, or to avoid the anticipated evil.

From the preceding argumentation, we may learn that we are at present actually under the government of God in the strictest and most proper sense; in such a sense as that he rewards and punishes us for our actions: and this, too, in the same sense in which we are under the government of the civil magistrate:—

"Because the annexing pleasure to some actions, and pain to others, in our power to do or forbear, and giving notice of this appointment beforehand to those whom it concerns, is the proper formal notion of government. Whether the pleasure or pain, which thus follows upon our behavior, be owing to the Author of nature's acting upon us every moment which we feel it, or to his having at once contrived and executed his own part in the plan of the world, makes no alteration as to the matter before us. For, if civil magistrates could make the sanction of their laws take place, without interposing at all, after they had passed them; without a trial, and the formalities of an execution: if they were able to make their laws execute them themselves, or every offender to execute them upon himself, we should be just in the same sense under their government then as we are now; but in a much higher degree, and more perfect manner."

"And thus the whole analogy of nature, the whole present course of things, most fully shows, that there is nothing incredible in the general doctrine of religion, that God will reward and punish men for their actions hereafter; nothing incredible, I mean, arising out of the notion of rewarding and punishing, for the whole course of nature is a present instance of his exercising that government over us, which implies in it rewarding and punishing."—Pp. 133, 134.

Chapter third treats "*Of the moral government of God.*" If the reader have carefully studied the elements of the argument in the preceding chapter, he will be clearly convinced, that we are at present under the natural government of God by his appointment of pleasure and pain as the consequences of actions which we may do or forbear. But this idea does not necessarily carry with it the notion of a *righteous* or *moral* government:—

"Moral government consists, not barely in rewarding and punishing men for their actions, which the most tyrannical person may do; but in rewarding the righteous and punishing the wicked, in rendering to men according to their actions considered as good or evil. And the perfection of moral government consists in doing this, with regard to all intelligent creatures, in an exact proportion to their personal merits or demerits."—P. 140.

It remains, now, to inquire whether, in the constitution and conduct of the world, a righteous government be not discernibly planned out; which necessarily implies a righteous governor. It is to be observed in this inquiry, that the divine government under which we experience ourselves to be in the present state, taken alone, is allowed *not* to be the *perfection* of moral government. This point is set in a clear light by the author:—

"A righteous government may plainly appear to be carried on to some degree; enough to give us the apprehension that it shall be completed, or carried on to that degree of perfection which religion teaches us it shall; but which cannot appear, till much more of the divine administration be seen than can in the present life. And the design of this chapter is to inquire how far this is the case; how far, over and above the moral nature which God has given us, and our natural notion of him, as righteous governor of those his creatures to whom he has given this nature; I say, how far, besides this, the principles and beginnings of moral government over the world may be discerned notwithstanding and amid all the confusion and disorder of it."—Pp. 141, 142.

As it has been established that God governs the world by rewards and punishments, a very natural inquiry arises,—By what *rule* does he do this? For the uniformity of his natural government shows that he has a fixed rule. The only satisfactory answer which can be given to this question will establish clearly the idea of a *moral* government. It will be found in the words of the Analogy:—

"Since it appears to be fact, that God does govern mankind by the method of rewards and punishments, according to some settled rules

of distribution, it is surely a question to be asked, What presumption is there against his finally rewarding and punishing them according to this particular rule, namely, as they act reasonably or unreasonably, virtuously or viciously? since rendering man happy or miserable by this rule, certainly falls in, much more falls in, with our natural apprehensions and sense of things, than doing so by any other rule whatever; since rewarding and punishing actions by any other rule would appear much harder to be accounted for by minds formed as he has formed ours. Be the evidence of religion, then, more or less clear, the expectation which it raises in us, that the righteous shall, upon the whole, be happy, and the wicked miserable, cannot, however, possibly be considered as absurd or chimerical; because it is no more than an expectation, that a method of government, already begun, shall be carried on, the method of rewarding and punishing actions; and shall be carried on by a particular rule, which unavoidably appears to us, at first sight, more natural than any other, the rule which we call distributive justice."—P. 143.

This idea of the moral government of God is further established by an examination of the conduct of society. All admit that society is natural, and, of course, by divine appointment. But this notion of moral government lies at the foundation of society:—

"It is necessary to the very being of society that vices destructive of it should be punished *as being so:* which punishment is as natural as society, and so is an instance of a kind of moral government, naturally established, and actually taking place." Hence, "mankind find themselves placed by God in such circumstances, as that they are unavoidably accountable for their behavior, and are often punished, and are sometimes rewarded under his government, in the view of their being mischievous or eminently beneficial to society."—P. 144.

Society never avowedly violates this rule. When it punishes, it always alleges that the subject is vicious: when it rewards, that he is virtuous. If the executive of the laws were to assign any other cause for punishing or rewarding, society would revolt, from an instinctive sense of wrong: and if the wrong were continued, the whole framework of society would give way and be resolved into its original elements: so positively is the moral government of God established in the earth; and so clearly and constantly does he admonish us of its existence and steady execution.

It would give us great pleasure to develop the argument founded on the fact, that we have a moral nature, which itself shows that God intended us to be under a moral government; and that we have frequent occasions for the *present exercise* of this moral nature, which proves conclusively that we are at present under his

moral government. But one of the most conclusive arguments, founded upon proof everywhere appearing, is that which proceeds upon the distinction universally made between the natural and moral quality of every voluntary action of an intelligent being. The *natural* qualities of actions are expressed by the words, *right* and *wrong:* their *moral* qualities by the words, *virtuous* and *vicious*. An action is right when it is in conformity with the relations between the parties: it is wrong when in violation of these relations. An action is virtuous when the *intention* is good: it is vicious when the intention is bad. It follows that the moral quality of an action resides in the intention: and an action may be *right naturally*, yet vicious, owing to the intention being bad. An action may be *wrong naturally*, and yet virtuous, owing to the intention being good: i. e., an action may be wrong and virtuous, or right and vicious, at the same time. This distinction between the natural and moral quality of an action is recognized always in the administration of criminal law. If a man by accident kill his neighbor, the *natural* effect of the action is the same as if he had done it with "malice aforethought." The wife of the unfortunate man thus killed is made a widow, and his children orphans; and poverty and wretchedness may follow and overwhelm them. Yet neither society nor law holds the man that did the deed morally responsible. The reason is obvious: it was not his intention to do the wrong. Now this constant respect of society and law to the distinction between the natural and moral qualities of actions, shows clearly the present existence and actual operation of a moral government, such as religion teaches us is now begun in the world, and will ultimately be brought to perfection in a future state.

The fourth and fifth chapters discuss the most important and difficult propositions in religion, which are shown to be exactly in accordance with the "constitution and course of nature." The first treats "*Of a state of probation, as implying trial, difficulties, and danger;*" the second, "*Of a state of probation, as intended for moral discipline and improvement.*" We shall conclude this article, as far as analytical discussion is concerned, by stating and illustrating the ground of analogy in support of the first proposition; and by explaining the true theory of temptation, by which a satisfactory answer may be given to the oft-repeated question, *How could our Saviour be tempted?*

The ground of analogy to sustain the general doctrine, that we are in a state of probation, with respect to our future happiness, implying trial, difficulties, and danger, is, that we are in a like state of probation with respect to our natural good in this present life. This is a matter of daily experience; and the analogy is close and particular, as will appear from the following paragraphs:—

"The general doctrine of religion, that our present life is a state of probation for a future one, comprehends under it several particular things, distinct from each other. But the first and most common meaning of it seems to be, that our future interest is now depending, and depending upon ourselves; that we have scope and opportunities here for that good and bad behavior, which God will reward and punish hereafter; together with temptations to one, as well as inducements of reason to the other. And this is, in great measure, the same with saying, that we are under the moral government of God, and to give an account of our actions to him. For the notion of a future account, and general righteous judgment, implies some sort of temptations to what is wrong, otherwise there would be no moral possibility of doing wrong, nor ground for judgment or discrimination. But there is this difference, that the word *probation* is more distinctly and particularly expressive of allurements to wrong, or difficulties in adhering uniformly to what is right, and of the danger of miscarrying by such temptations, than the words *moral government*. A state of probation, then, as thus particularly implying in it trial, difficulties, and danger, may require to be considered distinctly by itself.

"And as the moral government of God, which religion teaches us, implies that we are in a state of trial with regard to a future world; so also his natural government over us implies, that we are in a state of trial, in a like sense, with regard to the present world. Natural government, by rewards and punishments, as much implies natural trial, as moral government does moral trial. The natural government of God here meant, consists in his annexing pleasure to some actions, and pain to others, which are in our power to do or forbear, and in giving us notice of such appointment beforehand. This necessarily implies, that he has made our happiness and misery, or our interest, to depend in part upon ourselves. And so far as men have temptations to any course of action, which will probably occasion them greater temporal inconvenience and uneasiness than satisfaction, so far their temporal interest is in danger from themselves, or they are in a state of trial with respect to it. Now, people often blame others, and even themselves, for their misconduct in their temporal concerns. And we find many are greatly wanting to themselves, and miss of that natural happiness which they might have obtained in the present life; perhaps every one does in some degree. But many run themselves into great inconvenience, and into extreme distress and misery, not through incapacity of knowing better, and doing better for themselves, which would be nothing to the present purpose, but through their own fault. And these things necessarily imply temptation, and danger of miscar-

rying, in a greater or less degree, with respect to our worldly interest or happiness. Every one, too, without having religion in his thoughts, speaks of the hazards which young people run upon their setting out in the world; hazards from other causes, than merely their ignorance, and unavoidable accidents. And some courses of vice, at least, being contrary to men's worldly interest or good, temptations to these must at the same time be temptations to forego our present and our future interest. Thus, in our natural or temporal capacity, we are in a state of trial, i. e., of difficulty and danger, analogous or like to our moral and religious trial."—Pp. 160, 161.

Thus we see clearly, that the state of trial which religion teaches us we are in, is rendered credible by its being throughout uniform and of a piece with the general conduct of Providence toward us, in all other respects within the compass of our knowledge. Nor have we any just ground of complaint against Providence for placing us in this state of trial and danger. For, as we may manage our temporal affairs with prudence, and so pass our days here on earth in tolerable ease and satisfaction, by a moderate degree of care, so, likewise, with regard to religion, there is no more required than what we are well able to do, and what we must be greatly wanting to ourselves if we neglect. In order, therefore, that we may well perform our duty in this state of probation and danger, it is very important that we fully understand the *nature of temptation.*

Temptation is a sensible impulse or solicitation to do some evil act. The natural history of it is suggested by the passage from Origen, which Dr. Butler placed in his title page, and which may be translated in the words of the son of Sirach, Eccl. xlii, 24: "All things are *double one against another*, and God hath made nothing imperfect." This observation is the foundation of Dr. Butler's moral system, and of his Analogy; and from these Dr. Wayland has drawn the fundamental principle of his moral philosophy, which he has expressed thus:—"There is a world within us, and a world without us." This world within us comprehends those powers in our constitution which are capable of receiving impressions from their corresponding *external* objects, which objects constitute the world without us. Each internal power in our constitution has its corresponding external object which God has appointed as its natural excitant, and which has power to excite it *independent of our will.* The exciting power of each external object has reference only to its own corresponding internal function. The excitable functions or powers in our con-

stitution may be divided into two classes; the appetites, which have their origin in the flesh; and the passions, which originate in the mind itself. These appetites and passions, which are essential parts of the constitution of every sound and healthy person, are, in themselves, *simply considered as powers existing*, neither vicious nor virtuous; nor do the external objects which severally correspond to them, simply considered as objects existing with the natural power to excite them, *partake of the nature either of vice or virtue.* When, under proper conditions, the external exciting object is presented, its corresponding appetite or passion is *necessarily excited*, and *tends* to seek gratification. This involuntary and necessary excitement, which tends to seek its gratification, is called *lust;* and properly constitutes temptation.

The *existence* of this excitement, and the consciousness of its tendency to seek to be gratified, *is not sin*, nor of the nature of sin. Yet it is admitted to contain the preliminary conditions which may lead to sin. It is, therefore, the office of virtue and religion either to restrain altogether from indulgence, where indulgence is unlawful, or to restrain within proper limits, where indulgence is lawful.

Virtue exerts this restraining influence in matters of morals considered in reference to society; and religion, which comprehends virtue, exerts it further in matters of duty considered with reference to God and a future life.

This theory of temptation, which develops its natural history, is founded upon the experience of mankind; and is confirmed by the observation of the son of Sirach quoted above; and also by the proverb of Solomon, "Can a man take fire into his bosom, and his clothes not be burned?" That is, such is the relation between fire and clothes, that if they come in contact the clothes must burn. So, if any appetite or passion be addressed by its appropriate external excitant, it *must be excited.* But the excitement, or the lust in this sense, is not sin, nor of the nature of sin; but the *yielding* to the excitement where indulgence is unlawful, or yielding to an unlawful extent, where indulgence is lawful, *this* constitutes sin.

This whole theory is suggested and explained in a passage of St. James i, 14, 15, "But every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed." Here the *excitement* is expressed by the word "lust:" the *tendency* of this excitement to

seek gratification by the words, "drawn away, and enticed," ver. 14. "Then when lust hath conceived it bringeth forth sin," ver. 15. Here the gratification of the excitement is expressed by the word "conceived." Let it then be particularly observed, that the excitement, and the tendency of the excitement to gratification, must *precede* sin. The transition from the temptation to sin is expressed by the word "conceived," which implies volition. The final and unerring test of sin, then, is, not the existence of the temptation, but the consent of the will. Whenever this consent is given in any degree, *then* sin commences, and the extent of the consent is the measure of the degree of sin. When we feel the temptation, *if* we consent to prolong the excitement, or if it be in our power to allay it, or to escape from it, and we refuse to do it, then we begin to sin; for the voluntary continuance of the excitement partakes of the nature of gratification, in which sin properly consists.

The practical uses of this theory of temptation are: 1. It shows us the duty of avoiding all occasions of temptation, so that we fall not under dangerous excitement. 2. If, as is frequently the case with every human being, we unavoidably become the subjects of temptation, let us resist steadily, that it may not "conceive," and bring forth sin. For we may be "tempted in all points, yet without sin."

This theory will clearly explain,—1. How a Christian, after conversion, may be the subject of the natural excitement of the passions and appetites, *as he was before his conversion.* Because conversion does not destroy these natural functions in our constitution; nor does it destroy the power of their corresponding external objects which naturally, and therefore necessarily, excite them when brought into contact. Young and inexperienced Christians should carefully understand this. For many have fallen into doubts, and finally cast away their confidence, upon finding, shortly after their conversion, that their passions and appetites were as naturally susceptible of excitement as before. Our duty is to resist the temptation until it depart from us. 2. It will explain how our first parents came to fall. In their innocency in Eden they had in their natural constitutions *those appetites and passions* which are inseparable parts of *our* natural constitutions. They were subject to the influence of the external objects which were the natural excitants of their appetites and passions, as they are now of ours. Of

course, they were subject to temptation in the same way that we are; and if they yielded, the result would be the same as if we yield; viz., sin. The difference between them and us is, they were *naturally able* to stand against any possible temptation; we are wholly unable by nature, and cannot become able except by grace. If we will examine the history of the fall we shall see that it was a case of temptation on the ordinary principle explained above. Gen. iii, 6: "And when the woman *saw* that the tree was good for food, and that it was *pleasant* to the eyes, and a tree to be *desired* to make one wise," (here is excitement,) "she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat,"—here is *consent* and *indulgence*, which were forbidden, and the result was, of course, *sin*. The case of Adam was the same: "and gave *also* unto her husband, and he did eat." 3. This theory contains also the answer to the question, *How could our Saviour be tempted?* The answer is this: The Scriptures everywhere declare that our Lord *took upon him our nature:* not a part of our nature, but *humanity as a whole*. This doctrine is clearly expressed in the second article of the Church of England, which is received by all churches embracing that of the trinity, which says, speaking of the incarnation, he "took man's nature in the womb of the blessed virgin; so that two *whole and perfect natures*, that is to say, the Godhead and *manhood*, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God, and *very man*." The expressions, "man's nature—manhood—very man," surely comprehend the whole of humanity, and include *our natural appetites and passions*. Of course our Saviour possessed these naturally, as we do, and they were as *naturally capable of excitement* in him by their appropriate coresponding external objects, as in us. Hence it is said, "he was tempted in all points as we are:" it is added, "yet without sin." He did not in any instance, nor in the slightest degree, *consent* to the temptation, but always said, "Get thee behind me, Satan."

There are two other sources of temptation which depend upon this *principal original* source. 1. *Reflection* upon ideas and images, which have been previously introduced into the mind, by which the imagination is excited; and by this means the appetites and passions are aroused. In this case the excitement is of the same nature as that produced by the presence of the external ob-

ject, and tends to seek gratification. This is as really a state of temptation as any we have discussed. If we *consent* to this excitement, or consent to *prolong it*, we commit sin. So also if we go in search of objects for its gratification. This completes the sin *in the heart*, and all that is wanting to consummate the act is, the opportunity of indulgence.

2. *Satanic suggestion.* There can be no doubt but Satan has the power to recall to our minds some, if not all of those ideas and images which we have received from external temptation, and thus to awaken our passions and to excite our appetites, which state of excitement, as has already been noted, constitutes temptation. And it ought to be distinctly remembered that *he has no other means of tempting us.* It is probable he has a dreadful power of prolonging the agitation of the mind, by constraining it to continue its reflections and imaginings. But however horrible, or offensive, or impure they may be, however violent the excitement, yet *there is no sin unless we consent.* We may suffer much, and be "in heaviness through manifold temptations;" (St. Peter;) yet unless we *consent* either to prolong the excitement, or to indulge it, we are "without sin."

Let not the reader be alarmed at this simple and natural solution of the question, touching our Saviour, which he has trembled to examine. In the experience of mortals, temptation and sin are so closely allied, that we seem to ourselves to have charged our Saviour with sin, when we admit he was tempted. But we cannot reject the fact; for the Scriptures affirm it, and give this most consolatory and encouraging of all reasons for it, that he might be touched with the feeling of our infirmity, and thus be prepared to be a "merciful and faithful high priest," and be "able to succor them that are tempted." No: instead of casting a shade over the transcendent majesty and glory of the Redeemer's character, this explanation throws a flood of light and hope into this miserable world of temptation and trial, and directs its agitated and dismayed inhabitants to look to "another and a better country," where the functions and power of our constitution, and the external world around to excite them, shall all tend inevitably to virtue and happiness; for we, says Peter, "look for a *new* heaven and a *new* earth *wherein dwelleth righteousness.*"

We have thus endeavored to give the reader a tolerably clear

impression of one of the best books in the English language; presenting him with a few specimens of the arguments and illustrations, by which he may learn what he has to expect from a thorough study of the work. The theory of temptation with which we have concluded our review of the book, is not found in form, or the elements of it expanded; but the foundation principle is there, and so, on almost every page, there is a principle laid down, a proposition or a reflection given, which might be expanded with much profit into an essay, or even a volume. Our book agents, in our judgment, could not do a greater service to our ministers, than to publish a good edition of Butler's Analogy, with an introduction containing an analysis of each chapter.

Dickinson College, April, 1841.

ART. V.—*The Life of Sir Humphry Davy, Bart., LL.D., late President of the Royal Society, Foreign Associate of the Royal Institute of France, &c., &c.* By JOHN AYRTON PARIS, M. D., &c., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. In two vols., 8vo., pp. 416 and 463. London. 1831.

IT has been affirmed, in substance, that Sir H. Davy was to chimistry what Newton was to the sister science of astronomy; but withholding, at present, our assent to so high a eulogium, we certainly shall most freely concede to him a very high place on the list of distinguished, scientific men. One writer would indeed seem to place his name even above that of Newton. Says he,—

"When Newton established the law of gravitation, and applied it to the planetary motions, he but completed the labors of a previous age. Had not misfortune and the apathy of princes chilled the ardor of Kepler, he might have anticipated him in the discovery; and Hooke, and Halley, and Wren, were within a neck of the goal at which Newton carried off the prize. Trained at the foot of Barrow, and in the geometry of Cambridge, and in the full enjoyment of academical leisure, Newton was well equipped for the contest, while his less prepared antagonists run in the harness of professional occupations. In the achievement, indeed, of his grand discovery, we witness the triumph of fortune as well as of talent; and it is not detracting from his high merits when we say, that had he lived in another age, Newton would have had many equals.

"Sir H. Davy's successful analysis of the earths is inferior to the discovery of universal gravitation only in its influence over the imagination. To separate, without the aid of the crucible, new metals of

rare and surprising properties from the earths and alkalies which we tread under our feet—from lime, magnesia, soda, barytes, &c.—was a discovery greatly in advance of the age in which it was made. No prophetic sagacity had placed it among the probabilities of science. No previous skill had made the slightest approximation to it. * * * Nor had Davy the preparation either of academical knowledge, or of experimental instruction. No adept in chimical analysis had imparted to him the wisdom of his experience; nor had the treasures of a foreign pilgrimage placed him above his rivals in discovery. His methods and his skill were his own, and whatever were their defects, they were supplied by a ready genius and an intellectual energy which triumphed over every obstacle."*

One would suppose, from the flippant manner in which this writer speaks of Newton, and his important, indeed, but, if we are to believe him, not such very astounding discoveries, that, had this great man been his contemporary, he should himself almost expect to be his equal; at least, he might hope that Dame Fortune would, in some way, make up to him whatever he might lack in brains!

But we find a sufficient reply to this writer's remarks in the honest admissions of the author of the work before us.

"It is impossible," says Dr. Paris, "to reflect upon the chimical processes by which potassium is obtained, without feeling surprised that the discovery should not have long before been accomplished. It is evident, that the substance must have been repeatedly developed during the operations of chimistry; alkalies had been frequently heated to whiteness in contact both with iron and charcoal,† and, in some instances, the appearance of a highly combustible body, which could have been no other than potassium, had even been observed as a result of the process; and yet no suspicion as to its real nature ever crossed the mind of the experimentalist; he satisfied himself with designating such a product whenever it occurred, by the term *pyrophorus*.‡ I remember the late Mr. William Gregor informing me that, in the course of his analytical experiments with potash and different metals, he had repeatedly observed a combustion on removing the crucible from the furnace, and exposing the contents, which he could never understand." Vol. i, p. 282.

* Edinburgh Review, No. cxxvii, p. 53. (American reprint.)

† Potassium is now prepared by heating potassa in contact with powdered charcoal and iron turnings.

‡ Homberg's pyrophorus, which receives its name from its discoverer, was described as early as 1711. It is prepared by making a mixture of charcoal, or some substance that contains it, as flour, sugar, gum, &c., and alum; and, after drying it thoroughly, exposing it in a close vessel for some time to a red heat; and owes its peculiar property of igniting spontaneously, when exposed to the atmosphere, to the potassium that is liberated by the process of preparing it.

If, therefore, Davy, as well as Newton, is justly entitled to the honor of having made the discovery of countries, before quite unknown, it is certainly true that others before him had sailed along the same coast, and were prevented from making the discovery only by the fog and mists which intercepted their view. There is a great analogy, in one respect, between the discoveries made by navigators and travelers of new countries, and discoveries in science. The "world" of the ancient Romans has been gradually enlarged by successive adventurers, each one pushing his discoveries a little, and, as a general thing, but a little, beyond those of his predecessors, until we have reason to believe the oceans, continents, seas, islands, mountains, &c., of our planet are tolerably well known; and history records the name of but one Columbus, who possessed the daring genius and mighty energy required at once to project and execute a voyage across a wide, and, so far as was then known, boundless ocean. So it has been in science. One after another has added more or less to our knowledge of material nature; and if, in a few instances, individuals have made apparently large advances in discovery beyond their contemporaries, it has generally been afterward found, that others before them had unconsciously to themselves been on the point of making the same advance. So it was with Newton, so it was with Dalton in his discovery of the laws of chimical combination, and so it was with Davy, as we have just seen. Nor does this essentially detract from their merits as original discoverers. True, fortune may seem to have favored these individuals; but why did the apparently trifling circumstances, which seem to have made the important suggestion to them, make the revelation to them only? Thousands had seen chandeliers swinging in churches and other places before the time of Galileo, but to his observing mind alone did it suggest the use of the pendulum as a measurer of time; and apples had been seen to fall to the ground by the force of gravity thousands of years before Newton's day, but it required his own careful observation and mighty intellect to perceive, in so trifling an incident, the hitherto unknown cause of motion in the stupendous machinery of the universe. To Newton, in our opinion, above all others, belongs the honor of being considered the Columbus in scientific discovery. And, in assigning him this place, we do not have reference merely to his discovery of the law of universal gravitation, but to other achievements of his,

which are less brilliant, perhaps, but scarcely less important. No other individual, probably, either before or since his day, ever possessed a mind of such ponderous and yet delicate machinery; no other one ever made such large additions to the sum total of human knowledge, or enlarged so widely the circle of human thought.

But in thus vindicating the just fame of the hitherto matchless Newton, we mean no disparagement to the distinguished individual whose interesting memoir has given occasion for this article. His fame rests upon a foundation that cannot be shaken. We have already conceded to his name a high place among those of the greatest men of science the world has produced, but its precise position on the list we shall not attempt to designate.

The author of this "Life of Sir H. Davy," Dr. Paris, was an intimate friend of Davy, and his ardent admirer; but there is every reason to believe his difficult task has been executed with the utmost fidelity. Having been favored by the surviving widow of Sir Humphry, and most of his correspondents, as well as his early friends, with all the information they were able to communicate concerning him, it is believed the two volumes before us afford a very correct portraiture of his character; though we would not conceal the fact that Davy's only brother, Dr. John Davy, was not pleased with it, and subsequently published another memoir in two volumes, in which he controverts many of Dr. P.'s statements. This work we have not had an opportunity critically to examine, and shall not, therefore, remark further concerning it.* After making considerable inquiry, we are irresistibly brought to the conclusion that the chief fault with Dr. P.'s work is its great truth to the original. The doctor, though an admirer of his hero, did not, perhaps, possess so good a faculty as some biographers of smoothing over his faults, and describing offensive traits of character in such a peculiar manner, that, while he tells substantial truth, a decidedly false impression is made on the mind of the reader. But for this we should rather commend than censure his work. We do not indeed object to eulogy when given to us as such, but in a professed memoir we wish for plain truth—for

* A new edition of the work, somewhat abridged we believe, has been published in London during the past year, in connection with a complete edition of Sir H. Davy's works in nine volumes. The memoir occupies the first volume.

truth in itself, and truth told in such a manner as to produce a true impression.

But it is not so much our purpose to discuss the merits of this work as a specimen of biographical composition, as it is to give some account of the illustrious individual whose character it portrays.

Sir Humphry Davy was born at Penzance in Cornwall, December 17, 1778. His father was a respectable carver in wood, and his mother a daughter of a mercer in Penzance by the name of Millet. His father died in 1794, just as his son completed his sixteenth year; but his mother lived to witness nearly the whole of his comparatively short, but most brilliant career, having died but a few years before him. There is probably scarcely an instance of an individual's rising from obscurity to eminence, without his friends being able *afterward* to find in his early history abundant indications of his future greatness; and so it is in the case of Davy. In reality, however, at a very early age he seems to have possessed a retentive memory, and a great fondness for novelty and romance, and was always ready to engage in any undertaking to gratify this propensity. He also possessed a peculiar boldness, not of that character, indeed, which is offensive, but which seems to have had much to do in making him the leader in the various enterprises in which he engaged with his fellows. At one time he is a writer of poetry, and is the "poet laureate of the circle;" and at another he is the chimist preparing his "thunder powder," and exhibiting for a few pins his various chimical experiments to admiring spectators! But above all other sports he delighted in fishing, in which he was always unusually successful for one of his age—a peculiarity that followed him quite to the "verge of life." Indeed, so excessively fond was he of this amusement, that during life, it is said, he often made long journeys, which in one or two instances extended even to two or three hundred miles, merely for the sake of enjoying a day's fishing in some celebrated place.

An unusual quickness of perception very early manifested itself in him, and when a mere boy he would "take the hint" from slight circumstances that would be passed by entirely unheeded by the ordinary mind. A single instance will serve as an illustration. When a mere boy he was accustomed to fish at Penzance pier, in his neighborhood, for a particular fish that was difficult to hook on

account of the smallness of its mouth. But observing that these fishes always swam in shoals, he attached several hooks to his line, one above another, extending from the surface of the water quite to the bottom, and fixed pieces of bait at several places among them. Then, as the fishes were swimming about his hook, and without waiting for them to get hold with the mouth, by a sudden pull of the line he would often secure several at a time, when others were exerting themselves in the usual manner in vain.

Davy's early advantages for obtaining an education were not great, but very respectable. At an early period he was admitted to the grammar school of his native place, and when he was about fifteen he spent a year in school at Truro under Dr. Cardew, a gentleman distinguished for the number of eminent scholars whose education he superintended, and who survived his illustrious pupil. While at school, it is said he was more distinguished for original talent than for assiduous application; with a genius for any thing, he could apply himself to nothing, or rather, at times, to every thing! With the study of the classics he was never pleased; and, as he admitted in after-life, much of his time was spent in idleness.

At the age of fifteen he quitted school; and a few months afterward his father was removed from him by death. This afflictive event produced a lasting impression upon his mind, and seems to have led to a renewal of former good purposes that had well-nigh yielded to the many allurements to vice with which, at this critical period, he was surrounded. He became more settled in his views and plans; and having selected medicine as his profession, he was apprenticed by his mother, in February, 1795, to an apothecary of his native town by the name of Borlase, who afterward became an eminent physician.

Having entered upon the study of his profession, his characteristic ardor at once manifested itself in the thorough and extensive course of study which he marked out for himself. Says a writer,* "it embraced *seven* languages, from English to Hebrew, and all the physical and moral sciences, from theology and astronomy down to rhetoric and mechanics. He committed to writing his views on these subjects; and speculations on religion and politics—

* Edinburgh Review, No. LXIII, p. 56, Amer. edition.

on metaphysics and morals—are placed in his note-books in juxtaposition with stanzas of poetry and fragments of romance." But, like other brilliant geniuses who have lived in other ages and countries, he was far from being distinguished for perseverance. Whatever he undertook he commenced upon with enthusiasm, but the fire was too intense to be lasting. This was, indeed, the case through life. If a good degree of success attended an effort at once, there never was ardor manifested like his. Food, and drink, and sleep, were often forgotten or neglected while pursuing, with all the energy of his soul, some favorite investigation. But if unsuccessful in an effort, his spirits soon failed, or some other more interesting object of pursuit presented itself, which, once commenced upon, was perhaps, for the same reason, as soon relinquished for something else. Hence, among his splendid discoveries he also made some splendid failures, to which we may allude more particularly hereafter. But it should be remembered, that though he always carried his point by storm, if he carried it at all, no one ever showed a genius superior to his in planning his attacks. If the fortress of the enemy perfectly withstood the fury of the first onset, generally there was little danger of further hostilities; but if a decided impression had been made—if the walls were inclined to yield—but some change only in the mode of attack was required to insure success—some modification of his plan—his keen eye saw it all at a glance, his courage and energy became instantly redoubled, and he pushed forward his enterprise with irresistible impetuosity to complete victory!

During a few of the first years of his apprenticeship, our subject does not seem to have accomplished much. He was too fond of novelty to submit tamely to the drudgery of his office, and too ardent in the pursuit of knowledge to limit himself to what belonged properly to his profession. Instead of attending to his appropriate duties, he was performing experiments for his own gratification, and was, without question, acquiring many useful ideas, though he failed to give perfect satisfaction to his master.

Even at this early period a strong love of fame seems to have been fixed in his heart. "How often, when a boy," said he once, on being shown a picture of some wild scenery near Penzance, "have I wandered about those rocks in search of new minerals, and, when fatigued, sat down upon the turf, and exercised my

fancy in anticipations of scientific renown!" This passion, like others, when indulged till it obtains an undue influence, certainly cannot be commended; but, without question, it was placed in the human breast for wise purposes; and, when properly controlled by reason, is productive of the most beneficial effects.

About 1796, when he was scarcely seventeen years of age, Davy seems first to have given his attention to the study of chemistry. The first books he used were Lavoisier's "Elements" and Nicholson's "Chimical Dictionary." With his characteristic confidence in himself, and contempt of mere authority, he undertook to put the views of the French chimist to the test of experiment, and for a time supposed he had completely demonstrated their falsity! It is not necessary to remark, that the doctrines of Lavoisier proved too securely founded to be so easily overthrown; and none more ardently embraced them than did Davy in after-life.

The question, often asked, whether the peculiarities of different minds are to be considered as originally inherent in the constitution itself, or whether they are merely the result of circumstances, may never receive an answer that shall be universally satisfactory. But whatever original differences may exist, it is very certain that circumstances—sometimes even apparently very trifling circumstances—have much to do in forming the character of an individual. So it appears to have been with Davy. During the winter of 1797 he was so fortunate as to make the acquaintance of Mr. Gregory Watt, son of the individual whose name is so intimately connected with the steam-engine, and Mr. Davies Gilbert,* who was afterward president of the Royal Society. To make the acquaintance and secure the friendship of two such men as these, just at this period of Davy's life, especially in a country like England, where advancement in every department of life is so much a matter of favor, could not but be to any young man of aspiring genius an event of great importance; but, in the present instance, it seems to have been an essential link in the chain of events that terminated in his fully establishing his claims to be considered one of the most gifted and successful cultivators of science the world ever saw. The former, Mr. Watt, was unwell, and had been advised by his physicians to spend some time in the west of England; and he

* Mr. Gilbert died, at the advanced age of seventy-three, during the past year

accordingly resorted to Penzance, and took board and lodgings with Mrs. Davy; and thus, almost as a matter of course, became acquainted with her son Humphry. But the manner of Mr. Gilbert's introduction was more singular, and has more of a fortuitous aspect about it. The event is thus described by Dr. Paris:—

"Mr. Gilbert's attention was attracted to the future philosopher, as he was carelessly swinging over the hatch, or half gate, of Mr. Borlase's, by the humorous contortions into which he threw his features. * * * A person who happened to be walking with him on the occasion, observed that the extraordinary-looking boy in question was young Davy, the carver's son, who, he added, was [is] said to be fond of making chimical experiments. 'Chimical experiments!' exclaimed Mr. Gilbert, with much surprise, 'if that be the case, I must have some conversation with him;'"

and from that moment commenced a friendship between them, which, as we shall soon see, was of most essential service to Davy, and continued to the day of his death.

But in this event, which proved so fortunate to young Davy, let not blind chance receive the credit. There is an overruling Providence ever interfering in the affairs of men. The first interview of these individuals was, indeed, singularly accidental; but it was Davy's real merit that secured the esteem of Mr. Gilbert; had he been destitute of this, we cannot see that the mere circumstance of their having been thus providentially brought in contact with each other could ever have profited him.

But we must proceed to trace the history of our subject as he emerged from the obscurity of youth, and entered upon that transcendently brilliant career which terminated only with his life, about thirty years afterward.

Until the year 1755 or 1756, when Dr. Black of Edinburgh announced the discovery of carbonic acid, or fixed air, as he named it, it was not known that there exists in nature any other permanent aeriform fluid or gas except atmospheric air. Next, hydrogen gas was discovered by Cavendish in 1766; nitrogen, or azote, in 1772, by Dr. Rutherford of Edinburgh; hydrochloric acid gas, in the same year, by Priestley; and oxygen, in 1774, by both Priestley and Scheele, independently of each other. Several others, besides these, were discovered not far from the same time.

As was perfectly natural, soon after the discovery of these substances, an opinion began to be entertained that they might be

found of great benefit in curing some of the many diseases which afflict our race, either by their being respired, or by other methods of application; and it was at length determined to establish a kind of hospital, with the express view of determining their medicinal properties. This institution, called the Pneumatic Institution, was eventually established at Clifton, near Bristol; and was placed under the management of Dr. Beddoes, a gentleman of some distinction, who had taken great interest in the enterprise. As a laboratory for experimental inquiry, as well as a room for lectures, was connected with the institution, an assistant was of course found necessary; and the place, at the recommendation of Mr. Gilbert, was offered to Davy, then not quite twenty years of age! Behold, then, the young philosopher, on the 2d of October, 1798, quitting his native Penzance for Bristol, which was by far a longer journey than he had ever before made, to enter the contest for scientific renown with the master spirits of the age! Without a systematic education—without having so much as attended a single course of scientific lectures—entirely unknown to men of science, except the few whose names have been mentioned—he suddenly presents himself, stripling as he is, as a candidate for the prize for which the ablest men in the world are contending under the most favorable circumstances!

Macte virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra.

Upon Davy's arrival at Clifton he was received into the accomplished family of Dr. Beddoes, where he also met, among others, Mr. Southey, Mr. Coleridge, and the late Lord Durham, whose name has recently been so well known in this country in connection with Canadian politics. The latter, with a brother of his, was then residing as a student with Dr. Beddoes. Notwithstanding his many disadvantages, arising from his awkward personal appearance and want of familiarity with the usages of polite society, on account of his genius, wit, and other redeeming qualities, he seems to have met with a very cordial and welcome reception. He immediately commenced his duties in the Pneumatic Institution, which soon had a list of nearly one hundred patients; and labored most assiduously to promote the objects for which it had been established. No created being was ever more perfectly in his element. Dr. Beddoes, like himself, at this period was somewhat visionary;

and they both seem to have been very confident in the opinion that, if they did not meet with full success in their chief object of pursuit, they should certainly add something of importance to the sum of human knowledge. But a few months elapsed before they gave to the world a volume of scientific essays of some four hundred pages, more than half of which was from the pen of Davy, and of just such a character as we might expect. Davy's articles—and we might probably include those of Dr. Beddoes also—says his brother, Dr. Davy, abounded in wild and visionary speculations, partial reasonings, and erroneous experiments; and it is said that in after-life, when he was capable of seeing the folly of his course, he never alluded to the subject himself, and became irritated at once if it was introduced by others. This volume was edited by Dr. Beddoes, whose name alone appeared upon the title-page; but in a little more than a year afterward a second was published, under the auspices of our young philosopher himself, which attracted great attention from its containing the first announcement of his discovery of the wonderful exhilarating effects of nitrous oxyd gas, when taken into the lungs.

This gas is the protoxyd of nitrogen. When he commenced his experiments, no method was known by which it could be obtained in a state of purity; but having discovered a new and greatly improved process, he resolved to make the hazardous experiment of introducing it into his lungs, which he did at first, of course, with some caution. And, as it contributed so much toward establishing his rising fame as an original experimenter, and, probably more than any thing else, occasioned his promotion to the office of "director of the laboratory and assistant professor of chimistry in the Royal Institution" scarcely a year afterward, we will give his own account of the experiment:—

"In April," says he, "I obtained nitrous oxyd in a state of purity, and ascertained many of its chimical properties. Reflections upon these properties, and upon former trials, made me resolve to inspire it in its pure form, for I saw no other way in which its respirability, or powers, could be determined.

"I was aware of the danger of the experiment. * * * I thought that the effects might possibly be depressing and painful; but there were many reasons which induced me to believe that a single inspiration of a gas, apparently possessing no immediate action on the irritable fibre, could neither destroy, nor materially injure, the powers of life.

"On April 11th, I made the first inspiration of pure nitrous oxyd.

It passed through the bronchiæ without stimulating the glottis, and produced no uneasy sensation in the lungs.

"The result of this experiment proved that the gas was [is] respirable, and induced me to believe that a further trial of its effects might be made without danger.

"On April 16th, Dr. Kingslake being accidentally present, I breathed three quarts of nitrous oxyd from and into a silk bag, for more than half a minute, without previously closing my nose or exhausting my lungs. The first inspirations occasioned a slight degree of giddiness, which was succeeded by an uncommon sense of fulness in the head, accompanied with the loss of distinct sensation and voluntary power—a feeling analogous to that produced in the first stages of intoxication; but unattended by pleasurable sensation. Dr. Kingslake, who felt my pulse, informed me that it was rendered quicker and fuller."—Vol. i, pp. 90, 91.

This trial did not fully satisfy him; and the next day he repeated the experiment in the presence of Dr. Beddoes:—

"Having previously closed my nostrils," says he, "and exhausted my lungs, I breathed four quarts of the gas from and into a silk bag. The first feelings were similar to those produced in the last experiment; but in less than half a minute, the respiration being continued, they diminished gradually, and were succeeded by a sensation analogous to gentle pressure on all the muscles, attended by a highly pleasurable thrilling, particularly in the chest and in the extremities. The objects around me became dazzling, and my hearing more acute. Toward the last inspirations, the thrilling increased, the sense of muscular power became greater, and, at last, an irresistible propensity to action was indulged in: I recollect but indistinctly what followed; I know that my motions were various and violent.

"These effects very soon ceased after the respiration of the gas. In ten minutes I had recovered my natural state of mind. The thrilling in the extremities continued longer than the other sensations.

"This experiment was made in the morning; no languor or exhaustion was consequent; my feelings throughout the day were as usual, and I passed the night in undisturbed repose.

"The next morning the recollection of the effects of the gas was very indistinct; and had not remarks, written immediately after the experiment, recalled them to my mind, I should even have questioned their reality."—Vol. i, pp. 91, 92.

Animated, and even enthusiastic with his unexpected success, he subsequently continued his experiments upon the effects of respiring this gas, by inviting others to become his subjects; and, did our limits permit, it might afford us some amusement to describe the appearance and actions of such distinguished men as Coleridge, Southey, and others of the experimenter's friends, while under its influence. But we pass, merely remarking that the ex-

periment which was thus first performed by Davy has not ceased to interest, though it has long been familiar with every lecturer in the science of chimistry. But it is found that every person cannot inhale the gas with perfect safety.

Having determined some of the most important properties of nitrous oxyd, particularly its effects upon respiration, he proceeded to investigate the nature of nitric oxyd, which is a bin oxyd of nitrogen, the other gas, as it will be recollected, being the protoxyd of nitrogen. He even attempted, "during a fit of enthusiasm," as he himself admits, to introduce it into his lungs, at the imminent hazard of his life; and it is probable he was saved from self-sacrifice only by the powerful spasm of the epiglottis, which, it is known, always takes place when a deleterious gas in a tolerably pure state approaches the passage.

His next attempt was to breathe carburetted hydrogen gas, which was scarcely less terrific and appalling. As it tends to throw light upon his character for perseverance and daring enterprise, we will give a brief account of it. At the first trial he breathed three quarts of the gas, diluted with two quarts of air, nearly a minute, which produced only "slight giddiness, pain in the head, and a momentary loss of voluntary power," and rendered his pulse more quick and feeble. These effects, however, were of short continuance, and he decided to make a repetition of the experiment:—

"Emboldened by this trial," says he, "I introduced into a silk bag four quarts of the gas, nearly pure, which was carefully produced from the decomposition of water by charcoal an hour before, and which had a very strong and disagreeable smell.

"My friend, Mr. James Tobin, jun., being present, after a forced exhaustion of my lungs, the nose being accurately closed, I made three inspirations and expirations of the hydrocarbonate.* The first inspiration produced a sort of numbness and loss of feeling in the chest, and about the pectoral muscles. After the second, I lost all power of perceiving external things, and had no distinct sensation, except that of a terrible oppression on the chest. During the third expiration, this feeling subsided, I seemed sinking into annihilation, and had just power enough to cast off the mouthpiece from my unclosed lips.

"A short interval must have elapsed, during which I respired com-

* This name is not now in use; but as he alludes to his method of preparing the gas for this purpose from charcoal, it is presumed to be the light carburetted hydrogen of recent writers on chimistry.

mon air, before the objects around me were distinguishable. On recollecting myself, I faintly articulated, '*I do not think I shall die.*' Placing my finger on my wrist, I found my pulse thread-like, and beating with excessive quickness. In less than a minute I was able to walk, and the painful oppression on the chest directed me to the open air.

"After making a few steps, which carried me to the garden, my head became giddy, my knees trembled, and I had just sufficient voluntary power to throw myself upon the grass. Here the painful feelings of the chest increased with such violence as to threaten suffocation. At this moment I asked for some nitrous oxyd. Mr. Dwyer brought me a mixture of that gas and oxygen, and I breathed it for a minute and believed myself recovered."—Vol. i, pp. 100, 101.

About half an hour afterward, having in the mean time walked some distance with a friend, he found himself entirely free from pain, but feeble, and his pulse at 120. The pain and giddiness, however, subsequently returned with violence, accompanied with nausea, loss of memory, and deficient sensation; but after suffering excruciating pain in various parts of the system, he gradually recovered; and having slept soundly at night, he found himself the next morning quite well, though feeble. By the next evening he had entirely recovered his strength.

Thus terminated one of the most daring experiments ever undertaken for the benefit of science. Davy always thought, if he had taken but one or two more inspirations of the gas, his recovery would have been impossible. There can be little doubt, we think, but that this and other similar experiments, made at different times upon himself, had much to do in bringing on that premature decay which terminated his useful life at the early age of fifty.

It would seem that the above narrow escape should have been considered sufficient for experiments of that character, but he suffered only one week to elapse before he made a similar attempt to breathe carbonic acid gas, which, however, he found, could not, in a state of purity, be introduced into the lungs, because of the spasmodic closing of the epiglottis.

That experiments and discoveries, like these we have just detailed, should excite general admiration, cannot surprise us. Youth as he yet was, these achievements of his bespoke for him the high consideration of the lovers and cultivators of science; but providentially there was just at this time, though quite unknown to himself or others, a place in preparation for him which he was soon destined to fill with the highest honor, and but for which, as it

would seem, he might notwithstanding have spent his days in comparative obscurity.

The Royal Institution of Great Britain was founded in London in the year 1800, chiefly by the exertions of Count Rumford, who therefore acquired great influence in the management of its concerns. As it was designed for the general promotion of science, a chimical laboratory and lecture room were provided, and an individual appointed to give an annual course of chimical lectures. Davy was strongly recommended to the count by several of his friends, among whom were Mr. Underwood and the late Dr. Hope of Edinburgh; and his claims appear to have been pressed with considerable urgency. Upon being informed of the negotiation that was in progress, by the advice of his friends, he immediately repaired to London with his characteristic ardor, and waited on the count in person,—a circumstance which came near proving fatal to his appointment. His appearance was then very unprepossessing; and the count was so disgusted, that, after the interview, he expressed to Mr. Underwood his great regret that he had been influenced so much by the ardor with which the suit had been pressed. He however so far yielded his prejudices as to consent that the young man should have an opportunity to give a specimen of his abilities, by delivering a private lecture before himself and a few select friends of the institution in the small lecture room; which proved so satisfactory, that at its conclusion the count exclaimed emphatically, "Let him command any arrangements which the institution can afford." Thus unsophisticated genius triumphed! The next day he commenced his pre-eminently successful career in the great theatre of the institution.

The difficulties through which Davy had already struggled would seem to have been all but insurmountable, but he had successfully combated them all. He however was yet surrounded with them; —such difficulties, too, as could be successfully contended with only by those possessed of industry, energy, and genius like his. A young man, not yet twenty-two years of age, uncouth in his appearance, and unknown to the world—of which he in turn knows as little—with but an indifferent education, and very little experience, is suddenly brought from an obscure place and the humblest walks of life to the very metropolis of the scientific world, and duly installed as scientific instructor to the proud and haughty

aristocracy of London! The indifferent spectator of such a scene might, with no great impropriety, have predicted a certain failure; but Davy, in his simplicity and his zeal, seems never to have dreamed that such a thing was possible. So confident was he in his ability to answer every expectation, that he did not delay to ask himself the question; but, the place being offered him, he at once took possession of it, and commenced the performance of the duties it imposed.

But even Davy's success, though in a great measure to be attributed to his genius and his industry, was not without the aid of adventitious circumstances. Indeed, through life, in his various successes, as has been remarked, "we witness the triumph of fortune as well as of talent." The fact of the institution being then new and popular, and sustained by such controlling influence, without question, contributed much to the popularity of the lecturer. One circumstance which is said to have contributed to his advancement at the commencement of his duties in the Royal Institution seems to us a little singular.

"On the 7th of April," says Dr. P., "he was elected a member of a society which consisted of twenty-five of the most violent republicans of the day; it was called the *Tepidarian Society*, from the circumstance of nothing but tea being allowed at their meetings, which were held at old Slaughter's Coffee House in Saint Martin's Lane. To the influence of this society, Mr. Underwood states that Davy was greatly indebted for his early popularity. Fame gathers her laurels with a slow hand, and the most brilliant talents require a certain time for producing a due impression upon the public: the *Tepidarians* exerted all their personal influence to obtain an audience before the reputation of the lecturer could have been sufficiently known to attract one."—Vol. i, p. 121.

The singularity of the affair is, that *republicanism* should be made to contribute to the advancement of an individual among the aristocracy, and even the very court circles of Great Britain!

Davy had been connected with the Royal Institution as assistant lecturer only six or eight weeks, when his predecessor, Dr. Garnett, resigned; but he had already secured the full confidence of the managers, and was immediately appointed "lecturer in chimistry at the Royal Institution, instead of continuing to occupy the place of assistant."* Some idea of the estimate they had formed

* Subsequently it was voted "he should be styled Professor of Chimistry to the Royal Institution."

of his resources may be learned from the fact, that only a month afterward they passed a resolution requesting him to prepare a course of lectures on "the chimical principles of the art of tanning," and invited respectable persons of the trade to be present at their delivery.

Soon afterward, by direction of the managers of the institution, he gave a course of lectures on agriculture, which he repeated annually for several years, and subsequently published them in a small volume.

The first *regular course* of lectures on chimistry which Davy gave in the Royal Institution commenced January 21st, 1802, on which day he gave his first introductory lecture "on the benefits to be derived from the various branches of science," to a delighted audience. The great popularity which he had already acquired in London, though his lectures had been rather desultory, was more than sustained by this brilliant effort, and an extraordinary sensation produced, especially among the members of the institution. Nor did the interest thus excited in the least flag during the progress of the course, which, all things considered, was perhaps the most extraordinary ever delivered in that scientific metropolis. Mr. Purkis, one of Davy's earliest friends, says:—

"The sensation created by his first course of lectures at the institution, and the enthusiastic admiration which they obtained, is at this period scarcely to be imagined. Men of the highest rank and talent, —the literary and the scientific, the practical and the theoretical, blue-stockings and women of fashion, the old and the young, all crowded—eagerly crowded the lecture room. His youth, his simplicity, his natural eloquence, his chimical knowledge, his happy illustrations, and well-conducted experiments, excited universal attention and unbounded applause. Compliments, invitations, and presents, were showered upon him in abundance from all quarters; his society was courted by all, and all appeared proud of his acquaintance."—Vol. i, p. 135.

"At length," says Dr. Paris, "so popular did he become, under the auspices of the duchess of Gordon and other leaders of high fashion, that even their soirées were considered incomplete without his presence."—Vol. i, p. 137.

These attentions, however, were not permitted to draw him aside from the paths of science, though it is admitted a bad effect was produced upon his manners and general character. Though he mingled much in fashionable society, his laboratory was never

neglected, as was evinced by the fact that the immense crowds that attended upon his lectures were always sure to be gratified by his newly devised and highly illustrative experiments, which were conducted with great address, and explained in the most perspicuous and eloquent language. His style was highly "florid and imaginative," and very fascinating, and admirably adapted to his audience, who probably attended rather for amusement than instruction.

"He would consider," says his biographer, "a particle of crystal with so delicate a regard for its minute beauties, and expatiate with so tender a tone of interest on its fair proportions, as almost to convey an idea that he bewailed the condition of necessity which for ever allotted it so slender a place in the vast scheme of creation!"—Vol. i, p. 138.

Besides his general lectures in the institution, Davy was now employed, as we have already hinted, in giving two other courses, one on the art of tanning, and the other on the chimistry of agriculture; but he found time to attend to various other matters of interest. He made original experiments on almost every subject connected with his favorite science, particularly those which excited most attention at the time. Among others he gave considerable attention for a time to Wedgewood's method of "copying paintings upon glass, and of making profiles by the agency of light upon nitrate of silver," which has very recently been so much improved by Mr. Talbot of England, and from which, also, M. Daguerre himself probably received the first hints on the subject of painting by the agency of light! Davy improved considerably upon Wedgewood's process, but was unable to devise any method by which the pictures could be fixed.

At this period the science of galvanism was receiving much attention, though but just in its infancy, Galvani's discovery, which gave it both origin and name, having been made in 1791. Davy, as a matter of course, became early interested in it, and was one of its most assiduous cultivators even before he left Bristol. The first great step in *electro-chimical* science was made by Nicholson and Carlisle early in the year 1800, in the discovery of the decomposition of water by the voltaic pile. Soon afterward it was discovered by others, that when several salts in a state of solution are exposed to the action of the galvanic circuit, they are decomposed, the acid always appearing at the positive, and the alkali at the negative pole. Davy immediately commenced a series of experi-

ments by which he was conducted to some most important results that were announced in his Bakerian lecture* for 1806.

We cannot here delay to give a detailed account of this highly interesting lecture, but can only remark that the views he promulgated were novel in the highest degree, and considered so important that the Institute of France awarded to him the prize founded by Napoleon for the most important discoveries in galvanism; and this too at a period when the national animosities existing between that country and England were in the highest degree excited.

"This grand display of scientific light," says Dr. Paris, "burst upon Europe like a splendid meteor, throwing its radiance into the deepest recesses, and opening to the view of the philosopher new and unexpected regions."—Vol. i, p. 227.

Encouraged by his unexampled success, and guided by the new principles which he had himself developed, he now "struck at once into new paths of discovery;" and every successive announcement of his for years was hailed with enthusiastic admiration by the cultivators of science throughout the world: and generally the public expectation, though highly raised, was admirably met. But it would be attributing to him something more than human, to say that every effort was equally successful.

Previous to this time, the alkalies potassa and soda, and the earths baryta, strontia, lime, magnesia, &c., had universally been considered simple substances, as they had resisted all attempts made to decompose them; or if any had made any conjectures concerning their composition, they certainly were nothing more than conjectures.

Davy himself had often speculated with regard to them; but in September, 1807, he commenced a series of experiments which terminated in the decomposition of potassa, and the demonstration of its true composition on the 19th of October following, an achievement which alone would have rendered his name immortal. This was effected by means of the new agent of decomposition, galvanic

* This is a lecture given annually by a Fellow of the Royal Society, on some subject connected with natural history or experimental philosophy, in accordance with the will of a Mr. Baker, who died in 1774, and left by his will one hundred pounds to be invested, and the income of it paid each year to the person who should be selected for this purpose, by the president and council of the society. Davy delivered the lecture for the years 1806–10, and 1826.

electricity, three different batteries having been combined in one for this purpose. He showed conclusively that potassa is composed of a metal and oxygen which have so strong an affinity for each other that they can be separated only with the utmost difficulty. The new metal, though possessing unquestionable claims to be considered as such, he found to possess some very peculiar properties. It is quite soft, is lighter than water, oxydizes rapidly in the open air, and takes fire instantly when thrown upon water!

We are informed by his relative, Mr. E. Davy, who was present, that when he first saw the minute globules of the new metal make their appearance, and take fire as they entered the atmosphere, "he could not contain his joy, but actually danced about the room in ecstatic delight; and some little time was required for him to compose himself sufficiently to continue the experiment."

Soon after this he decomposed soda in the same manner. The new metals thus obtained, he proposed to call potassium and sodium, and the names have been universally adopted. Subsequently Davy applied this new engine to the decomposition of the alkaline earths baryta, strontia, lime, and magnesia, obtaining from them evident traces of their metallic bases, to which he gave the names barium, strontium, calcium, and magnesium. His attacks, however, upon the earths proper were less successful, though he was able to satisfy himself of the fact of their composition being altogether analogous to that of the other bodies of the same class. Subsequent discoveries have proved the perfect correctness of his views. His discovery of the composition of the fixed alkalies was announced in his second Bakerian lecture for the year 1807, and probably produced a greater sensation in the scientific world, than any similar announcement that was ever made. Its importance alone would have been sufficient to attract general attention; but the various circumstances connected with it, all tended to give it an extraordinary degree of interest, and increase the enthusiasm with which it was received.

As a matter of course, the experiments of Davy were immediately repeated by others, and with similar results; but all did not at once acquiesce in his views with regard to the real composition of the alkalies. We will not, however, here enter into a detailed account of the short controversy that ensued. It is sufficient that numerous minute investigations which have since been made, have

fully established the truth of Davy's conclusion, viz., that potassa is simply a protoxyd of its metallic base, potassium.

Soon after the delivery of his second Bakerian lecture, early in Nov., 1807, which we have already mentioned, he was thrown into a severe fit of illness, which continued many weeks, and which his physicians affirmed was occasioned by his continued toil and excitement during several months preceding. It ought to be mentioned also, as Dr. Paris has done, that he was at this time extremely irregular and even intemperate in some of his habits, against which men of sedentary life ought always especially to guard.

Davy's illness was long and severe, but he eventually recovered without permanent injury to his constitution. The regular annual course of chimical lectures in the institution was given during his illness by another person. Soon after his recovery he started the project of constructing a magnificent galvanic battery for the Royal Institution by private subscription, which, by the munificence of a few individuals was shortly accomplished. This splendid piece of apparatus, it is believed, was the largest instrument of the kind ever constructed. "It consisted of two hundred instruments, connected together in regular order, each composed of ten double plates arranged in cells of porcelain, and containing in each plate thirty-two square inches, so that the whole number of plates is two thousand, and the whole surface 128,000 square inches."*

With this battery he performed many magnificent experiments; but it is found that little is gained by increasing the size of such instruments beyond even quite narrow limits. The results therefore were by no means such as were generally expected. For several years succeeding this period, Davy labored incessantly in the laboratory of the Royal Institution, and did much, by his failures as well as by his discoveries, to settle many of the truths of science. Self-confident even to a fault, he seems to have pursued his investigations with a perfect indifference, not to say contempt, for the opinions of others, which were often alluded to in terms not the most respectful. With a quickness of perception perhaps scarcely ever equalled, he sometimes adopted his conclusions quite too hastily; and, crude and erroneous as they were, published them at once to the world. In candor, however, it must be confessed that he was always ready to retract when convinced of mistake; and in some

* Davy's Elements of Chimical Philosophy, page 85. Am. edition.

instances, as Dr. P. justly remarks, he displayed great vigor in disentangling himself from the webs of error which he had previously fabricated. That he always escaped a sneer cannot be affirmed of him, but his very great services to the cause of science, and his acknowledged great abilities, saved him from the otherwise certain consequences of his rash course.

About this time he became engaged in a most acute controversy concerning the nature of oxymuriatic acid, as it was then called, with the late distinguished Dr. Murray of Edinburgh. Davy had some time before adopted and published some peculiar opinions concerning the nature of this substance, and its near relative, muriatic [hydrochloric] acid, but subsequently withdrew them, and announced the important fact—for such it has been proved—that oxymuriatic acid, which had been considered a compound of muriatic acid and oxygen, as the name implies, is a *simple substance;* and that muriatic [hydrochloric] acid is a compound of this substance and hydrogen. To the simple substance he gave the name *chlorine*, in allusion to its yellowish green color, a name which has since been universally adopted. He showed that it could not be decomposed by any means then known, and that it was analogous in many of its properties and relations to oxygen, with which it should be classed.

Dr. Murray, on the publication of these views by Davy, took decided ground against them; and nearly all the leading scientific men of Europe probably strongly sympathized with him.

"Opinions more unexpected," says Dr. M., at the commencement of the controversy, "have seldom been announced to chimists, than those lately advanced by Mr. Davy with regard to the constitution of the muriatic and oxymuriatic acids; *viz.*, that the latter is not a compound of muriatic acid and oxygen, but a simple substance, and that the former is a compound of this substance with hydrogen. The more general principle connected with these opinions, that oxymuriatic acid is like oxygen, an acidifying element, forming with inflammables and metals an extensive series of analogous compounds, leads still more directly to the subversion of the established chimical systems, and to an entire revolution in some of the most important doctrines of the science."—Vol. i, p. 335.

Dr. M. did not over-estimate the importance of the opinions advanced by Davy, nor the revolution in chimical science which they were destined to produce. He contended against them for a time

with great ability and vigour, but the verdict in favor of Davy, though some time delayed, was at length unanimous!

In 1810 Davy was invited to give a course of chimical lectures before the Dublin society, which he did during the month of November of that year, and for which he received from the society five hundred guineas, or a little more than two thousand dollars. He also gave a similar course in Dublin the following year, and a course on geology, at the close of which he received from the provosts and fellows of Trinity College the honorary degree of LL. D. Subsequently, on the 8th of April, 1812, he received from his royal highness, the prince regent, afterward George the Fourth, the honor of knighthood, at a levee held at Carlton House.

The time now arrived for our philosopher to enter upon quite another sphere; and without entirely putting off the character of the man of science, to put on that of the gentleman. Alluding to the event just now mentioned, Dr. Paris remarks:—

"On the day following this occurrence, Sir Humphry delivered his farewell lecture before the members of the Royal Institution; for he was on the eve of assuming a new station in society, which induced him to retire from those public situations which he had long held with so much advantage to the world, and with so much honor to himself. How far such a measure was calculated to increase his happiness I shall not inquire; but I am bound to observe, that it was not connected with any desire to abandon the pursuit of science, nor even to relax in his accustomed exertions to promote its interests. It was evident, however, to his friends, that other views of ambition than those presented by achievements in science had opened upon his mind: the wealth he was about to command might extend the sphere of his usefulness, and exalt him in the scale of society; his feelings became more aristocratic, he discovered charms in rank which had before escaped him, and he no longer viewed patrician distinction with philosophic indifference.

"On the 11th of April, 1812, Sir Humphry married Mrs. Apreece, the widow of Shuckburgh Ashby Apreece, Esq., eldest son of Sir Thomas Apreece; this lady was the daughter and heiress of Charles Kerr, Esq., of Kelso, and possessed a very considerable fortune."—Vol. i, p. 348.

Long before this time his friends had observed with pain the ill effects produced upon him by constant and excessive adulation. The change that was taking place in his former simple manners is first alluded to by our author immediately after his successful entrance upon the duties of his office in the theatre of the Royal Institution. Alluding to the praise bestowed so lavishly upon

him immediately after his first introductory lecture, Dr. P. remarks:—

"It is admitted that his vanity was excited, and his ambition raised, by such extraordinary demonstrations of devotion; that the bloom of his simplicity was dulled by the breath of adulation; and that, losing much of the native frankness which constituted the great charm of his character, he assumed the garb and airs of a man of fashion; let us not wonder if, under such circumstances, the inappropriate robe should not always have fallen in graceful draperies."..."On the 5th* of February, 1802, he dined with Sir Harry Englefield at his house at Blackheath; and eighteen years afterward, the worthy baronet alluded to his interesting demeanor on that occasion, in terms sufficiently expressive of his feelings—'It was the last flash of expiring nature.'"—Vol. i, pp. 137 and 172.

When the character of an individual once begins to suffer from the effects of adulation, it is not, as a general thing, to be expected that he will afterward be able to resist the influence of the current that has already lifted him from his moorings and is bearing him onward in its course. The delicious draught is too intoxicating to allow reason to exert its wonted control; and nothing but an entire reversion of circumstances can bring him again to a sober view of the "dull realities of life," and lead to that correct course of conduct which such a view alone can produce. Nor is the case of Davy an exception to this remark. The unfavorable change in his manners, the commencement of which his friends observed with so much pain soon after his removal to London, continued to increase until little remained of his former simplicity of character; and his marriage with the lady whose name we have just introduced brought him into possession of means that enabled him still more effectually than before to ape the manners and customs of the aristocracy. For this he was but poorly fitted either by education or habit; and it is not to be wondered at that, declining as he did to appear in the simple character of the man of science, in order to assume that of the gentleman, he should fail to receive the respect that would have been due to either. We would not, however, insinuate that he was ever neglected or otherwise treated, so far as external appearances are concerned, than with respect; but, presenting himself in a character in many respects foreign to his true one, he evidently failed to receive that inward homage of the

* His introductory lecture, it will be recollected, was given on the 21st of the preceding month.

heart, that supreme veneration which his eminent abilities and important scientific achievements ought to have commanded.

Immediately after their marriage, Sir Humphry and his lady made a journey of several months through the Highlands of Scotland; and the next year, by the express permission of Napoleon, they visited France and Italy, and returned to England in April, 1815.

Throughout his journey, and in Paris particularly, he was received by the learned with the utmost cordiality; and more than usual effort was made to honor him, and to render his visit in the highest degree pleasant and agreeable. They even elected him a corresponding member of the first class of the Imperial Institute, on the 13th of December, an honor which has been extended to but few foreigners.

During his absence, he prepared and forwarded to the Royal Society several important papers on the nature of iodine, then just discovered, and some of its compounds; on the nature of the diamond and other carbonaceous substances; and on the nature of the various substances used as pigments by the ancient Greeks and Romans.

Soon after Davy's return to his native country, the opportunity was presented to him to do science and the cause of humanity a great service, in the invention of the *safety-lamp* for the use of workmen in coal mines. It had long been known that a peculiar gaseous compound of hydrogen and carbon occasionally forms in coal mines, and mixes with atmospheric air in such quantities as to occasion violent explosions on the approach of flame, to the great danger of all who are in the mine at the time. As the use of light in the mines is absolutely necessary, many lives had been lost in this way within a few years, in the various coal mines of England; no less than ninety-two individuals having been destroyed at one time in the Felling colliery in Sunderland. This led to the formation of a society for the prevention of such accidents, who had then been about two years prosecuting their, thus far, fruitless inquiries. Almost immediately after Davy's arrival, application was made to him to engage in the work, to which he returned a favorable answer; and soon commenced some investigations which resulted in the invention of his safety-lamp, in December of the same year.

A great variety of plans had been proposed to accomplish the desired object, but as none of them were practicable, it will not be necessary for us here to delay to describe them; nor, indeed, will we even follow Davy through his extended preparatory investigations, or examine his various ingenious contrivances, by which he was enabled more or less perfectly to accomplish the proposed end. His safety-lamp, as stated above, was given to the world in December, 1815; and so nearly perfect was its construction, that it has been found susceptible of little improvement after the experience of twenty-five years.

This lamp, which has given so much celebrity to the name of its inventor, and conferred so much benefit upon those connected with the coal business, consists simply of an ordinary lamp, having its wick entirely surrounded at a little distance with fine wire gauze. In the course of his investigations, Davy was led to determine several important principles connected with flame and combustion; but the most important fact ascertained by him, and the one upon which the efficacy of his lamp chiefly depends, is simply this, viz., that *ordinary flame cannot pass through very small tubes.* Now, fine wire gauze may be considered as a collection of such tubes, permitting the escape of the light and accession of atmospheric air to support the combustion, but which at the same time perfectly prevents the communication of flame to any explosive mixture that may be without. The occurrence of such a mixture in a mine is at once shown by the enlargement of the flame of the lamp, which will often fill the entire space within the gauze. The miner cannot, of course, continue to work in such an atmosphere as this, as any accident to his lamp, by the oxydation of the wire gauze or other circumstances, might endanger the safety of all within the mine. The only safe course, on such an occurrence, is instantly to retreat, and take measures for the ventilation of the mine, or that part of it in which the explosive mixture has collected.

The use of this lamp has been found to be of immense pecuniary benefit to those connected with the coal business, and has, without question, prevented the loss of thousands of lives. Explosions still occasionally take place, in consequence of carelessness in the use of the lamp, or from the use of gunpowder in working the mines, which is sometimes necessary; it is said, too, that unless the gauze

is very fine, flame may sometimes be communicated through it by a strong current of the explosive mixture.

Davy, perhaps, more than any other philosopher of equal celebrity that has ever lived, in all his investigations and inventions aimed at practical utility; and it is not surprising, therefore, that he should ever regard this as one of the most satisfactory of all his achievements. Some of the circumstances connected with it were likewise particularly pleasing. He might unquestionably have realized great profit from the invention by securing a patent; but having already a competency, he disdained any pecuniary consideration, giving all the free use of the lamp who might be disposed to try it. The proprietors, however, of many of the coal mines in Newcastle, and others connected with the coal trade, raised a subscription of about £1200 or £1500, with which they procured for him a service of plate, as "a testimony of their gratitude" for the benefit he had conferred upon them. It was presented to him at a public dinner in Newcastle, September 25, 1817, by the late Earl of Durham, in the name of the subscribers.

Public meetings of the laborers in the mines were also held in one or two instances, in which resolutions were passed, testifying their gratitude to the man who had placed in their hands the means of protecting themselves from danger, and from constant apprehension and alarm.

It would be gratifying if we could leave this subject here, but an honest exhibition of truth requires that a few additional statements should be made.

As already intimated, when Davy commenced the investigations which subsequently led to the invention of the safety-lamp, the subject had been made very public, and had not failed to interest many others, who were bent upon contriving some means to remedy the great evil complained of. Among these was a Mr. Stephenson of Killingworth—a mechanic, as Dr. Paris remarks, "not even professing a knowledge of the elements of chimistry," who seems to have constructed a lamp similar to some of the first of Davy's, and very nearly at the same time. We deem it a question of very little importance whether one or the other may have been a day or two first in his invention in point of time, since it is not pretended that either had any assistance from, or even knowledge of, the other; and though Davy, with the characteristic celerity of all his

movements, entirely anticipated his rival in perfecting the construction of the instrument, and thus fully entitled himself to the first honor, yet the real merits of Stephenson should have been acknowledged and rewarded. His party, in the controversy that arose, perhaps claimed too much for him; but we must confess, we have never been able to contemplate the conduct of Davy's friends, in denying him all claim to merit in connection with the invention, but with regret, as being unjust and oppressive. We have often felt quite a disposition to inquire what would have been the result had the distinguished and titled man of science and the obscure mechanic exchanged places in relation to the affair!

It was expected by Davy's friends that the government would take some notice of him in consequence of his great discoveries, but nothing of the kind was ever done except to confer a baronetcy upon him nearly three years after the invention of his lamp.

The next subject which particularly engaged the attention of our philosopher was a plan for unrolling the ancient manuscripts found in Herculaneum, in which he enlisted with much enthusiasm. Having obtained the approbation and patronage of the prince regent, afterward George IV., and other high officers of government, he left England for Naples in May, 1818, in order to put his plan to the test. At Naples he for a time at least met with every encouragement; but, as the enterprise proved an entire failure, it is not necessary here to give a particular description of the various processes by which he expected to accomplish his purpose. The object proposed was one in which both science and literature were highly interested; and in proportion to its importance, and the expectations that had been raised, was the mortification of failure. It is believed, however, that his want of success is not to be attributed to any lack of zeal or of skill on his part, but to the decayed condition of the papyri.

Sir Humphry returned to his native country early in the year 1820; and in the autumn was elected president of the Royal Society, an office which he continued to fill till near the close of his life, when he resigned in consequence of his continued ill health.

In the winter of the year 1819, Professor Oersted of Copenhagen made his celebrated discovery which laid the foundation of the whole science of ELECTRO-MAGNETISM; and it was no sooner announced, than Davy, with his characteristic ardor, was engaged in

a series of experiments connected with the subject. As was to be expected from a man of his genius, he very soon determined many new facts, which were communicated to the Royal Society in several successive papers, the first of which was read November 16th, 1820, and the others in succeeding years.

Though in the possession of wealth and fame, that might be supposed sufficient to gratify the highest ambition of the most aspiring, he continued to interest himself in every thing which concerned the progress of science and the useful arts; and did not hesitate even to engage in laborious experiments in connection with any new inquiry of importance that was started. Toward the latter part of the year 1823, the commissioners of the navy addressed to the president and council of the Royal Society an inquiry concerning the best method of preserving the copper sheathing of ships from corrosion in sea-water; and a committee was appointed for the purpose, for whom Davy undertook to make the necessary investigations. His experiments very soon suggested a remedy, which, upon trial many times, promised complete success; and in January, 1824, he communicated his views to government, informing them he was prepared to carry his plan into effect. The proposition was received with all the attention its importance demanded, and an order given that the plan proposed by Davy should be immediately tried under his own superintendence. As if to increase the mortification of ultimate defeat, the first trials seemed to indicate the most complete success; and various means were taken to give it the greatest possible publicity. But on sufficient trial it was found altogether impracticable; and Davy, and those who had fallen in with his views, found themselves in great error, in consequence of having drawn too hasty conclusions from the experiments made;—in making up a decision from the experience of a few weeks or months, when that of years only could, from the nature of the case, determine the question. Such was the public confidence in the success of the invention, that, without waiting for the issue, it was adopted at enormous expense by government and by private individuals, and continued for several years, until its "theoretical success" and "practical inefficiency" were fully established. In Sept., 1828, the plan, by order of government, was entirely abandoned.

We have not thought it necessary to enter into the details of this

enterprise of Davy's, nor could it be in justice entirely omitted. Besides, it affords an excellent illustration of the character of the man. Ardent, enterprising, ingenious, and industrious, even at a period in which many of the motives that ordinarily actuate the human breast may be supposed to have ceased in a great degree to operate, he is ready to engage with zeal in an undertaking that is to require a great expenditure of thought and labor. Relying entirely upon his own immense resources, he commences an entirely new course of experiments, settles in a short time many new facts and principles, draws his conclusions, with reference to the particular object of investigation, and with the utmost confidence is ready to proclaim them to the world, and if need be, to put them in practice on the most extensive scale! We need not refer the reader to other instances of a similar character; he will recollect several we have related, and may find numerous others in the "Life" we are reviewing. If with his great ingenuity and almost unparalleled keenness of perception, he established some most important new truths, it is not certainly to be wondered at, that he also made some magnificent failures!

We now approach the termination of the brilliant career of this illustrious individual. Soon after it was ascertained that his plan for protecting the copper sheathing of ships would prove impracticable, it was observed that a degree of disappointment and chagrin was produced in his mind, wholly inconsistent, as Dr. P. remarks, with the merits of the question. His general health began also to decline, being in some degree very probably affected by the state of his mind. In the latter part of the year, while absent from home, he was suddenly seized with apoplexy, which, however, gradually yielded to remedies, but not without producing a partial paralysis of his system. He however continued his field sports, of which he was excessively fond, even after his strength had so far decayed that he was obliged to take a pony with him into the field, "from which he dismounted only on the certainty of immediate sport."

Soon after his partial recovery from his apoplectic attack above noticed, by the advice of his physicians, he left England for the south of Europe, where he spent several months, and returned in the autumn of 1827, his health but little improved by the journey.

In 1828 he again left England for the continent, never to return.

His last letter written by himself was dated at Rome, February 6, 1829, where he had been several months, and was addressed to an early friend with whom he had corresponded for many years, and informs him that in a precarious state of health he is gradually "*wearing away* the winter;—a ruin among ruins." He however continued to attend to scientific pursuits, and prepared some papers for the Royal Society, which were subsequently published in their Transactions.

On the 20th of February he was suddenly attacked a second time with apoplexy, which finally proved fatal. As soon as the information reached Lady Davy, who was at London, she hastened to join him; and his brother, Dr. Davy, who was at Malta, arrived the 16th of March. As he was very desirous to visit Geneva, the party left Rome on the 30th of April, and arrived there on the 28th of the next month, where he breathed his last early on the morning of the following day. His remains were honored with a public funeral a few days afterward, and deposited in the public cemetery, where it is believed they yet lie interred, a small tablet only having been erected to his memory by his widow in Westminster Abbey.

Thus closed the career of one of the greatest philosopers of the present age! It may have been remarked by the reader, that as yet we have said nothing of his religious character; nor indeed have we much to say. At one time in early life he appears to have been skeptical with regard to religious matters; but there is abundant evidence that in after years he fully believed in the great truths of Christianity. His general conduct, it is believed, was in accordance with the great principles of morality, and yet it is greatly to be regretted he would not hesitate sometimes to start on a journey on the sabbath, or attend places of vain amusement. Some of his writings are not without considerable indication of pious feeling; and though there may be before the world little evidence that he ever felt the sanctifying influence of experimental religion upon his heart, it is pleasing to hope, that having by faith in Christ appropriated to himself the benefits of the atonement, he who did so much to render his name immortal among his fellows, may be now in the enjoyment of a blissful immortality above.

Besides his scientific memoirs, most of which were published in the Philosophical Transactions, he published his "Elements of

Chimical Philosophy," in 1812, and his "Elements of Agricultural Chimistry, "the following year. He also, during the few last years of his life, prepared two small works for the press of a more general character, the last of which was published after his death. They are entitled "Salmonia, or Days of Fly-fishing," and "Consolations in Travel, or the Last Days of a Philosopher."

His various communications to the Royal Society, all of which it is believed were published in their Transactions, amount to the number of forty-six; the first of which was read June 18, 1801, and the last November 20, 1828.

Wesleyan University, April, 1841.

V.—*Patrick Henry.*

Patrick Henry was a native of Virginia; and, although born of very respectable and well-educated parents, yet, on account of the loose discipline which prevailed in the family, as well as a natural indolence and aversion to study on the part of the child, his early tuition was very much neglected, and his youth was spent in the most listless and enervating idleness. We hear of him wandering, for days together, through the fields and woods; sometimes without any apparent object, and sometimes in the pursuit of game—or, perhaps, stretched on the green bank of some meandering stream, watching the ripples and eddies as they whirled along, or angling in its sparkling waters.

The same love of idleness followed him into the pursuits of business, where he exchanged the pleasures of hunting and angling for the melodies of the flute and violin, and tales of love and war. With such a disposition it is not surprising that there was a fatality in every thing he undertook. Before he was eighteen he was a broken merchant; and immediately after, without any visible means of subsistence, without even bestowing a thought on the future, he became a husband, and soon found himself with a growing family on his hands. By the joint assistance of his father and father-in-law, a small farm was now purchased, and the future Demosthenes of America, and his young bride, placed upon it, and fairly launched upon the wide world. Two years served to wind up his career as a farmer, and, selling his land at a sacrifice to disembarrass himself of debt, he vested the remainder in an adventure of goods, and once more

tried his fortune in trade. His utter failure in the course of another year left him pennyless, and he sought shelter for his wife and little ones at the house of his father-in-law, who kept a tavern at Hanover Court House.

But no misfortune had power to disturb Mr. Henry's unconquerable good nature, or to break his spirit. In the midst of all the difficulties which now hedged him in, he hunted and fished as usual. He applied himself with increased ardor to his flute and violin. He indulged his love of romance; amused himself with history; became a story teller, and the centre of the social and mirthful circles in the neighborhood. At length the thought occurred to him that he might, perhaps, turn a penny by appearing as a counselor in the courts of justice. He accordingly procured some books, and employed a few weeks in reading law. He was indolent, ignorant, awkward in his manners, careless in his dress, and coarse in his whole appearance; but his modesty and good nature made him friends, and after six weeks of careless reading, together with abundant promises of future improvement, he was admitted, at the age of twenty-four, to the Virginia bar.

For the next three or four years Mr. Henry was plunged in the deepest poverty. He seems to have lived almost entirely on his father-in-law, and to have made himself useful about the house, now waiting on the customers at the bar, and now pursuing his favorite sports, or ravishing his soul with delicious music. Whether he appeared at the courts at all is doubted, and if he did, his practice afforded him nothing like a subsistence. But a brighter day was about to dawn upon his fortunes. The sun of his genius was soon to arise in glory; and the indolent, obscure, and rustic Henry, hitherto like the uncut diamond, was to appear as the chased and gorgeous brilliant, sparkling with a thousand hues.

About the time that Mr. Henry was admitted to the bar, a suit arose in Virginia which elicited very general interest. The Church of England was, at that time, the established church of Virginia, and an annual stipend of *sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco* was provided for the minister of each parish, by law, and assessed on the planters. The price of tobacco had, for many years, stood at sixteen shillings and eight pence per hundred, but in consequence of the short crop of 1755, it suddenly rose to two or three times its former value, and the planters procured the passage of a law,

through the colonial assembly, allowing them to commute all debts due in tobacco, for the price in money which it had hitherto borne.

This act was limited to the operations of that year only; but another short crop occurring in 1758, the same law was re-enacted. The clergy were not long in discovering how greatly they were losers by the operations of this law, and it was attacked from several quarters through the press with great vigor. Rejoinders were of course made, and the excitement became so great that the printers in Virginia refused to lend the disputants the aids of the press. At length the circumstance came to the knowledge of the king, who immediately took sides with the clergy, and because the act of the colonial legislature had not received his assent, declared it null and void. Thus supported, the clergy determined to bring suits for the recovery of their stipends in the specific tobacco, and the first trial was in Hanover county, where Mr. Henry resided.

On the question of the validity of the law granting the commutation, the court decided against the planters, and Mr. Lewis, their counsel, informed his clients that the case had, in effect, been decided against them, and immediately withdrew from the suit. In this exigency they applied to Mr. Henry to conduct the trial before the jury. It came on in December, 1763, about a month after the decision already alluded to had been made, and Mr. Henry, who had just entered on his twenty-eighth year, appeared in their behalf. The general interest in the suit had collected the people from all parts of the country—the clergy had assembled in great numbers—Mr. Henry's own father sat upon the bench as one of the judges; and he, engaged in one of the most important suits which had ever agitated the colony, was yet to make his first public speech.

Mr. Lyons, the opposing counsel, opened the case very briefly, merely explaining the effect of the decision already made, and closing by a high-wrought eulogy on the clergy. Mr. Henry rose awkwardly, and faltered through a few broken sentences in a manner so loose and bungling, that his friends hung their heads in shame, and the clergy exchanged sly looks, and began to smile in anticipation of their triumph. His father looked down, his color came and went, and he seemed desirous to sink through the floor. But young Henry faltered for a few moments only. As he progressed his courage seemed to increase—his mind, warmed by the

subject, began to glow with thoughts rich and abundant—his language settled into an easy and graceful flow—his countenance brightened into beauty—his features were illuminated with the fire of genius which burned within—his attitude became erect and lofty —his action graceful and commanding—his eye sparkled with intellectual light—and his diction, as it swelled into higher and more commanding periods, rolled on in all the majesty of the ocean billows.

In less than twenty minutes the windows, the benches, the aisles, were filled with a dense crowd, bending forward eagerly to catch the magic tones of his voice, and fearful lest some word should escape unheard. Every sound was hushed; every eye was fixed; every ear was bent. The mockery of the clergy was soon turned to alarm. They listened for a short time in fixed astonishment, but when the young orator in answer to the eulogy of his opponent turned toward them and poured upon them a torrent of his earnest and withering invective, they fled from the room in apparent terror, sensible that all was lost. The jury were in a maze. They lost sight of both law and evidence, and returned a verdict for the planters against the clergy. The people were equally overcome by the brilliant burst of native eloquence which they had witnessed, and no sooner was the fate of the cause finally sealed, than they seized him at the bar, and in spite of his own exertions, and the cry of "order" from the court, bore him in triumph on their shoulders about the yard.

From this moment Mr. Henry became the idol of the people wherever he was known. He was immediately retained in all the suits similar to that which had just been decided, but none of them ever came to trial. In a year from the following May, he was returned to the house of burgesses. He was elected to supply a vacancy occasioned by a resignation, and took his seat about a month before the close of the session for 1765. Society in Virginia was at this time marked by the same broad distinctions which existed in Europe. Large tracts of land, acquired at the first settlement of the country, had been, by the law of entails, perpetuated in certain families, who had arisen in consequence to a degree of opulence, and lived in a style of splendor, little inferior to the nobility of the old world. The younger members of these families, together with others from the ranks of the people who had arisen

by their talents, constituted a second rank, which had all the pride of the first without their wealth. The great body of the people was composed of the smaller land holders, who looked up to the orders above them with all that deference and respect which is so characteristic a trait in aristocratic countries.

These distinctions had, of course, found their way into the legislative hall. The house of burgesses, when Mr. Henry entered it, besides the great weight of talent which it possessed, was so intrenched about with imposing forms as to make it one of the most dignified bodies in the world. The effect of this was altogether in favor of the aristocratic members, to whom it stood instead of talent, and who, in consequence of the great deference paid them by the lower orders in the house, were enabled to sway its proceedings almost at pleasure. Besides, it really possessed great intellectual weight. John Robinson, the speaker, and also treasurer of the colony, was not only one of the richest men in the commonwealth, but also a man of much ability, and had held his dignified office for twenty-five years. Next to him in rank was Peyton Randolph, the king's attorney-general, a distinguished orator and an eminent lawyer. Then followed a constellation of brilliant intellects—Richard Bland, Edmund Pendleton, Richard Henry Lee, George Wythe, and others.

Such was the house, and such its galaxy of statesmen when Mr. Henry, young, inexperienced, with all his rustic simplicity, and fresh from the ranks of the yeomanry, first took his seat. The great question of taxation had just begun to be agitated in the British cabinet; and at the previous session of the burgesses, some feeble remonstrances had been drawn up and forwarded to the mother country. It was supposed that the subject would be again called up by the present house, in which case it was expected by Mr. Henry's constituents, that he would sustain any measures calculated to defeat the project of *stamp duties*. But it seems that the leaders of the house were not disposed to take any further action on the subject, and Mr. Henry, with that characteristic independence which marked his whole career, after having waited till within three days of the close of the session, introduced a series of resolutions, boldly denying the *right* of England to tax America, and declaring that such taxation had a manifest tendency to *destroy both British and American freedom.*

Mr. Henry had held his seat about three weeks, and was still a stranger to most of the members, when, without consultation with more than two persons, unsupported by the influential members, and dependent only on his own resources, he thus introduced a measure which looked with a severe scrutiny into the right of taxation, now, for the first time, claimed by the British king. The effect was like the sudden eruption of a volcano. At first an attempt was made to frown it down by a stately array of dignified influence; but one dash of Mr. Henry's eloquence put an end to this by-play and brought out against him all the power of the house. The debate waxed hotter and hotter, and the young orator nerved himself to the mighty conflict. He wielded a blade of the best-tempered Damascus steel, and dashed into the ranks of veteran statesmen with such steadiness and power as scattered their trained legions to the winds. The contest on the last and boldest resolution, to borrow the strong language of Mr. Jefferson, "was most bloody," but it was finally carried by a single vote.

Such is the history of that important measure which moved the whole continent, and gave the first impulse to the ball of the revolution. Some idea may be formed of the feeling which prevailed in the house at the time, from the fact that Peyton Randolph, as he passed through the door after the adjournment, exclaimed to a friend, with an oath, "I would have given five hundred guineas for a single vote."

The feeling of opposition to British taxation which Mr. Henry had thus aroused, spread, as if on the wings of the wind, from one end of the continent to the other. The spark which he had struck found a kindred fire in every bosom: the impulse was caught by other colonies; his resolutions were everywhere adopted with progressive variations; and a whole people were startled, as if by magic, into an attitude of determined hostility. In New-England, especially, was the outbreak of popular feeling most fearfully strong; and when, in the following November, the stamp act, according to its provisions, was to have gone into effect, its execution had become utterly impracticable.

It was during the splendid debate which arose on these resolutions that Mr. Henry, while rolling along in one of those sublime strains which characterized his fervid eloquence when under high excitement, exclaimed with a voice which partook of the lofty

impulses of his soul:—"Cesar had his Brutus—Charles the First had his Cromwell—and George the Third"—he was interrupted by the cry of treason, from the speaker's chair. Treason! Treason! echoed from every part of the house. The startling cry thrilled like electricity on the nerves of the house, and every eye was turned on the inspired orator. He paused only to command a loftier attitude, a firmer voice, a more determined manner, and fixing his eye of fire on the speaker, he proceeded:—"and George the Third—may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it."

The theme of liberty, which had thus drawn out the higher qualities of Mr. Henry's eloquence, now became the theme of the nation. The mother country, forgetful alike of the duties and feelings of a parent,—forgetful of the lessons inculcated by her own past history, and of the fundamental principles of national freedom,—was bent on reducing her colonies to the most humiliating terms. Aroused at length to the common danger, and drawn together by the common cause, they appointed a general congress of statesmen, to devise means for resisting the encroachments on their liberties, and to this august body, Virginia sent her most distinguished sons. Mr. Henry was of the number, and was now brought in contact with the most enlightened men of the new world.

The meeting of this congress formed a new epoch in the history of America. It was the leading idea of this great and united republic. The members had been called together to guard the interests of a rising nation. But how were they to act? What was to be the course of their measures? What was to be the result of this leagued opposition to the British king? The awful responsibility which they had assumed seems to have struck them in all its overwhelming force, when the great business of the convention was about to be opened, and it fell, like an incubus, upon their spirits. A deep and solemn pause followed the organization of the house—a pause pregnant with the fate of America—perhaps of the world.

Who among this great body of enlightened statesmen is to roll away the stone—to unloose the seals—to break the fetters which have thus manacled this august assemblage? The task falls upon the plebeian rustic whom we have seen roaming the forests with his gun; scouring the creeks with his angling rod; waiting on the customers of an obscure tavern at Hanover. He arose slowly, as

if borne down by the weight of his subject, and, faltering through an impressive exordium, launched forth gradually into a recital of the colonial wrongs. The subject was great, the field was vast; but Mr. Henry's powers were equal to the occasion. His countenance, illuminated by the fire of that genius which burned within, shone with almost superhuman lustre. His eye was steady; his action noble; his diction commanding; his enunciation clear and distinct; his mind, inspired by the greatness of his subject, glowed with its richest treasures; and, as he swept proudly forward in his high argument, even that assemblage of mighty intellects were struck with astonishment and awe. He sat down amid murmurs of admiration and applause. The convention was nerved to the point of action; and as he had been proclaimed the greatest orator of Virginia, he was now admitted to be the first orator in America.

On the 20th of May, 1775, after the meeting of the first congress, and when the country was almost in open arms, Virginia held her second convention. Hitherto the opposition to the ministerial measures, in all public bodies, had been respectful, and had looked only to a peaceful adjustment of the questions which divided the two countries. But the quick eye of Mr. Henry had seen that there must be an end to this temporizing policy, and that the spirit of legislation should be made to keep pace with the movements of the public mind. When, therefore, the convention opened with propositions for new, and still more humble petitions, the blood of the patriot warmed in his veins, and he determined to meet these propositions at once and nip them in the bud. In pursuance of this determination, he offered a series of resolutions for arming and equipping the militia of the colony. This measure threw the convention into the utmost consternation, and it was hotly opposed from every side, by all the most weighty and influential members, as rash, precipitate, and desperate. Some of the firmest patriots in the house, and, among the number, several of the most distinguished members of the late congress, brought all the power of their logic, as well as the weight of their influence, against it. Indeed, Mr. Wirt informs us that the shock produced upon the house was so great as to be painful.

Under these circumstances most men would have quailed before the storm, and compromised with his opponents by withdrawing

the resolutions. Not so with Mr. Henry. If he had chafed the billows into commotion, they were the element of his glory, and he rode most proudly when the storm beat in its wildest fury. He entered upon the discussion clad in his heaviest armor. His words dropped not from his lips like the dew, but they were poured forth like the mountain torrent, whirling, foaming, sparkling, leaping on, in their deep path of passion, and sweeping away in their course the feeble impediments which had been raised to obstruct his progress. He rolled along as if borne by some mighty and irresistible influence, now "dazzling, burning, striking down," now bursting forth with such rhapsodies of patriotic feeling as set the house in a blaze, and fired their souls for action.

It was during this, his most masterly effort, that the fearful alternative of war was first publicly proclaimed. "If," said the inspired statesman, "we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, we must fight!—I repeat it, sir, we must fight!! An appeal to arms, and to the God of hosts, is all that is left us!"

And again—"It is vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! the next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen would have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!—I know not what course others may take; but as for me," cried he, with both his arms extended aloft, his brows knit, and every feature marked with the resolute purpose of his soul, "give me liberty, or give me death."

He sat down, but no murmur of applause followed. It was evident that the deep feelings of patriotism were stirred in every breast. "After the trance of a moment," says Mr. Wirt, "several members started from their seats. The cry, *To arms*, seemed to quiver on every lip and glance from every eye." The resolutions were adopted—the colony was armed—the country was aroused to

more vigorous action, and the next gale that swept from the north, brought, indeed, the *clash of resounding arms*. Blood had been poured out at Lexington, and the great drama of the revolution was opened, to close only with the freedom and independence of America.

Mr. Henry soon after this was appointed commander-in-chief of the Virginia troops, a place which he held, however, only for a short period. He was the first republican governor of his native state, and was elected to that high office for three successive years, when he became ineligible by the constitution. He was subsequently several times elevated to the same commanding station. He held a prominent place in the public councils during the whole of the war, and, indeed, through the greater part of his life. He was a most vigorous opponent of the federal constitution, and had well nigh prevented its adoption by the Virginia convention. The department of state was offered to him by President Washington, and he was appointed minister to France by President Adams, both of which places he declined to accept. He finished his useful and glorious career on the 6th of June, 1799, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Mr. Henry was strict in his morals, and pure in his language. It is believed he was never known to take the name of his Maker in vain. He was amiable and modest in his deportment—an affectionate and indulgent parent—an amusing companion, and a faithful friend. During his last illness he said to a friend, stretching out toward him his hand, which contained an open Bible, "Here is a book worth more than all the other books that were ever printed; yet it is my misfortune never to have found time to read it with the proper attention and feeling, till lately. I trust in the mercy of Heaven that it is not yet too late."

As a statesman Mr. Henry wanted that patient industry which no genius can ever fully supply. Bright as was his career, it would have been vastly more glorious but for his unconquerable aversion to laborious study. When his mind was nerved up to its full strength, it seems to have been equal to any effort, however commanding; but when he had given any great enterprise its first impulse, his work was done, and he became "weak like another man." He could not bear the toil and drudgery of the great world. His light was that of the meteor which blazes through the darkness, and

not the steady beams of the patient sun. He seems to have grasped his subject by intuition, and when once his stand was taken, there was no hesitation, no doubt, no wavering, but his convictions were settled principles, and he marched forward to his object with as much certainty as though he had worked it out by the rules of mathematics. This prescience gave him a most commanding advantage, and is the great secret of his success. With a modesty which was so great as to be a feature in his character, we behold him giving the first impulse to the revolution, sounding the first battle cry, and leading the first military expedition in Virginia. Had his industry been equal to the powers of his mind, he would have held no second place in the annals of his country. As it was, his career was one of dazzling brilliancy, and he justly ranks among the highest ornaments and noblest benefactors of his country.

Art. VII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M. A., some time Student of Christ's Church, Oxford: comprising a Review of his Poetry; Sketches of the Rise and Progress of Methodism; with Notices of contemporary Events and Characters.* By Thomas Jackson. In two volumes. London: Published by John Mason, at the Wesleyan Conference Office. 1841.

The above work from the official press of the Wesleyan Methodist connection has just been received. Though we have not yet had time to peruse these volumes, yet, from reading the preface, and a hasty glance at several leading and important topics, we are full of expectation that the work will exceed in interest any thing we have seen from the British Methodist press for a long time past.

Most of us have supposed that every thing calculated to throw light upon the history and character of the Wesleys had long since been used up. But to our no small surprise and gratification, we meet with two heavy octavos principally made up from the papers of Mr. C. Wesley, which had been carefully kept by his daughter, and strangely hid from the view of those only who were competent to do full justice to the memory of her sainted father. After the death of Miss Wesley, it seems, the conference purchased the papers, and through the fertile and powerful pen of Mr. Jackson these materials have been reduced to the order, and given to the world in the form, in which we now have them.

We shall immediately commence an examination of this great, and, as we suppose, truly interesting and instructive work, preparatory to the publication of an edition from the Methodist press in New-York, which we have no doubt will be done with all convenient dispatch.

Those on the one hand who believe in the validity of Mr. Wesley's ordinations for America, and those on the other who denounce our episcopacy as "spurious," and have pressed Mr. Charles Wesley into their service, will wait with no little anxiety to see what light his private papers reflect upon his real and mature views on that subject. Whether Mr. C. Wesley was in all respects a genuine high Churchman, we shall now probably be able to determine with certainty.

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2. *Delineation of Roman Catholicism, drawn from the authentic and acknowledged Standards of the Church of Rome: namely, her Creeds, Catechisms, Decisions of Councils, Papal Bulls, Roman Catholic Writers, the Records of History, etc., etc.: in which the peculiar Doctrines, Morals, Government, and Usages of the Church of Rome are stated, treated at large, and confuted.* By Rev. CHARLES ELLIOTT, D. D. Vol. II, 8vo. New-York: Published by G. Lane. 1841.

WE are happy to have upon our table in time for notice in this number, the second volume of *Dr. Elliott's* work on *Romanism*. The work is one of great labor and of great merit. Any one who wishes to understand the controversy which has been in progress between Romanists and Protestants from the days of Luther to the present, and who wishes to see the evidence of the real character of the Romish heresy from the most authentic sources, cannot fail to be gratified by the perusal of Dr. E.'s volumes.

The present volume is divided into two books; the first treats of the "government of the Church of Rome," and the second of "miscellaneous doctrines, usages," &c. In the first our author investigates the character of the church, the claims and prerogatives of general councils, and the supremacy of the pope. And in the second he treats of the *celibacy of the clergy*, and the *worship of saints*.

A leading object of the author is to show, from *Romish* authorities, what the real doctrine of the Church of Rome is on these points. This is most of all, in relation to Romanism, what we at the present want to know. Where the Bible is critically studied in the original languages by a multitude of scholars, and is circulated among the people without restraint, the anti-scriptural dogmas of Romanism only need to be seen and properly identified, to meet with the universal reprobation of all who are not stupified by the monster's poison.

Such, however, are the jesuitical arts practiced by Romish priests in the defense of their doctrines and usages, that it should not be considered a work of supererogation to enter into the argument with them as our author has done. Both as it respects the data by which the true doctrines of the Romish Church are to be identified, and the best mode of refuting them, the volumes before us constitute a text book of inestimable value, and one which every student of the controversy ought to have in his library. We shall reserve what further it would be proper to say upon the work before us, for a complete review which we propose to give it in a future number.

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3. *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan.* By JOHN L. STEPHENS, author of "Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land." Two volumes, 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

PROBABLY nothing that we may say of these remarkable volumes will either procure for them a single additional reader, or have much influence in the formation of an opinion concerning them; for their popularity has been so immense, the curiosity to become acquainted with their contents so universal, and the sale has been so exceedingly extensive, that few probably will read our notice who have not previously read Mr. Stephens's book, and formed their own judgment of the wonders it relates. A rich and curious work it unquestionably is, and teeming with matter of the highest interest to almost every class of students, inquirers, and observers. Faulty, doubtless, in some respects—not profound enough in disquisition on any of the multitudinous subjects worthy of note that were presented for the author's examination—chargeable at times with a levity of thought and expression which, however amusing to many readers, is not much to the taste of such as read to learn rather than to be amused—open also to the imputation of a latitude in describing certain incidents and objects, which borders too closely on indelicacy—but, with all these and some other objectionable features, still a work of remarkable attraction, and highly creditable to the author, for whom it has secured much increase to a most flattering reputation.

The general character of the book must be already known to almost every one in this country who ever reads, or knows any thing of books; for where the volumes themselves have not yet found their way, the daily, weekly, and monthly publications have borne copious notices of their contents, generally accompanied by liberal extracts. The portion—and it is a large one—devoted to the extraordinary antiquities

of Mexico and of Central America, has naturally attracted the most general attention; and without doubt the descriptions of these mysterious remains given by Mr. Stephens, with the admirable and evidently most faithful representations of them furnished by Mr. Catherwood, are of a nature at once highly to excite and to gratify curiosity. But we must confess that we have followed Mr. Stephens with more interest in his sketchy, but graphic and very "incidental" notices of the countries through which he passed; his life-like pictures of the inhabitants in their social and political condition, their manners, occupations, wars, amusements, and, above all, in their religion. Pictures, strange in many aspects, curious in all, in some far from displeasing, but in too many altogether lamentable. The religion of these people, if such it may be called, as exhibited by Mr. Stephens, we have examined with deep and painful interest; a religion—or rather a substitute for religion—so purely a system of externals; so dark; so destitute of true gospel light; so childish in its observances; so utterly incapable of exercising any power for good over the spiritual nature and the conduct of its votaries. Among them, perhaps more strongly than among any other people bearing the name of Christians, is exhibited the tendency of the Romish faith to bring the minds and bodies of the laity into a slavish subjection to the priests. The very essence of religion in these countries seems to be to obey the "padre" in all things. This, and the duty of securing to him a bounteous provision not only of the necessities but also of the luxuries of life, appear to be two great elements of the religious code; the third and only remaining one being the duty of attending to the festivals of the innumerable "saints" that throng the Roman calendar, which, being nothing more than so many occasions for merry-making and display, are of course agreeable enough to a people ignorant, thoughtless, careless, passionately fond of amusement, idolizers of finery, and enjoying a soil and climate which make the toil of providing for the wants of life but little more than nominal. It is but just to say, however, that the "padres," as described by Mr. Stephens, seem not always to abuse the almost unlimited power they enjoy. He represents them as often kind, hospitable, simple-minded, affectionate to their people, and ever ready to supply the physical wants of all around them; and if we could forget the wretched state of spiritual destitution in which their ministry leaves the souls committed to their charge, some of the most pleasing pictures drawn by Mr. Stephens would be those of the padres in the numerous villages through which he passed, in their personal characters, their modes of life, and their manner of intercourse with the inhabitants, who look up to them on all occasions for instruction and advice.

4. *Life and Times of Red Jacket, or Sa-go-ye-wat-ha: being the Sequel to the History of the Six Nations.* By WILLIAM L. STONE. "Humani nihil alienum." New-York and London: Wiley & Putnam. 1841. 8vo., pp. 484.

THE volume whose title we have given above, is one of a series by the author, giving an account of the Iroquois confederacy from the discovery of America down to 1838. The first of the series, the Life of Brant, has been for some time before the public. The two which remain are the Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, and the early History of the Six Nations. The whole plan is one of sufficient magnitude and difficulty to give full scope to the author's diligence, discrimination, and patient research.

It will not be long ere these once mighty nations will only be known in history. They are fast perishing before the march of civilization. Their cries and groans are dying away in the distance, and soon, very soon, the winds of heaven will waft the last sigh of an extinguished people. And while it is laudable in the historian to record, for the information of posterity, the story of their wrongs, their valor, and their acts of retaliation, how does it become the Christian and the philanthropist to use the last opportunity to pour the oil of divine consolation into their bleeding hearts, and to strike up the light of hope before their expiring souls! When will the ears of the church and the nation be fully open to the cries of our red brethren for the blessings of religion and civilization?

The volume now upon our table contains the latter history of the Six Nations, with not only an account of the different negotiations entered into, and treaties effected by the general and state governments, but the speeches at length of Red Jacket and other chiefs made upon these occasions. Here we see the native untaught orator pleading the cause of his people, and often making the most moving appeals to the sympathies and the justice of those who had taken possession of their lands, but too often, on the erroneous principle that *might gives right.*

Colonel Stone's character as a writer is too well established to require our commendation. It is presumed the Life and Times of Red Jacket, as a literary effort, will compare with any of his previous productions. We can but regret that it did not come within the range of our author's plan to notice the Methodist missions established at Sandusky, Grand River, Oneida, and Green Bay, for the benefit of the people whose history he writes, and which have been so eminently successful in improving their moral and physical condition. There are documents in abundance upon this subject, very easy of access,

which, could the author have consistently used, would constitute a bright spot in his generally gloomy picture. The book is beautifully execute, and reflects great credit upon the publishers. We most cordially recommend it to our readers as a most interesting and instructive volume.

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5. *An Exposition of some of the Doctrines of the Latin Grammar.* By Gessner Harrison, M. D., Professor of Ancient Languages in the University of Virginia. Part I, 8vo., pp. 139.

The science of grammar is founded upon observation. The individual facts which are to be observed and classified, together with the theories to be deduced from them, render the preparation of a work on grammar a labor of deep research and patient investigation. A grammar is not complete which is limited to a few general principles, or a brief detail of the appearances which a language presents. But the whole science of speech must be unfolded, and the principles which regulate the expressions of the human mind developed. Many of the classical text books which are used in our colleges and seminaries of learning are on many accounts deficient and unsatisfactory. The work before us is of quite another character, and presents many striking and original views of language. The author has brought to bear upon the investigation of the principles of Latin grammar an intimate acquaintance with the researches of the German philologists, and has illustrated many points in a clear and lucid manner. The work opens with a preliminary chapter, containing an exposition of the objects of etymological inquiries. The views which he gives of the powers of the letters, and their interchange in obedience to the laws of euphony, will be properly appreciated by the general philologist.

He has divided words into *three* classes or "parts of speech," viz.: *nouns*, *verbs*, and *particles*. This is the division most commonly adopted, and which was derived from the ancients. As regards the classification of the *nouns*, the author is of the opinion that in accordance with strict etymological principles there should be but two classes or declensions, distinguished by the ending of the inflectional root. Still the division into five is the most convenient for practice, and consequently should be retained. By a careful examination of the ancient forms, and by comparison of parallel cases in the Greek and Sanscrit, he has given some views on the formation of the dative and ablative, which render clear and satisfactory what has hitherto been a perplexing rule of Latin syntax. He dwells at some length upon the

formation and signification of the pronouns and of the particles derived from them; but we have not space to enlarge. We commend this work to the attention of classical scholars.

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6. *An Examination of the Doctrine, History, and Moral Tendency of Roman Catholic Indulgences.* By S. CHASE, Minister of the M. E. Church. Watertown, N. Y.: Printed by Knowlton & Rice, for the Author. 1841. 18mo., pp. 180.

WE have read with no little interest the unpretending little volume whose title we have given above. To those who have not the means of obtaining the more voluminous works on the errors of Romanism, this manual will be most acceptable. The author proves that the true Romish doctrine is that *the priest has the power to forgive sins.* One of his proofs is taken from the "Manual of Catholic Piety, corrected and approved by the Right Rev. Bishop Kendrick," and puts an address to God into the mouth of the absolved Catholic, a part of which is as follows:—

"The eternal Father hath given *all power* to the Son; but then *I behold* THIS VERY POWER DELIVERED BY THE SON TO MORTALS. The Jewish priests could *only pronounce* those clean whose bodies had been *already* cleansed from the leprosy; but to *our* priests it *was given*, not merely to *pronounce clean*, but *really to cleanse*, not the *infections* of the *body*, but the very *stains* of the *soul*."

Still Romanists complain that they are most shamefully misrepresented, when Protestants represent them as teaching that the priest has the power to forgive or retain sins! Strange indeed, that we should give due credit to their own expositions of the Catholic doctrine of indulgences. But we should not forget that this "Manual" is designed for the *initiated.* When they speak to *heretics*, whom they are at liberty most piously to deceive as often as the interests of the *holy* Catholic Church requires it, they may repudiate the whole as falsely palmed upon *holy mother* by her hated enemies!

Our author quotes from "O'Donnohue's Church of Rome" the following scale upon which indulgences are bartered at Rome:—

"The pardon of a heretic is fixed at £36 9s., while marrying one wife, after murdering another, may be commuted by the payment of £8 2s. 9d. A pardon for perjury is charged at 9s.; simony, 10s. 6d.; robbery, 12s.; seduction, 9s.; incest, 7s. 6d.; murder, 7s. 6d."

Is this Christianity? or is it not "the mystery of iniquity" in its highest state of maturity? This effort of the author, like every similar

one, will do good, and ought to be encouraged. Should a second edition be called for, some verbal and typographical errors will doubtless be corrected, and the author will, we hope, choose a more inviting exterior for his book.

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7. *A Vindication of Classical Studies.* By CHARLES H. LYON, A. M., one of the Principals of the Irving Institute. New-York: H. & S. Raynor. 1841. 12mo., pp. 48.

THIS is a sensible, plain, practical production, which, we have no doubt, should it be generally read, would correct many errors in relation to the study of "the dead languages." The subject will be treated in connection with another work, in our next number.

8. *Pamphlets.*

THE following pamphlets are upon our table; and it is but justice to the authors and to ourselves to say, that several of them were in hand in time to have received an ealier notice; but just at the closing of our pages we found no space for a notice of this class of publications. And want of room now forbids our doing any thing more than simply inserting their title pages in the order in which they were received. Several of these pamphlets are highly creditable to their authors, and we should be happy to give our views of the character of each, did our space permit.

A Baccalaureate Address, delivered before the senior class, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., July 8, 1840. By *William H. Allen*, A. M., Professor of Chimistry and Natural Philosophy. Philadelphia: T. K. & P. G. Collins, printers.

Address delivered before the Delta Phi and Athenæan Literary Societies of Newark College. By *Thomas E. Bond, jun.*, M. D., Sept. 23, 1840. Baltimore: Woods & Crane, printers.

An Address delivered before the Calliopian Society of Emory and Henry College, on the day of the Annual Commencement of the College; and the first Anniversary of the Society, Aug. 6, 1840. By *J. W. Clapp*, A. M., (published by request of the association.) Abingdon: Printed by J. N. Humes.

A Sermon on Exodus iv, 21. The Lord's strengthening the purpose of Pharaoh in retaining the Israelites, not inconsistent with man's moral agency. By the Rev. *John Nicholson*. Philadelphia: J. Harmstead, 38 3-4 North Fourth-st., T. K. & P. G. Collins, printers.

The Continuance of Brotherly Love: a Sermon for the Times. By Rev. *Z. Paddock*, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. R. Norway: Utica. 1840. Pp. 23.

The Ascension: a Sermon. By Rev. *Joseph Cross*, pastor of the M. E. Church in Cazenovia, N. Y. Cazenovia Union Herald Office.

Duties of an American Citizen: a discourse delivered on thanksgiving day, Dec. 17, 1840. By *James Floy*, pastor of the third M. E. Church in the city of Brooklyn. Brooklyn: Press of Arnold & Vananden.

Sleep and Dreams: a Lecture delivered before the Middletown Young Men's Lyceum. By *Daniel D. Whedon*, A. M., Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature in the Wesleyan University. Middletown, Conn.: W. Trench, printer. 1841.

An Inquiry into the Authority for the Rite of Confirmation as held and practiced by the Protestant Episcopal Church. By the Rev. *Leroy M. Lee*. "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."—*Paul*. Richmond, Va.: Printed at the office of the Christian Advocate. 1841.

Anti-Universalism, being the Substance of a Sermon preached in the North Second-street Methodist Episcopal Church, on the evening of March 8, 1840, against modern Universalism. By Rev. *N. Levings*. "I have somewhat against thee."—*Apocalypse*. Troy, N. Y.: N. Tuttle, printer. 1841.

The Republican Influence of Christianity: a discourse delivered on occasion of the death of William Henry Harrison, at Bangor, April 22, and redelivered at Hallowell and Augusta, May 14, 1841, being the day of the National Fast. By Rev. *B. F. Tefft*.

A Sermon on the Occasion of the Death of General William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States, delivered in the chapel of Randolph Macon College, April 18, 1841. By the Rev. *David S. Daggett*. Published by request of the students. Richmond: Printed at the office of the Christian Advocate. 1841.

A Sermon on Occasion of the Fast appointed to be held on the fourteenth of May last, by the President of the United States, delivered in the chapel of Randolph Macon College. By Rev. *David S. Daggett*. Published by request of the students. Richmond: Printed at the office of the Christian Advocate. 1841.